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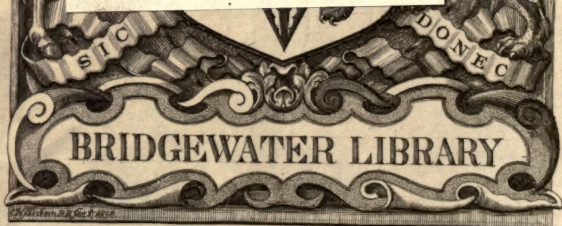
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THE
HISTORY
OF
FRANCE,

From the Time the

French Monarchy was Establish'd in *Gaul*,

TO THE

Death of LEWIS the Fourteenth.

Written Originally in FRENCH by Father
DANIEL, of the Society of JESUS, and
now Translated into ENGLISH.

IN FIVE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

Printed for G. STRAHAN, at the *Golden Ball* over against
the *Royal-Exchange*, W. MEARS at the *Lamb*, and
D. BROWNE at the *Black Swan* without *Temple-Bar*,
and J. WOODMAN and D. LYON in *Russel-Street*
Covent-Garden.

M,DCC,XXVI.

THE HISTORY
OF
FRANCE

From the Time the

new Monarchy was Established in France

TO THE

Death of Lewis the Fourteenth.

By the Original Author, in French by Robert
D'ARVILLE, of the Academy of Sciences, and
now Translated into English.

IN FIVE VOLUMES.

VOL. V.

LONDON:

Printed for J. DODD, at the Golden Ball over against
St. Dunstons Church, in Fleet-Street; and for
J. KNEELAND, at the Blue-Boar in Wine-Street;
and for D. DUNCAN, in Pall-Mall.

MDCCLXXI.



TO THE
K I N G.

SIR,



HAVING had the honour to
dedicate my history of *France*
to your august predecessor, it
was a sufficient warrant for me
to address this new work to him, which is

A 2

but

DEDICATION.

but an abridgment of the former, and what the publick have demanded of me for their use and benefit. But providence, for the good of his people, having lengthened the days of this great Prince to an age, to which none of our Kings ever attain'd before him, wou'd not permit this kingdom to enjoy any longer the possession of such a happiness, but took him from us after a reign of seventy three years, which was itself too soon, if our prayers or wishes cou'd have taken place; and by this means I have been deprived of the satisfaction of tendering him this new fruit of my labour, and offering him this farther testimony of my veneration for him, and my gratitude for the princely favours with which he has condescended to honour me.

As you, Sir, possess the throne and
place

DEDICATION.

place of this incomparable King, who excelled in all kinds of merit, and already carry a perfect resemblance of him in those royal endowments which are every day more visible and conspicuous in you, I presume to beg your permission for supplying the want of his name, by placing yours at the head of this work, and to intreat your acceptance of this new homage which was design'd for him. I believe I may venture to depend upon YOUR MAJESTY's gracious allowance in this particular; from the favourable hearing YOUR MAJESTY gave me when I took the liberty two years since to offer you the history of the *French Militia*, as well as from the dignity of the subject matter of this performance, which I know will be agreeable to you, as it exhibits the virtues YOUR MAJESTY already possesses in a very finished and perfect manner.

DEDICATION.

manner. At least I shall have the satisfaction of testifying to the world, that I am with the most profound respect and the utmost submission,

S I R,

YOUR MAJESTY'S

Most humble, most obedient,

and most loyal subject and servant,

Gabriel Daniel,

Of the Society of Jesus.

THE



THE
P R E F A C E.



BRIDGMENTS of historical subjects have met with approbation in all times and among all nations, wherever learning has flourished. From the little that is remaining of the Greeks and Latins in this kind, it abundantly appears that they must have been as much in fashion among them, as they have been for an age past among us, especially with regard to the history of France.

The

P R E F A C E.

The advantage of finding all our matters ready order'd and disposed to our hands, makes us easily yield to the temptation of becoming authors in this respect, where all our trouble seems to lie within the short compass of abbreviating and making a choice of the most important facts.

*The slothfulness of readers, who are frightened at the sight of a large volume, howeager soever they may be not to appear altogether ignorant in the history of their country, has in a great measure contributed to this custom. Besides abbreviators have very much promoted the design of giving children some smattering of history, and have carried their zeal and application to such a length in this particular, as to reduce it into the form of a catechism, by way of question and answer, that they might have the benefit of learning by heart, as soon as they were able to speak, what by all
other*

P R E F A C E.

other methods of instruction wou'd be perfectly forgotten, when they came to riper years, and were able to make some use of it. After all I don't see anything worthy of blame in it; it is but lost time which cou'd not be better employed.

This impatience of readers, who content themselves with a superficial knowledge of matters they wou'd be asham'd to be wholly ignorant of, prevailed upon Mezeray to abridge his own work. He is the first Author of our general History, that I know of, who has taken the pains to abridge himself. I have been persuaded to do the same upon the preparing a new edition of my history of France.

But tho' I have followed Mezeray's example, I have not confin'd myself to his method, but have abridged my history after a very different manner, as I now offer it to the publick. I have

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I have not contented myself with a bare and often incoherent mention of facts, which cannot be long read without difficulty and trouble. I considered that a history abridged is itself an history, and by consequence ought to contain all that is essential to such a work, and as much of the agreeable as it will admit of. Such, for example, is that of Justin, the best model we have among the ancients, in his epitome of the universal history of Trogius Pompeius, which is lost.

I propose therefore to give here an abridgment, but such a one, wherein the facts are connected together, and the preparatory incidents relating to them are observed, wherein the chief characters are described, the different interests laid open, the most important negotiations sufficiently touch'd upon, the signal events proportionably particulariz'd, and the spring and principle

P R E F A C E.

principle of action discovered and laid before the reader, so as to give him an idea of the government of this monarchy, of the manners of the nation, and of the different alterations they have undergone from time to time; the knowledge of which is the principal use and advantage of history. In a word, this work is itself a history, and not a copious Index of a large history, like the abridgments which I have seen, of the first and second race of our Kings; for I must confess I have not taken the pains to read those of the third race.

The three volumes in folio of the first edition, and those in quarto of the two following, are reduced to seven volumes in twelves in this abridgment, to which are added the annals of Lewis XIII. and XIV. which make two more volumes in twelves. It is proper to inform the reader with regard to these annals, that being published

P R E F A C E.

lished while the author lay dangerously ill, and not in a condition to revise them, some considerable faults escaped the press, especially in the beginning of the reign of the two Kings, which, as well as some others, are corrected in this edition.



THE

An Historical

P R E F A C E

T O T H E

History of *FRANCE*.

I HAVE never been fond of paradoxes in history; but I think new thoughts, which sometimes occur to us in the course of our reflections upon antient authors, may be proposed, when we find them well supported. Those which I have laid down in this Historical Preface appear to me to be such, and to deserve some attention. I shall divide it into three parts; in the first of which I shall treat of the foundation of the *French* monarchy in *Gaul*, that being a preliminary essential to my history: for as I maintain, contrary to the opinion of all our historians, that it was *Clovis* that founded the *French* empire on this side the *Rhine*, and laid the establishment of the nation, and that all his predecessors had been continually driven from *Gaul* by the *Romans*, I can't dispense with my self from giving an account of the reasons which have determin'd me to go out of the ordinary road in this point, and to commence the history of *France* at *Clovis*.

In the second part I shall consider another fact, which preceded the foundation of the monarchy in *Gaul*, supposing that fact to be true, and which all our historians have look'd upon as such; I mean the deposition of King *Childeric*, father of *Clovis*, and the election of Count *Giles*, General of the *Roman* army, to the throne by the *Franks*: but I hope to make it appear, that this episode, which we have inserted in our history, is a meer fable.

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Lastly, in the third part I shall propose an important question, *viz.* Whether the *French* empire, as soon as it was establish'd in *Gaul*, was an Hereditary Constitution, and not Elective? I shall shew that it was Hereditary, and not Elective under the first race; that it was alter'd in this respect under the second, but became Hereditary again under the third; and by consequence the right of succession, which the descendants of *Hugh Capet* have for almost these eight centuries enjoy'd, is as antient as the establishment of the monarchy in *Gaul*.

ARTICLE I.

Of the founder of the French monarchy in Gaul.

TO speak immediately to the point; I call him the founder of the *French* monarchy in *Gaul*, who so establish'd himself there, as not to be driven thence by the *Romans*, but has kept possession of his conquests till this time, and left 'em as an inheritance to his posterity. A few of our historians have ascrib'd the glory of this work to *Pharamond*. None of those who wrote some ages after *Gregory of Tours* and *Fredegarius*, make any scruple to give his successor *Clodion* the honour of it. All the succeeding historians speak of *Merovee* and *Childeric* as of two Princes already establish'd in *Gaul*, who only enlarged the limits of the kingdom of *France*, and our moderns have blindly followed them. I believe I am able to shew, that none of these Kings before *Clovis* remain'd in possession of any part of that which is at present call'd the kingdom of *France*, and that *Clovis* was not only the first Christian King of the *French*, but also the first King of the *French* in *Gaul*. This is what I hope to make appear at least very probable, by the strictest rules of criticism, to those who shall read without prejudice what I have said upon this subject.

I prove my proposition, first, from the silence of contemporary authors, or such as are very near so, who treat of the establishment of this new constitution in *Gaul* before *Clovis*: secondly, from diverse testimonies

nies of the same authors, who manifestly suppose the contrary of that which is now become insensibly the universal opinion, and which I take upon me to oppose: and lastly, from the character of those writers who in the following ages have publish'd a fact of this importance, which no body ever mention'd before them.

Neither *Prosper*, nor Bishop *Idacius*, nor *Apollinaris*, nor *Procopius*, nor *Gregory of Tours*, nor *Fredegarius*, nor *Marius of Lausane*, nor any other of the antients say any thing of a new government founded in *Gaul* by *Pharamond*, *Clodion*, *Merovee*, or *Childeric*. A negative argument of this nature, consisting of so large an induction, is of great force in a matter of history, when there is nothing to oppose to it but the authority of some writers, who wrote three or four hundred years after the time of the fact in dispute, and which we need only read, to be persuaded that the authors of it spoke without any judgment or regard to truth; but this last circumstance shall be proved in its proper place: the rest of the proposition will remain firm, till something is produc'd to disprove it, which I am pretty confident will never be done. But the reflections which I have made upon the nature of the fact in question, ought, I conceive, to weigh very much with all impartial judges.

*The silence of
antient au-
thors.*

For what is it we are here disputing about? A kingdom that reach'd from the *Rhine* at least to the river *Somme*, (some make it extend as far as the *Seine*, and others to the *Loire*) a state govern'd successively for above sixty years by four Princes, who were all Heroes, had numerous and formidable armies, besieged and took considerable towns, gain'd battles, and were the terror of the *Romans*, from whose hands they rescued this great country. But since the history of the empire, which relates so many other less considerable facts in an hundred places, takes no notice of any such division of the empire, as this; since those authors of different nations, who have written the history or chronicles of these sixty years, do no where speak of the rise and establishment of this new kingdom in the midst of the Imperial territories, the story is far from being probable.

*Pharamond,
Clodion Me-
rogee, Chil-
deric.*

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As soon as the *Visigoths* were settled on this side the *Loire*, and the *Burgundians* in the cities of *Roan* and *Saon*, all the contemporary writers, as well *Romans* as *Gauls*, do upon a thousand occasions make mention of the kingdom of the *Visigoths*, and of the kingdom of *Burgundy* in *Gaul*; even that of the *Suevi* is not omitted upon a *Spanish* coin; but there is not one word of that of the *French* on this side the *Rhine* to be met with till the time of *Clovis*: their irruptions into *Gaul* are frequently observ'd, but there is nothing said of their establishment before the reign of this Prince. Is it possible now for us to make this reflection, without being convinced that this state, of which they are entirely silent, was not then in being, and that if it had been govern'd by Kings of that character, by which they describe *Clodion*, *Merovee*, and *Childeric*, there would most certainly have occur'd frequent mention of it during the space of more than fifty years that it continued under their jurisdiction?

As soon as *Clovis* enter'd into *Gaul*, we find him making alliances by marriage, and entring into treaties of confederacy, as well with the *Burgundians* as the *Goths*. These treaties are mention'd in the histories of those nations, by the writers of the empire, and by those of *Gaul*; but there is not the least account of any such thing being done by *Pharamond*, *Clodion*, *Merovee*, or *Childeric*. How is this to be accounted for?

The famous *Sidonius Apollinaris*, in a great number of letters and poems, which we have of his composition, touches upon the most considerable events of his time. He speaks of the affairs and wars of the *Goths* and *Burgundians*, from that time settled in *Gaul*, of their Kings and their battles, and takes notice of the excursions the *French* made from time to time in passing the *Rhine*, and the reprisals of the *Romans* upon them on the other side this river; but does not say one word of this pretended kingdom, so large already and flourishing, if we may believe our historians of the following ages. This brave *Merovee*, who besieged and took *Paris*, and gain'd so many other conquests, who was the love and admiration of his people, is the only person to whose memory *Apollinaris* has not thought proper to consecrate one verse, nor say one word of him.

him. No *Roman* or *Gaulish* Captain has signalized himself either in the overthrow of him, or at least in making a stand against him, nor given this poet, who wrote upon all sorts of subjects, and to all persons of distinction in his time, any occasion to make the least allusion to the victories or defeats of this Prince, nor to this new state, situated in one of the beautifullest parts of *Gaul*. But let us proceed gradually, and from this negative argument I have been deducing, let us pass on to another of greater weight and importance.

Prosper, in his chronicle, describes the country where *Pharamond*, *Clodion*, and *Merovee* reign'd; and he describes it in such a manner as to leave no ground for scruple to any one, who is not disposed to cavil in a matter of that concern we are now discoursing of. In the twenty sixth year of *Honorius*, says he, *Pharamond* reigns in *France*; *Pharamundus regnat in Franciâ*. The fifth year of *Theodosius* the younger, *Clodion* reigns in *France*; *Clodius regnat in Franciâ*. The twenty fifth year of the same Emperor, *Merovee* reigns in *France*; *Meroveus regnat in Franciâ*. There being but few *Latin* authors that wrote after the *French* were known to the *Romans*, we are well appris'd that the name of *Francia* was not then given to the country which now bears that name, but to that which the *Franks* inhabited along the borders of the *Rhine* on the other side that river: there is no need of arguments to prove it; we may see it with our eyes in the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, as they are call'd, printed at *Ausbourg* in the beginning of the last century, by the learned Mr. *Velfer*; they are geographical maps, in which the roads from one city or colony to another are describ'd from our ocean to the *Indies*. They were made, as some say, in the time of *Ammianus Marcellinus*, that is, under the empire of *Constantius* or *Valens*; and, according to others, in the time of *Theodosius* the younger. In these maps we see the word *Francia* upon the mouth of the *Rhine* along the banks of the other side of the river. Now I ask whether, supposing *Pharamond*, *Clodion*, or *Merovee* had establish'd themselves a kingdom in *Gaul*, the capital of which was *Cambray* or *Amiens*; whether *Prosper*, I say, would not have spoken of it in a different manner? whether he would not rather have said, they

An argument drawn from Prosper's chronicle.

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reign'd in that part of *Gaul*, where their successors have reign'd ever since? And which, according to the histories of the antient Monks, they made choice of for the seat of their empire, despising the palisadoed villages of *France*, in comparison of the wall'd and fortify'd towns of which they were seiz'd in *Gaul*? I don't know whether I flatter my self, but this appears to me a very strong proof.

But let us examine what antient authors have written in particular of these first Kings of *France*, and above all of *Clodion*, *Merovee*, and *Childeric*; for as for *Pharamond*, there are very few, as I said, who ascribe to him the honour of founding the empire in *Gaul*. And first I shall propose, by way of objection, what is usually urged in favour of *Clodion*, leaving every man to judge, whether my answers are not a new and farther proof of my opinion.

Positive Arguments.
§ L. 2. c. 91.

It may be objected then, that King *Clodion*, according to *Gregory of Tours* §, who calls him *Clogion*, made himself master of *Cambray* and the circumjacent country as far as the river *Somme*; *Clogio autem, missis exploratoribus ad urbem Cameracum, perlustrata omnia ipse secutus, Romanos proterit, civitatem apprehendit, in qua paucum tempus residens usque Suminam fluvium occupavit*. And, to strengthen this objection, I add, that diverse contemporary authors, as well as *Gregory of Tours*, make mention of this expedition, and, among others, *Apollinaris* Bishop of *Auvergne*, in his panegyrick upon the Emperor *Majoranus*, to whom he speaks in this manner:

*Pugnastis pariter, Francus qua Cloïo patentes
Attrebatum campos peruasera* -----

* In chronico.
† In chronico.
‡ In chronico.

Prosper *, *Cassiodorus* †, and Bishop *Idacius* ‡, agree with *Gregory of Tours* in this particular; but they all add what *Gregory of Tours* has omitted, that *Aetius* General of the *Roman* army, under whom *Majoranus* then serv'd, defeated *Clodion*, and recover'd from him all that he had taken from the *Roman* empire on this side the *Rhine*. *Pars Galliarum*, says *Prosper*, *propinqua Rheno, quam Franci possidendam occupaverant, Aetij Comitibus armis recepta*, *Cassiodorus* says the same in his chronicle,

Aetius

Actius gain'd this victory when *Felix* and *Taurus* were Consuls, that is, in the year of our Lord 428, and the first of the reign of *Clodion*. So that this Prince began his reign at this conquest, but hardly enjoy'd it many months. Bishop *Idacius* says moreover, that *Actius* having defeated the French, granted them peace; *Superatis per Aetium in certamine Francis, & in pace susceptis*. In chronico.

Now whether *Apollinaris*, *Idacius*, and *Prosper* speak of the same, or of several different expeditions, is a matter of no great importance; because which side soever we take in this particular, *Clodion* is always represented as defeated and conquer'd, and desiring peace.

Upon what pretence then do they contend, that *Clodion* establish'd himself a kingdom in Gaul? All our French historians have depended solely upon *Gregory* of *Tours*'s saying, that the King made himself master of *Cambray* and the circumjacent country. He does not say that he continued there; and contemporary authors expressly affirm, that he was driven from thence. In the mean time, upon the authority of these words alone, *Adon*, above four hundred years after *Prosper*, and near three hundred after *Gregory* of *Tours*, makes *Cambray* the capital of the kingdom of *Clodion*. The Monk *Rorigon*, whose fabulous and chimerical history, as well as the stile in which it is written, speaks him to be a very trifling and frivolous author, has thought proper to make him hold his court at *Amiens*. But *Marianus Scotus*, Monk of the Abbey of *Fulde* in *Germany*, speaking of *Clodion* above six centuries after his death, is yet much more liberal towards him; for he makes one part of that which we now call *Holland* subject to his empire, and all those beautiful and fruitful provinces which extend themselves from thence unto the river *Loire*, the banks of which he fixes for the borders of his kingdom*. The greatest part of our modern historians, being impatient of seeing a French monarch reign on this side the *Rhine*, have given into these accounts, some more, some less, and have made no scruple to acknowledge *Clodion* for the

* Thus the printed copies of *Marianns*. But *Valesius*, in his additions to the third tome of the history of *France*, says, *Isaac Vossius* had in his possession an ancient manuscript of this author, which does not at all mention the victories of *Clodion*.

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founder of the *French* monarchy in *Gaul*, upon what grounds we now see. Let us go on to *Merovee*.

I have already said, that *Merovee* never reign'd on this side the *Rhine*. No author has any where spoken of his entrance into *Gaul*, to fix himself there; and all that our *French* historians have said of him in this respect goes upon their false scheme of the establishment of *Clodion*.

If *Merovee* had reign'd on this side the *Rhine*, and his realm had been border'd by the *Loire*, the *Seine*, or the *Somme*, would not *Gregory* of *Tours* have been better acquainted with his subject, than he seems to have been? for he says nothing more of him, than that some affirm he was of the family of *Clodion*; *de hujus stirpe quidam Meroveum regem fuisse adferunt*. Most of them pretend, that he headed the *French* in *Aetius's* army, in that famous and bloody battle which this *Roman* General, then in alliance with the *Goths* and the other barbarians, gain'd over *Attila*. It is not to be question'd but there was some *French* King at that bat-

* L. 2. c. 7.
Histor. Byzantin.

tle. *Gregory* of *Tours* says so expressly. * *Priscus*, surnam'd the *Rhetor*, reckons, that one of the reasons which determin'd *Attila* to turn his arms to the West, was the death of the *French* King, whose two sons disputed with each other the possession of their father's kingdom; that the eldest call'd in the help of *Attila*, and the youngest put himself under the protection of the *Romans*; that he himself had seen him at *Rome*, from whence the Emperor had sent for this young Prince, loaden with presents and honours, and that *Aetius* himself had adopted him. This relation, naming neither the one nor the other of these two Princes, should keep us from deciding, as almost all our historians have done, that which they could not be inform'd of elsewhere, whether it was *Merovee* that was in *Aetius's* army, or his brother who disputed the kingdom with him, or whether *Merovee* might not be a third rival, who ravish'd the crown from the two sons of *Clodion*. For most of the antients say, that *Merovee* was not the son of *Clodion*; and it appears very probable that he was the founder of this new line, which we call the Kings of the first race, and that for this very reason it was nam'd the *Merovingian* race.

Be that as it will (for in what manner soever this point be decided, my subject is wholly independent of it) *Sidonius Apollinaris* does not make the *French* who were present at the battle of *Aetius* and *Attila* to come from the other side of the *Loire*, or the *Seine*, or the *Somme*, nor from *Cambray*, nor from the *Belgick Gaul*, but from the other side of the *Rhine*. It was not then in the forest of *Ardennes* that the *French* cut down trees to make them boats to pass the *Escaut*, the *Meuse*, or the *Somme*; it was in the forest of *Hircynia* that they did this, and on the other side of the *Rhine* that they built themselves vessels to pass this river.

*Bructerus ulvosa quem vel ‡ Nicer abluat unda,
Prorumpit Francus; cecidit cito secta bipenni
Hercynia in lintres, & Rhenum texuit alno.*

In panegyri-
co Aviti.
‡ Al. Vicer.

I ask what this means? or whether these words of *Apollinaris* suppose the *French* were settled in *Gaul*?

The same author, in the same panegyrick on the Emperor *Avitus*, speaks of the irruptions which the *French* and *Germans* made under the empire of *Maximus*, and after the death of *Aetius* into *Germania prima*; that is to say, towards *Mayence*, *Spire*, *Worms*, *Strasburgh*; and into *Belgica secunda*, that is to say, towards *Arras*, *Cambray*, and *Tournay*: and by this very thing he gives us clearly to understand, that the *French* were not then masters either of the one or of the other, and that they pass'd the *Rhine* to make their excursions into the frontiers of the *Roman* empire. See how he expresses himself:

*Francus Germanum primum, Belgamq; secundum
Stérnebat; Rhenumque, ferox Alemanne, bibebas
Romanis ripis-----*

Afterwards he describes how *Avitus*, having the command of the Imperial army, drove them back to the other side of the *Rhine* as far as the river *Elbe*, and obliged them to send embassadors to sue for peace.

*Legas, qui veniam poscant, Alemanne, furoris
Saxonis incurfus cessat, Chattumq; palustri
Alligat Albis aqua-----*

By this word *Chattum* he means the *French*, of whom the *Catti* were a part.

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According to this author, who furnishes us with a great deal of light in this matter, the *Vabal*, which is a branch of the *Rhine*, and separates the isle of the *Batavi*, now call'd the isle of *Betau*, from the country of the *Belga*, was then the frontier of the empire and of the *Sicambri*, that is, of the *Franks*, who were there seated. This is what he expresses in a poetical request, which he presented to the Emperor *Majoranus*:

*Sic ripæ duplicis tumore fracto
Detonsus Vabalim bibat Sicamber.*

In carmine
ad Consen-
tium Narbo-
nensem.

And in another poem written to one of his friends, where among other things he commends his skill in languages, and the esteem which the barbarians had of him; so that, says he, by reason of the great regard they pay to your virtue, you may enter their country without fear or danger. In this place he acquaints us where and upon what rivers the *Franks* were then seated:

Al Vicum;
the Vecht, the
Vabal, the
Vesere, the
Elbe.

*Tu Tuncrum & Vabalim, Visurgin, Albim
Francorum & penitissimas paludes
Intrares, venerantibus Sicambri,
Solis moribus inter arma tutus.*

Valesius, t. 1.
l. 8.

I omit the other passages of *Sidonius Apollinaris*, who was contemporary with *Childeric* and *Clovis*, where this author, the most unexceptionable evidence that can be produced in this matter, supposes the *French* always on the other side the *Rhine* at the time in which he wrote; and his testimony in this particular is so strong, that *Adrian de Valois*, in his learned critick upon our antient history, says, he can't but wonder that this author should always place the *French* in antient *France* between the *Rhine* and the *Elbe* and no where else, as if in his time they had not been settled in *Gaul*: *Non possum non mirari*, says he, *quod Francos, quos nunc Sicambros, nunc Catos appellat, in Francia veteri inter Rhenum & Albim tantum, nec usquam alibi ponat Sidonius, quasi Franci ætate ejus nondum in Gallia sedem cepissent.* Thus *Adrian de Valois*. And here I observe, first, that it appears by this very passage that I have *Sidonius Apollinaris* on my side, a man of the greatest learning and capacity of his time, the best acquainted with the situation of affairs in *Gaul* and *Germany*, as

all his works declare, who speaks in a great many places of the *Franks*, and especially in the panegyricks he made upon the three Emperors, one of whose daughters he had married; in a word, an ocular witness of all that he deliver'd concerning this nation, and with whom no writer can enter into competition upon the subject before us.

Secondly, that *Adrian de Valois* ought to conclude with me from these passages of *Apollinaris*, that the *Franks* at that time were not yet fix'd in *Gaul*, which he had certainly done if he had not labour'd under the common erroneous prejudice, that *Clodion* was already settled upon the river *Somme* with the *Franks*; a prejudice which he would have easily overcome, if he had taken, as he ought, *Sidonius Apollinaris* for his guide, whose authority should weigh more than that of any other writer, upon the account both of his character, and as he was a contemporary author.

All this regards the time of *Merovee*; I have nothing now to do, but to speak of *Childeric*.

If the account that is given us of *Childeric*, son of *Merovee* and father of *Clovis*, be true, he was one of the most surprizing instances that ever was heard of. While he was yet an infant, he was carried away by the *Huns*, and rescued from their hands by a brave *Frank* nam'd *Viomade*. He had hardly ascended the throne after the death of his father, when he was deposed by those whom his extraordinary qualities of mind and body had before most strictly attach'd to him. The wonderful beauty of his person, join'd with an over-soft and easy disposition, made him equally amorous and agreeable; and the heads of the nation being sensible of the injury they receiv'd from the influence his beauty and addreses had over their wives, conspir'd against him, and obliged him to give way to their fury. Upon this he betook himself to *Basin* King of *Turingia*, where in a short time he became the favourite of Queen *Basine*.

Greg. Tur.
l. 2.

The *Franks* placed Count *Giles*, Governor of the *Gauls* and General of the Imperial army, upon the throne in his room. This extravagant choice was the effect of *Viomade*'s policy and cunning, who continued firm and constant to *Childeric*; tho', to prevent suspicion, he highly blamed his excesses. He foresaw what afterwards happen'd, that the *Franks* would not long endure

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dure a *Roman* master; and he knew so well how to make his advantage of the credit he had gain'd with this new King, that he engaged him imperceptibly to render himself insupportable to the *Franks*, by the taxes he laid upon them, and the ill treatment he gave them, in such sort that they began to wish for their old Prince, and desire a restoration.

Viomade having thus brought matters to bear, sent *Childeric* the half of a piece of gold which they had broken between them, as a signal for the exil'd Prince to appear and shew himself to his subjects. As soon as they knew he was upon the frontiers, they flock'd together to meet him, and in a moment he found himself at the head of a numerous army, which he led against Count *Giles*, who was then upon his march to disperse the first beginnings of this sedition. *Childeric* charg'd him so seasonably, and with such vigour, that he totally defeated him, and by this single victory recover'd the possession of his kingdom, which he had been depriv'd of for eight years before.

The Queen of *Turinge* no sooner receiv'd the news of the happy success of his affairs, but, like another *Hellen*, she quitted her husband to follow the fortune of her lover, and came to *France* in pursuit of him. *Childeric*, who having more important concerns upon his hands, had forgot his old engagements, was greatly surpriz'd at her arrival, and asked her what brought her thither? She made him no other answer, but that if she had known a greater hero, or more gallant man than himself, she would have travell'd round the world in search of him. Upon this his former passion soon reviv'd, and he resolv'd to marry her, as he did, and that in all appearance without so much as consulting the King of *Turinge*, of whose resentment there is not one word to be found in history; and it was of this marriage the great *Clovis* was born. In the mean time *Childeric*, to keep the *Franks* in constant exercise, that he might avenge himself of Count *Giles*, and take from him all hopes of reassuming the throne he had so long possess'd, penetrated a great way into *Gaul*, with a large body of troops, and proceeded as far as the river *Loire*, ravaging as he went. He defeated the other barbarous nations about *Orleans*, from whence he immediately proceeded to attack *An-*
gers,

gers, which he took and pillaged. In fine, having joyn'd himself to *Odoacre*, who commanded an army of *Saxons*, they made war upon the *Alemanni*, who had seiz'd on one part of *Italy*, and render'd themselves masters of their country. After all these expeditions *Childeric* dy'd in the twenty fourth year of his reign, about the year 481.

Ann. 481.

This is in effect the account which the first of our historians gives us of this Prince. He was bury'd near *Tournay* in a spot of ground now inclosed within the town, where his tomb was found in the year 1653. Let us examine now, whether *Gregory of Tours's* account will afford us any proof that *Childeric* reign'd on this side the *Rhine*. Having seen him advance as far as *Orleans* and *Angers*, we should naturally conclude that his kingdom was on this side the *Rhine*, according to the present method of making war. But this is not the way that we ought to judge of the expeditions of the *Franks*, or of the other barbarous nations at that time: To say nothing of the *Huns*, the *Alains*, the *Vandals*, the *Geppida*, and the rest, whose innumerable armies over-ran great part of *Europe*. It was no extraordinary thing for the people of *Germany* to make excursions two or three hundred leagues from their country; and the *Roman* history informs us more than once, that the *Franks* forcing the passages of the *Rhine*, spread themselves sometimes as far as to the extremities of *Gaul*. We have seen them in the reign of *Gallienus* carry desolation as far as *Spain*; and such was the expedition of *Childeric*, when he march'd to *Angers*.

Greg. Tut.
l. 2.

Aurel. Vict.
c. 1.

This *Odoacer*, King or Duke of the *Saxons*, who, according to *Gregory of Tours*, was at *Orleans* and *Angers* at the same time with *Childeric*, is he not another proof of what I said? was his kingdom on this side the *Rhine*? did he not come from *Germany*? did he keep what he had taken? In a word, that which proves this to be only an excursion of the barbarians, is that *Childeric* neither kept *Orleans* nor *Angers*, nor any place between the *Seine* and the *Loire*, or between the *Seine* and the *Somme*; for those very writers, who suppose *Childeric* to be settled in *Gaul*, affirm, that the first conquest of his son *Clovis* was of the country between the *Somme* and the *Seine*. *In diebus illis*, says *Hincmar*

In vita S. Remigij.

Hincmar, dilatavit rex Clodovicus regnum suum usque Sequanam.

But that which is to be more especially observed here, is, that after the sacking of *Angers*, *Childeric* and *Odoacer* repass'd the *Rhine*, and enter'd into a mutual confederacy against the *Alemanni*, who had taken up their quarters in *Italy*, and reduced them under their subjection. *Odoacrius*, says *Gregory of Tours*, *cum Childerico fœdus iniit, Alemannos, qui Italiam pervaserant, subjugarunt.* For it is evident that this was not transacted on the hither side of the *Rhine*. *Childeric* dy'd soon after. *His ita gestis, mortuo Childerico, &c.*

Lib. 1. c. 29.

The kingdom of *Childeric* in *Gaul*, therefore, is no better proved than that of his predecessors. It can neither be supported by the authority of any contemporary historian, nor even by that of *Gregory of Tours*, whose text, if rightly examin'd, has a quite contrary aspect. It seems then past doubt, that before *Clovis* there was no King of the *Franks* settled in *Gaul*, which is all I contend for.

Other positive arguments.

I shall in the next place confirm all these reflections by the testimonies of some antient historians, who clearly enough describe the epoch of the reign of the *Franks* in *Gaul*; and this shall be the last proof of my proposition.

Cap. 12.

The first is *Procopius* of *Cæsarea*, who lived in the time of *Justinian*, a few years after *Clovis*: He was Secretary to the great *Belisarius*, and attended him in his military expeditions, the history of which he has left behind him for the information of posterity. That which I shall cite from him is taken from the first book of the war of the *Goths*.

“ The *Rhine*, says he, empties itself into the *Ocean*;
“ and in the parts adjoining there are a great number of
“ marshes, where the *Germans* formerly inhabited, who
“ were a barbarous nation, and at that time not very
“ considerable, & initio parum spectata. They are the
“ same that are now called the *Franks*, qui *Franci*
“ nunc vocitantur.

(This is exactly agreeable to *Sidonius*'s account in the passage I have already cited :

*Sic ripæ duplicis tumore fracto
Detonsus Vabalim bibat Sicamber.*

Francorum

*Francorum & penitissimas paludes
Intrares, venerantibus Sicambris.)*

“ The *Arborichi*, continues *Procopius*, who with the
“ other nations of *Gaul*, as well as *Spain*, were part
“ of the *Roman* empire, border’d upon the country of
“ these barbarians : *His finitimis Arborichi accolæ*
“ *erant.*”

(Here we learn where these *Arborici* were seated,
who possessed the country situated between the *Meuse*
and the *Escaut*, and that which lyes between the *Meuse*
and the *Vahal*.)

“ Next to these *Germans* eastward lie the *Thurin-*
“ *gians*, another barbarous people, whom *Augustus*
“ *Cæsar* suffer’d to settle here. Not far from thence
“ towards the South is the country of the *Burgundi-*
“ *ans*, *Burgundiones*.

(Before they enter’d into *Gaul*.)

“ Then come the *Suevi* and the *Alemanni*, each of
“ them a couragious, well-peopled, and free nation,
“ who continued long in those parts. In process of
“ time the *Visigoths* having forced the frontiers of the
“ *Roman* empire, invaded *Spain*, and that part of *Gaul*
“ which lies on the other side the *Rhone*, and made
“ themselves masters of them. We are to observe,
“ that the *Arborichi* fought at that time for the *Romans*.
“ And the *Germans*, that is, the *Franks*, having a great
“ inclination to their country, because it lay very con-
“ veniently in their neighbourhood, and the inhabitants
“ had forsaken the manners and customs of their an-
“ cestors, made frequent irruptions upon them, and
“ attack’d them with all their force. But the *Arborichi*
“ being a brave people, and well affected to the *Ro-*
“ *mans*, defended themselves vigorously, so that the
“ *Germans* were never able to subdue them : *Cumque*
“ *his vim inferre Germani non possent.*

(See how clearly the excursions of the *Franks* under
our first Kings are described, together with the fruit-
less attempts they so often made to get the country
into their possession.)

“ The *Germans* then being unable to reduce these
“ generous neighbours by force of arms, intreated
“ them to look upon them as friends, and to permit
“ both nations to make a mutual alliance, by inter-
“ marrying

“marrying with each other. These offers the *Arborichi* readily agreed to: *Quas non inviti conditiones Arborichi mox accepere.*

(The reason which *Procopius* assigns for the union of these two people, evidently points out the time when that union was made.)

“The *Arborichi*, says he, readily accepted these conditions, because the one and the other were both Christians; *erant enim utrique Christiani.*

Now the *Franks*, as every body knows, were not Christians till the reign of *Clovis*, so that this union could not be made before his time. Till then the *Arborici* continued faithful to the *Romans*, and opposed the *Franks* upon every attempt to issue out of the marches, which they inhabited on the other side the *Rhine*; and when they had forced this barrier, and made some irruptions into the country, they obliged them immediately to repass the *Rhine*. It was not then till *Clovis*’s time, that the *Franks* uniting both their religion and interests with the *Arborici*, took from the *Romans* what remain’d of *Gaul*, as we shall presently see *Procopius* expressly testifying.

There is only one single difficulty to be first removed, which is this; till *Clovis* and the *Franks* passed the *Rhine*, and defeated the *Roman* army near *Soissons*, they were not yet Christians. This I own to be true; but then I answer, that if *Procopius* should be mistaken in one circumstance of his history, which he only mentions occasionally and by the by, this mistake ought not to be drawn into consequence against the rest; and it is nevertheless true, that according to him the *Franks* had been continually driven from *Gaul* as often as they had attempted to make themselves masters of it, till *Clovis*’s time. But we may understand *Procopius* without ascribing this error to him. *Clovis* did not enter into *Gaul* by the country of the *Arborici*, but probably by *Cologne*, where, the history informs us, *Sigebert*, a Prince of the blood of *Clovis*, reign’d in his time; and marching between the *Rhine* and the *Meuse*, he cross’d the forest of *Ardennes*, to attack *Syagrius* the *Roman* General at *Soissons*. Having vanquish’d him, and made himself master of the country, he and the greatest part of his people turn’d Christians. Thus posted as he was upon the *Escaut*, he inclos’d

the

the *Arborici* between himself and the other *Franks* who were seated on the farther side the *Vahal*, cut them off from the *Romans*, and made it very difficult for them to carry on any commerce with each other. This then was the time when they first began to enter into leagues and treaties with one another; and soon after follow'd the union of the two nations, which render'd them a very powerful people. *Eo pacto in unam coacti gentem potentissimi evaserunt.*

In such sort, continues *Procopius*, that the *Roman* Soldiers, who were in garrison upon the borders of *Gaul*, (that is to say, towards the Sea, the *Rhine*, and the *Loire*) being unable to return to *Rome*, and not caring to fly to the *Arians*, who were their enemies (that is to say, into *Italy*, which *Odoacre* the *Arian* King of the *Heruli* had seiz'd;) they surrender'd themselves and the country, together with their colours, to the *Arborici* and the *Franks*. *Se ipsi cum signis & regionem, quam ante servabant, Arboricis & Germanis permiserunt.*

This is the first settlement of the *French* monarchy in *Gaul*, apparently described under the reign of *Clovis*.

What follows deserves to be particularly taken notice of. "As long as the *Roman* empire subsisted, the "Emperors were masters of *Gaul* as far as to the " *Rhine* (so *Grotius* reads the text in the *Greek* manuscripts he made use of for his translation;) but as "soon as *Odoacre* had taken *Rome*, he gave up part "of *Gaul* to the *Visigoths*, &c." Now *Odoacre* was master of *Italy* only in the time of *Childeric*, five or six years before the reign of *Clovis*. The *Romans* then were in possession of *Gaul*, as far as to the *Rhine*, in the time of *Childeric*; and consequently the *Franks* were not in possession of what they had taken under *Clodion* on this side that river.

The second testimony is from *Gregory of Tours*, and it appears to me a very convincing one; it is taken from the first chapter of the fifth book of his history, where speaking of the warmth and violence of the civil feuds between *Sigibert* and *Childeric*, both of them grandsons of *Clovis*, he thus bespeaks them:

"Would to God your Majesties would follow the "examples of your ancestors in making war! and that "by maintaining a mutual peace, you would render
G "your

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“ your selves formidable to your neighbours. Remember *Clovis*, who began the conquest of the kingdom you now possess, [*Caput victoriarum vestrarum*] how many Kings he defeated, how many nations and countries he subdued, without being able to command either gold, or silver, or the least share of those treasures you enjoy. [*Et cum hoc faceret, neque aurum, neque argentum, sicut nunc in thesauris vestris, habebat.*] You have magazines of corn, wine, and oyl, of gold and silver in abundance, &c.” Upon this place of *Gregory of Tours* we may make the following remarks.

Sigibert was King of *Austrasia*, and had the city of *Metz* for the capital of his kingdom. He was in possession of the countries water’d by the *Rhine*, the *Moselle*, and the *Meuse*. *Childeric* was King of the *Soissons*, and had for his share that which is now call’d *Picardy*, a part of the *Low-Countries*, and of *Champagne*. Now if the greatest part of these countries had been in possession of *Clodion*, *Merovee*, and *Childeric*, as is supposed, how is it that *Clovis* began the conquest of them, *Caput victoriarum vestrarum*? But if he receiv’d all, or near all this from his ancestors, how comes it to pass, that he had neither gold, nor silver, nor magazines? To have neither gold, nor silver, nor magazines of corn and wine, suits very well with the character of a barbarous Prince, who pass’d the *Rhine* to settle himself in *Gaul*, but is by no means agreeable to the condition of a King already settled in this fruitful country, which had been in the possession of his ancestors for fifty years before?

Roverius
hist. monast.
S. Joan. Reo-
maensis.

To conclude. The third testimony, with which I shall finish my proofs, is that of *Jonas* disciple of *Columban*, in the life of *St. John*, founder of the abbey of *Montier St. Jean*. He compos’d this life in the time of *Clotaire III.* out of the memoirs of an anonymous author, who himself liv’d yet nearer the time of *Clovis*.

He writes then, that this saint was in being in the time of the Emperors *Valentinian* and *Marcian*, and that he lived till the reign of *Justinian*; and speaking of what happen’d between these two epochs, he has these words, *Quo etiam tempore Franci cum Clodoveo rege, postposita republica, militari manu terminos Romanorum irrupentes Galliam invaserunt*: In that time

time the *Franks*, despising the *Roman* commonwealth, broke through the limits of the empire, pitch'd in *Gaul*, and invaded it under the conduct of King *Clovis*.

Now these words must certainly suppose, that *Clovis* was not yet in *Gaul*; and we learn from other authorities, that in the time of the Emperors above-nam'd, and even at all times, the ordinary epithets of the *Rhine*, with regard to the People of *Germany*, were *Limes Gallicus*, *Terminus Romanorum*, *Rheni Limes*, &c.

In the same history of the monastery of *St. John* there is another very remarkable particular, which entirely confirms what *Procopius* relates concerning the uniting of the *Arborici* to the empire of *Clovis*, as soon as that Prince became a Christian, and of the capitulation and surrendry of the *Roman* garrisons, made at that time to him.

Clovis, in a donation of some lands to this monastery, delivers himself in these terms: The holy man *John* committed this monastery to our protection [*primo nostro susceptæ Christianitatis anno, atque subjugationis Gallorum*] the first year of our conversion to Christianity, which was the very year in which the *Gauls* were subdued.

I say, there is a wonderful agreement between this testimony and that of *Procopius*; for these last words cannot be understood of the inroads of *Clovis* into *Gaul*, because they preceded his baptism several years; nor of the conquests which he gain'd over the *Visigoths* or *Burgundians*, because they did not happen till a long time after his baptism; but they may be very well interpreted of the surrender of those places, which the *Roman* garrisons deliver'd up into his hands, as *Procopius* relates the matter, and of the submission of the *Arborici*, who yielded up themselves to him, as soon as he was made a Christian. *Clovis* look'd upon *Gaul* as subdued, when the *Romans* and the *Arborici* had laid down their arms: *Primo nostro susceptæ Christianitatis anno, atque subjugationis Gallorum*

As for this donation of *Clovis*, there is no reason to suspect it of forgery. Indeed father *Rovere* the Jesuit, who wrote the history of *Montier St. Jean*, had rais'd a scruple against it, and observ'd, that this monastery being in the diocese of *Landgres*, and that city belonging then to the kingdom of *Burgundy*, *Clovis* could

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not make a grant of such lands to it as he had no right to himself.

This is a difficulty from which our author does not very well disengage himself; but it was for want of considering that the monastery of *St. John*, tho' it belonged to the diocese of *Landgres*, was situate at a great distance from that city, and lay much nearer *Auxerre*, which belong'd to the kingdom of *Clovis*, as we learn from the first council of *Orleans*, at which *Theodosius* Bishop of *Auxerre* assisted in the time of King *Gondebaud*, when this Prince reassum'd the possession of all his kingdom of *Burgundy*.

Mr. *Perard*, in his collection of pieces for the history of *Burgundy*, assures us, that the original of this grant is in the exchequer at *Dijon*.

I have nothing farther to add here, but to clear up two or three objections, which I shall do without much trouble.

*Objections
and answers.*

The first is taken from the discovery that was made of the tomb of *Childeric*, in the year 1653, at *Tournay*, wherein were contain'd a great number of curious monuments, most of which are now preserved in the King's library.

There, among other things, we see a large collection of golden bees, a golden pen, and some pocket-books, a globe of crystal, and the figure of an ox-head in gold; some gold and silver medals of the Emperors, who lived before and during the reign of this Prince; some golden rings, upon one of which is a seal stamp'd with his impression; his countenance is graceful, and without a beard; his hair, according to the custom of the Kings of the *Franks* of that time, is long and plaited, separated before, and thrown behind upon his back; round the figure is the name of *Childeric*: Some bones also, which were found pretty entire, denote a tall and lofty personage of about six foot high. Now it is possible that the size and comeliness of this King's person, together with his great courage and intrepidity, may have given occasion to the fabulous and romantick incidents above-mention'd, with which his life is embellish'd.

It may be objected then, that this tomb of *Childeric* being found at *Tournay*, is a proof that the *Franks* were then in possession of that country.

But

But this is a weak objection; for it proves only that *Childeric* came into *Gaul*, which I don't deny, and that he dy'd in one of those expeditions which he and his predecessors had made from time to time on this side the *Rhine*: He was surpris'd with death in *Belgick Gaul*, where his soldiers interr'd him in a great road that led to *Tournay*; just as *Alaric* the Great, withdrawing after he had sack'd the city of *Rome*, was buried by his army in the same place where they encamp'd. This was a common method with the barbarians.

When I say that *Childeric* was interr'd in the great road that led to *Tournay*, I don't speak without warrant. *Marchantius*, the learned Mr. *Chifflet* in his discourse upon the discovery of this tomb, and *Vendelin*, a person very well vers'd also in the antiquities of the *Low-Countries*, assure us of this circumstance. L. 1. Flan-
driz.

But farther; I don't believe that *Childeric* died upon his return from the excursion he had made to the other side the *Loire*; for we have seen that he repass'd the *Rhine* afterwards, and being in league with the King of the *Saxons*, they made war together upon the *Alemanni*. It appears to me therefore most certain, that he return'd into *Gaul*, upon some new enterprize, when he died near *Tournay*.

The second objection seems much stronger at first sight; it is this, that from the time of *Clovis's* attacking *Syagrius* the commander of the *Roman* army, there were some petty Kings in *Gaul* of his family, and in particular one *Ranacaire* King of *Cambray*, who, according to *Gregory of Tours*, came with *Clovis* to mark out the field where the two armies join'd battle. L. 2. c. 27.

Some of our historians have argued zealously upon this bottom, and have believed that *Ranacaire* was a son or grandson of *Clodion*, who in spite of the force and usurpation of *Merovee*, had kept possession of this country, where he reign'd over a party of the *Franks*. If this be the case, it is plain that *Clodion* was first in *Gaul*, and that *Clovis* was not the founder of the monarchy, as I contend he was.

But those who reason in this manner, reason only upon the common prejudice which I'm opposing; and upon supposition that it was the belief and declaration of *Gregory of Tours*, that the Kings of the *Franks* be-

fore *Clovis* were settled in *Gaul*, of which he says not one word; for, as I have already observ'd, he mentions only their excursions, without adding, that they continued in *Gaul*, or made their retreat thither.

But *Gregory of Tours* does say, that *Clovis* approach'd *Soissons* with his kinsman *Kanacaire*, who was also himself a King, [*qui & ipse regnum tenebat* ;] not that he was then King of *Cambray*, as he was afterwards : The historian says nothing of this, but that he was so on the other side the *Rhine*.

The *Franks* were made up of several people; under this name are comprehended the *Bructeri*, the *Catti*, the *Camavi*, the *Ansvarians*, and several others, whose cantons, as *Vignier* with great probability observes, were each of them govern'd by their Chiefs or Kings, but in some dependence on one supreme, who bore the name of King of the whole nation.

A *Saxon* poet, speaking of his country in the time of *Charlemagne*, says, that these people of *Germany* had as many Kings or Chiefs, as cantons.

*Sed variis divisa modis plebs omnis habebat
Quot pagos, tot pene duces.*

Eumenius, in his panegyrick upon *Constantine*, speaks of the Kings of *France* in the plural number; *Reges ipsos Franciæ non dubitasti ultimis punire cruciatibus*; as do also *Nazarius*, *Amianus*, *Marcellinus*, *Claudian*, *Sulpitius*, &c. Those whom *Claudian* styles *Reges*, viz. *Marcomise* and *Sunnon*, *Sulpitius* calls *Francorum Subregulos*, that is to say, subordinate Kings. But I am very much of opinion, that all these Kings of the *Franks*, *Marcomise*, *Sunnon*, *Ricomer*, *Theodemer*, and the rest that are spoken of in these antient writers, were not all of the same family, nor commanded in the same part of the nation.

But to return to those who are mention'd by *Gregory of Tours* in the time of *Clovis*. These petty Princes follow'd this King into *Gaul*, on condition of raising themselves some little principalities, more considerable than those they had on the other side the *Rhine*. *Kanacaire* made himself King of *Cambray*; and, if we may believe *Hincmar* in the life of *St. Remy*, he seems to intimate, that it was not till after the baptism of *Clovis*, that this Prince, continuing always attach'd to the

De origine
Francorum.

Lib. 1. de
Laud. Stilic-
onis.

errors

errors of paganism, fix'd his standard in these quarters, with a part of the army of the *Franks*, who refused to be converted. *Multi denique de Francorum exercitu, necdum ad fidem conversi cum Regis parente Raganario, ultra Summam fluvium aliquamdiu degerunt, donec, &c.*

We find besides one *Sigibert*, furnam'd *le Boiteux*, King of *Cologne*, another nam'd *Renomer* King of the country of *Maine*, another call'd *Cararic* bearing the same character, tho' *Gregory of Tours* does not inform us what quarter of *Gaul* he had his residence in, as he does of the others. *Cararic* was at the battle of *Soissons*, as well as *Ranacaire*.

This Prince was King of *Cambray*, as *Renomer* was King of *Maine*, I mean after they had pass'd the *Rhine* with *Clovis*; for how could *Renomer*, who reign'd in *Maine*, have been able to maintain himself in the middle of all the provinces belonging to the *Romans*, if he had seated himself there before *Clovis* had carried his conquests into those parts? This single reflection shews the truth of my assertion, that these petty Kings were not Kings in *Gaul* till after the conquests of *Clovis*.

I am under no difficulty then with regard to this particular; but the common opinion is upon that account not a little embarrass'd; for, if we examine the matter with any nicety, we shall see it has been the cause of a thousand vain conjectures, which have only serv'd to embroil our histories, and fill them with difficulties.

The third objection is founded upon a paragraph of *Gregory of Tours*, lib. 2. c. 9. where having related all he could find concerning the Kings of the *Franks*, who preceded *Clovis*; and having cited the histories of *Sulpitius*, *Frigeridus*, and *Orosius*, he concludes with a piece of tradition, according to which the *French* came from *Pannonia*. *Tradunt multi, eosdem de Pannonia fuisse digressos; & primum quidem littora Rheni amnis incoluisse* *, *dehinc transacto Rheno Turingiam transme-* * *Al. incubu-*
asse, ibique juxta pagos vel civitates Reges crinitos su- *isse.*
per se creavisse. Many (says he) relate, that the *Franks* came from *Pannonia*, and at first rested upon the banks of the *Rhine*; but afterwards, having pass'd this river, they bent their course to *Turingia*, and there made themselves long-hair'd Kings in several cantons or cities.

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This passage is somewhat intricate, because the way from *Pannonia* to *Turingia* is not over the *Rhine*, that country lying between *Pannonia* and the *Rhine*. Was *Gregory of Tours* then so ignorant in geography, say they, as to fall into a mistake of this nature? we can hardly imagine that he was.

The matter being thus intricate and perplex'd, a manuscript is discover'd, which, instead of *Toringiam*, reads *Tungriam*, and by this discovery they hope to clear up all difficulties. It is affirm'd then, that, according to *Gregory of Tours*, the *Franks* march'd first from *Pannonia* along the banks of the *Rhine*; that afterwards they pass'd the *Rhine*, and proceeded to establish their kingdom in *Tongria*, that is to say, in the country of *Tongres* in *Liege*; and that it was from thence that *Clodion* march'd as far as *Artois*, and extended his conquests to the *Somme*, &c.

This is the system of *Vingnier*, *Vendelin*, father *Jourdan*, and several others, the very reverse of mine, according to which I maintain, that the Kings of the *Franks* always continued on the other side the *Rhine* till *Clovis*.

A discovery of this nature is a treasure for a learned man to found a new and specious scheme upon; but he ought to examine the solidity of it, before he takes upon him to maintain it, and there is nothing of that kind to be found here.

For first, it is a meer tradition, which *Gregory of Tours* relates with abatement and great uncertainty; *Tradunt multi*, &c. He does not deliver it as his own opinion; and it is plainly no other than the opinion of the authors he cites, according to whom, in the passages he produces from them, the *Franks* were always on the other side the *Rhine*, from whence they made their irruptions into *Gaul*, and to whom the *Roman* Generals went from time to time to carry the war, by passing the *Rhine*, and that under the empire of *Honorius*, in the time of *Pharamond*.

Notwithstanding therefore it should be true, that the *Franks* did come from *Pannonia* to the country of *Tongres* an age or two before, yet if we afterwards find them always on the other side the *Rhine*; if according to all these contemporary authors they went to the other side of the river to attack and punish their
Dukes,

Dukes or Kings, if in the same authors there is not the least footstep of the kingdom of the *Franks* in the country of *Tongres*; what foundation can these two lines of *Gregory of Tours* afford for the system of a kingdom of the *Franks* establish'd on this side the *Rhine*?

Secondly, all that I have produced from *Apollinaris*, *Procopius*, and *Gregory of Tours* entirely overthrows this conceit.

Thirdly, *Tongria* is a word no where to be met with in the ancient historians. We find that of *Tongri* indeed, but *Tongria* is to be seen in no other place of *Gregory of Tours*, nor in any of the authors that went before, or came after him; but instead of it we every where read *Toringia*.

But to forego all these arguments, and several others which might be produced, together with the strong reasons urged by Mr. *de Valois* in confutation of this system, tho' it is much of a piece with the rest, that *Clodion* and his successors reign'd on this side the *Rhine*; let us come to matter of fact, and examine the authority of the manuscript itself.

Will this manuscript over-balance the reading of all the other manuscripts, which expressly attest the contrary? Have those, who cry up this discovery, consider'd, that for above a thousand years together, from the time of *Gregory of Tours*'s writing, it has always been read *Toringiam* in this place, and never *Tongriam*?

Fredegarius, who wrote soon after *Gregory of Tours*, keeps close to the words of this historian, whom he epitomis'd, and says, that *Clodion* settled in *termino Toringorum*. The author of the book intitul'd *Gesta Regum Francorum*, delivers himself in the same language, and adds in express terms, that *Clodion* pass'd the *Rhine* to go to the country of *Artois*. The Monk *Roricon*, *Hincmar* in the life of *S. Remigius*, and all the other copiers of *Gregory of Tours*, speak the same words. It is plain then that the manuscripts of this author of a thousand, eight hundred, and six hundred years old have had the same reading that now appears in our printed books.

The manuscript therefore of *Morel*, which reads *Tongriam*, has been made to speak in this manner
by

by the correction of some person of superficial learning, who found himself at a loss to understand the place in *Gregory of Tours*.

But it will be urged, is it possible to believe that *Gregory of Tours* did not know that the way from *Pannonia* to *Turinge* was not over the *Rhine*? Mr. *de Valois*, to get rid of this difficulty, has made another correction in the passage, and says, that *Gregory of Tours* ought to be read *Debinc transacto Mano*, and not *Rheno*, having pass'd the *Main*. This indeed is somewhat more feasible than the other; but, after all, it is no better than conjecture, and a plain contradiction besides to all the manuscripts. For my part, my thoughts of this matter are as follow.

I say, that *Gregory of Tours* has here reported a tradition without examining it, or knowing whether it was true or false; and that this tradition has some foundation, even in that part of it which is false.

Vignier, in his discourse on the original of the antient *Franks* mentions an inscription found in the ruins of old *Beuda* in *Pannonia*, which says, that a legion of the *Sicambri* built a city in that place, which was call'd *Sicambria* after their name.

L. 4. Annal. We learn indeed from *Cornelius Tacitus*, that there were in those parts some of the *Sicambri* in the service of the Emperor *Tiberius*; and *Dion* the historian informs us, that there were also in the same country some of the *Batavi* in the service of the Emperor *Adrian*. And in the antient geographers we meet with a people not far from thence, call'd *Brenci*. Now the *Sicambri* and the *Batavi* were comprehended under the name of *Franks*, as were the *Bructeri*, the *Camavi*, and the rest that inhabited along the banks of the lower *Rhine* and of the *Vahal*. The word *Brenci* has a great affinity with *Franci*.

This may have possibly given rise to the tradition that makes the *Franks* to come from *Pannonia*, how false soever it be in that point. The multitude of barbarous nations which over-ran the empire in the fifth age of the church, the difference and multiplicity of their names, and the obscurity of their original, were then the occasion of all these conjectures concerning the places where they were antiently seated.

For the other point, that the *Franks* pass'd the *Rhine* in their way to *Turinge*, here lies the difficulty. This however is that part of the tradition which is true, and is a fact that happen'd three hundred years before *Gregory of Tours* wrote his history.

Eumenius, in his panegyrick upon *Constantius* and *Zozimus*, about the end of the first book of his history, tells us, that the Emperor *Probus* having conquer'd the *Franks*, agreed to the proposal they made him, of giving them some lands to inherit; that he allow'd them to sit down upon the banks of the *Euxine* sea, whither they were transported, but that soon after their arrival they revolted, and seiz'd a great number of ships which they found near the sea-shore, imbarck'd themselves, and ravaged all the coast of *Thracia*, *Greece*, *Africa*, and *Sicily*, took and sack'd *Syracuse*, and afterwards returned to their own country.

In their way thither they cross'd over *Gaul*, rested upon the banks of the *Rhine*, which is what *Gregory of Tours* means by *Littora Rheni amni incubuisse*, and afterwards bent their course to *Turinge*, which was the frontier of the country of the *Franks* on that side. *Dehinc transacto Rbeno Turingiam transmeasse*. Thus I think we ought to understand the tradition mentioned by *Gregory of Tours*, if it be indeed worth the trouble of an explanation. A word of those who wrote after him, and have placed the *Franks* in *Gaul* before *Clovis*.

These are the very persons who discover the original of our nation in the city of *Troy*, and gravely tell us, that after the taking of that city by the *Greeks*, one part of the inhabitants march'd into *Italy* under the conduct of *Aeneas*, and another to the number of twelve thousand went to fix themselves towards the *Palus Maotides*, where they built a city call'd *Sicambria*; that the *Franks* continued there till the reign of *Valentinian*, and that it was in the time of this Emperor that they arrived at the *Rhine*; and then follows the history of the establishment of *Clodion* in *Gaul*.

Of the authority of the writers that place the Franks in Gaul before Clovis.

The first part of this history is a meer fable, and full of absurdities. The time of the departure of the *Franks* from *Sicambria*, and their arrival at the *Rhine* in the time of *Valentinian* is a glaring falshood; the *Roman* history

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history mentioning the *Franks* as inhabitants of *Germany* from the time of the Emperor *Gallienus*. Can we after this give any credit to that which follows concerning the establishment of the same *Franks* in *Gaul* under *Clodion*, whom the *Roman* history expressly affirms to have been driven thence by *Aetius*, General of the *Roman* army?

In a word, all these writers have commented upon *Gregory of Tours*, who speaks of *Clodion's* entering *Gaul*, but passes over in silence the defeat of this Prince by *Aetius*, which we learn from the history of the empire, and has thereby left room to believe he was settled there. To this falshood these writers, several ages after *Gregory of Tours*, have added an infinite number of others which are universally allowed to be such, and which ought to render their testimony of no authority in the point before us.

As to my new hypothesis, there are some that imagine I have cut off four of our Kings from the first race, viz. *Pharamond*, *Clodion*, *Merovee*, and *Childe-ric*; and look upon this retrenchment as a kind of treason. Thus they pass sentence without the least cognizance of the matter before them. I have not cut off from the first race the four Kings they speak of. It is true, I have made them reign in *France* on the other side the *Rhine*; but they are not the less Kings of *France*, or of the first race, for reigning here, or in *Gaul*. If those who make *Pharamond* to reign over the *Franks* on the other side the *Rhine*, as most of our historians do, are not thought to cut him off from the first race, why will they accuse me of doing so, only because I make him, as they do, to reign on the other side this river, as well as his immediate successors?

Thus you have my opinion, as I think, very solidly confirm'd, according to which *Clovis* was the first of the Kings of the *Franks* who fix'd the nation in *Gaul*, whither all his predecessors had only made excursions, without being able to establish themselves there, being always repulsed by the *Romans*. And this is the reason why in undertaking to write the history of *France* after the establishment of the monarchy in *Gaul*, I begin with *Clovis*.

Those who are offended that I don't begin my history with *Pharamond*, as the writers of the *French* history

story before me have done, may satisfy themselves in this particular from the first and following articles of my historical preface, where they will find all that is considerable, and not fabulous, in the reigns of *Pharamond, Clodion, Merovee, and Childeric*; for I have there touch'd upon all the most important and certain facts of the reigns of these four Princes, and have omitted nothing but fable and fiction, which serve only to corrupt an history.

ARTICLE II.

Of the deposition of King Childeric, father of Clovis, and of the election of Count Gilles, General of the Roman army, to the throne of the Franks in his room.

* **T**HE *Franks*, says Gregory of *Tours*, having de- L. 2. c. 10.
 " thron'd *Childeric* by reason of his excessive de-
 " bauches, chose by common consent Count *Gilles* for
 " their King; this was he who commanded the *Roman*
 " army in *Gaul*.

Against this fact I have hardly any thing to oppose but conjecture and negative arguments, which however may possibly have the same effect upon the mind of the readers, when they shall have examin'd them, as they had upon me. I shall dispatch them in two words.

We hardly meet with any thing more extraordinary, than this election of a General of the *Roman* army by the *Franks*, considering that they were Pagans, jealous of their liberty, and of the glory of their nation, as different from the *Romans* in their manners, government, and customs, as in their religion; their declar'd enemies, and who had a long time been endeavouring to wrest from them a part of *Gaul*. Such an election consider'd in itself looks almost as extravagant as the conduct of the *Turks* some years since would have done, if after having deposed *Mahomet IV.* they had plac'd Prince *Charles de Lorain*, who then commanded the troops of the Emperor in *Hungary*, upon the throne of the eastern empire.

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The more singular this incident was, the more it deserv'd a place in the Imperial history; and yet there is not one word said of it there. It happen'd at a time when the *Romans* were perpetually jealous of their Generals, and above all of those in *Gaul*: Every step they took was then suspected; *Aetius*, predecessor of Count *Gilles*, had been stabb'd upon suspicion of his holding intelligence with the *Vandals*; and others before him had met with the same fate upon the like account. Count *Gilles* was a *Gaul* by nation, belov'd by the people, and an experienc'd soldier. What greater cause of mistrust could this General have given, than to unite in his own person to the command of the armies in *Gaul*, which he is suppos'd to have always retain'd, the regal authority over a warlike people, who had been long formidable to the empire, and, being commanded and disciplin'd by such an eminent leader, would have become invincible. The tyrant *Magnentius*, who with the assistance of the *Saxons* and *Franks* made an attempt to invade the empire in the time of the Emperor *Constantius*, was an example they could not have so soon forgotten.

This was a very nice affair for the Count to manage, supposing he was disposed to continue in his duty. He was under the tyranny of *Ricimer* the Patrician, who made and pull'd down the Emperors one after another, according as they pleased or offended him. And surely if Count *Gilles* had been tempted to ascend the throne of the empire, he had by this means the best opportunity in the world to cause himself to be proclaim'd Emperor. Is it possible then, that an event so surprising, and at the same time so publick, that would naturally have caused so much disquiet, rais'd so many suspicions, given room for so many intrigues, and kept the whole court in suspense, should have escap'd all the historians of the empire, who wrote in that time?

The reign of this General was a reign of eight years, another remarkable circumstance, during all which time he had the command of the Imperial army. But at the end of these eight years the *Franks* revolted from him and forsook him, and we find him reduc'd to the sole quality of General of the *Roman* army in *Gaul*. It is very extraordinary, that these great revolutions, and

surprising

surprising turns of affairs should be forgotten by all the historians that lived at or near that time.

My second observation upon this fact is, that Count *Gilles* was by no means an obscure man, nor unknown to the historians. He is mention'd by several, but they never speak of him but as Count or General of the *Roman* army in *Gaul*, and there is not one of them who makes the least allusion to his title of King.

In the life of *St. Martin*, written in verse by *Paulinus* (not *St. Paulinus* of *Nola*, as some have believ'd, but another of the same name and age) we find Count *Gilles* sustaining with great resolution the siege of *Arles* against *Theodoric* King of the *Visigoths*, and forcing him to break up after a vigorous sally and a great defeat. The honour of this action is ascribed neither to the *Franks*, nor a King of the *Franks*.

Lib. 6.

But it will be said, perhaps, he was not yet King, this action happening but one year after *Childeric* came to the crown; however, without this it is impossible to account for the eight years reign which *Gregory* of *Tours* ascribes to him, and even with it; for *Childeric* began his reign in 458, and Count *Gilles* died in 463; but he must have been King at least when he attended the Emperor *Majoranus* into *Spain* in order to the *African* expedition, which was prevented by the burning of the ships. In the mean time *Sidonius Apollinaris*, tho' he gives us a large catalogue of the different nations *Majoranus* then had in his army, neither names the *Franks*, nor the King of the *Franks*; we find there neither the name of *Franci*, nor those of *Bructeri*, nor any others which this writer and the historians of that time do usually give the *French*.

L. 2. c. 12.
Idacius in
chronico.
Priscus Rhe-
tor.
An. 400.

*Bastarna, Suevus,
Pannonius, Neurus, Chunus, Geta, Dacus, Alanus,
Bellonothus, Rugus, Burgundio, Vesus, Alites,
Bisalta, Ostrogothus, Procrustes, Sarmata, Moschus,
Post aquilas venere tuas-----*

If Count *Gilles* had been then King, would not he have had an entire army of *Franks* under his command? and would he have quitted the kingdom without taking with him the principal officers and the best troops, at a time when he could not but be sensible of the inconstancy of the nation?

Priscus

Priscus Rhetor.

Priscus the Rhetor, whom I have already cited upon another occasion, where he informs us of some important particulars relating to the children of *Clodion*, which no body besides himself has taken notice of, mentions also a very considerable circumstance with regard to Count *Gilles*, whom we are speaking of; he calls him in *Greek* Νυιδος, instead of Αεγιδος, and says, that this Count being incens'd against the *Romans* in *Italy*, that is, against *Ricimer*, who had destroy'd the Emperor *Majoranus*, gave them a great deal of trouble; because, says he, this General was at the head of a great army that had follow'd *Majoranus* into *Spain*, and whose death he had revenged, if the *Goths* had not made a diversion in *Gaul*, and obliged him to go and defend the frontier of the empire against them, where he wrought wonders. In all this we find no mention of any but a *Roman* General, and not the least appearance of a King of the *Franks*, when nevertheless this was a very proper place for relating such a circumstance in.

In chronico.
An. 462.

But if Count *Gilles* was ever King of the *Franks*, he was so, according to *Idacius*, when he gain'd a great victory over the *Goths* in the Province of *Armorica*, where *Frederic*, brother of *Theodoric*, King of the *Visigoths* was kill'd. *Idacius*, who upon this occasion gives him the title of Count and General of both the *Roman Militia*, and informs us withal, that he was a very wealthy man, passes over in silence his royal character. He mentions also this General in two other places; and speaking of his death, he describes him as one whose conduct and courage alone was a sufficient barrier to prevent the inroads of the *Goths* into the lands of the empire. *Quo desistente mox Gothi regiones invadunt, quas Romano nomini tuebatur.*

An. 463.

But what is remarkable, and more than a negative argument, this Count, according to Bishop *Idacius*, who wrote the history of his own time, died in the thirteenth year of the Emperor *Severus*; that is to say, five years after *Childeric* came to the crown of the *Franks* by the death of his father *Merovee*. Where then are those eight years to be found, which *Gregory* of *Tours* ascribes to the reign of Count *Gilles*? I don't know whether I am mistaken, but this collection of proofs which I have here put together, seems, morally speaking, to amount to a demonstration against this historical

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cal paradox of a *Roman* General elected King by the *Franks* of that time.

For my own part I am persuaded, that this apocryphal history has been received without contradiction by our writers of the history of *France*, only because it serv'd to enliven a little the melancholy barrenness of these first reigns, which they have taken a fancy, without any manner of reason or foundation, to place on this side the *Rhine*.

My opinion then is, that this passage of *Gregory of Tours* is only an extract or abridgment of some romance extant in his time, which he took for a true history of the reign of *Childeric*, who govern'd on the other side the *Rhine* near fifty years before he wrote his history.

For if we observe, it is altogether romantick. *Childeric*, while an infant, made a captive, and afterwards rescued by *Viomade*; the character that is given him of a Prince equally brave and amorous; his retiring to the King of *Turingia* after he had been deposed by his subjects; his amours with the Queen of *Turingia*; this Queen, who after his restoration quitted her husband and kingdom to go in search of her lover; the piece of gold that was broken in two, of which *Childeric* kept one part, and the other was sent him by his faithful *Viomade*, to remind him that it was time to return to his kingdom; not to speak of his pretended visions on his wedding-night, which those who make him reign on this side the *Rhine* have added to the short account of *Gregory of Tours*. Without doubt all this has the air of a romance; and I believe that most people will agree with me in my sentiments upon this matter.

The history of the *Franks* at that time might, without any fear of a discovery, be embellished with these kinds of episodes when they were yet in *France*, that is to say, on the other side the *Rhine*, and had very little communication with the *Gauls*, there being no certain accounts to be met with relating to them, till after *Clovis* was settled in *Gaul*: From that time it was easy to know what pass'd among them, from the affairs of the *Burgundians* and *Visigoths*, from the negotiations of their Kings, their marriages and their interests in the wars of *Gaul*. It is not till then, that

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our history begins to be disentangled, and to open a scene worthy of those who desire to be instructed in it.

Thus the two facts I have been establishing in these two articles serve to prove each other. The profound ignorance of the *Gauls* in relation to the affairs of the *Franks* till *Clowis's* time, is an argument that they were not settled there before; and for this very reason, because they were not yet settled there, the facts relating to them ought not to be receiv'd as true, having so small a share of probability as that I have been now opposing. This particular was upon other accounts of such importance, as to have required at all times a place in history; and yet there is no mention of it any where till above an hundred and fifty years after the time in which it is pretended to have happen'd. Lastly, the chronology is not in all respects agreeable to the accounts of contemporary authors.

I conclude with desiring the reader to join with me in this observation, that in discoursing of such facts as these, we are not so much to form a judgment upon the strength of each single proof taken by itself, as upon all together. In matters of this nature, the arguments consider'd separately have for the most part but a bare probability; but when they are taken together in one view, and supported by each other, they produce a different effect in the mind, and form a moral demonstration, sufficient to convince all those who honestly and impartially enquire after truth, and readily embrace it when found.

ARTICLE III.

Wherein that question is discuss'd, Whether the kingdom of France, after the monarchy was establish'd in Gaul, was Hereditary or Elective.

DU HAILLAN, who of all our general historians has made the most remarks upon the facts he has related, explains himself also upon this subject: "After the death of *Clodion* the long-hair'd *Merovee* " was

“ was chosen King by the *Franks*, who reserv’d to themselves the power of electing, banishing, and deposing their Kings. And tho’ the succession sometimes descended from father to son, and from brother to brother, this was not owing to hereditary right, but to the election and consent of the people, who, when they had been well used by a Prince, elected and received his son or brother for their King, in return for the good he had done them.” And elsewhere ‡: “ By these and other examples of ‡ p. 124 the same kind, which the history of *France* is full of, it appears that the Kings of the *Franks* were formerly elective, and not hereditary; nay, and after they became hereditary, and had thrown off the election of the people, there still remain’d a form of election, which is observ’d in their consecration and coronation at *Rheims*, wherein the Peers of *France*, in the name of the Church, Nobility, and People, elect the King there present. But this is only a shadow of the ancient method of electing.” Thus this historian.

Others on the contrary pretend, that the empire of the *Franks* was hereditary, as it is now, from the time that the Kings sons by the law of the nation succeeded their fathers; that in default of male issue the brothers succeeded, and in default of them the next relations. I look upon this second opinion as the true one, and that of *Haillan* as false, at least with regard to the first race, for there seems to have been an alteration in this particular under the second.

The first proof of my proposition shall be taken Proof I.

from the manner in which our antient historian expresses himself upon the partition of the empire of the *Franks* among the sons of *Clovis* after his death. *Clovis being dead*, says *Gregory of Tours*, *his four sons* *Thierri, Clodomir, Childebert, and Clotaire, divided the kingdom between them.* Here is not one word of election; on the contrary, it is expressly said, that they were the sons who divided their father’s kingdom between them. Nothing surely suits better with an hereditary succession than this division, or less with the notion of election. For if an election had interven’d, it would in all likelihood have fallen upon a single person, this being the ordinary method in elective

Lib. 3. c. 1.
Defuncto i-
gitur Clodo-
væo, quatuor
filii ejus
Theodori-
cus, Clodo-
mirus, Chil-
debertus, atq;
Clotarius,
regnum ejus
accipiunt, &
inter se æqui-
lance divi-
dunt.

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states. But let us suppose, that the *Franks* look'd upon the dissolution of the monarchy, and several other inconveniences which thence ensued, as nothing, and resolved to make a division of it, it was necessary at least that the Lords should have first canton'd out the state into four kingdoms, and then that each kingdom should have chosen its King. But there is not the least footstep of this to be found in history, either upon the occasion before us, or any other of the like nature. On the contrary, the historian says expressly, that they were the sons of *Clouis* themselves, who made this partition between them.

Proof II.

A second proof I draw from the manner in which the same empire of the *Franks* was parted between the sons of *Clotaire* I. This Prince had united the whole monarchy of the *Franks* in his own person, and left behind him four sons. *Chilperic*, the youngest, seiz'd the city of *Paris*, designing by that means to secure to himself that part of the kingdom which was call'd the kingdom of *Paris*; but his three brothers join'd together, says *Gregory of Tours*, and drove him from *Paris*, making an equal division of it among themselves; [*inter se divisionem legitimam faciunt.*] The kingdom of *Paris* fell to *Caribert's* share; *deditque sors Cariberto regnum Chilperiti, sedemque habere Parisiis*; that of *Orleans* to *Gontran*, who had formerly had *Clodomire's* part; to *Chilperic* that of *Soissons*, which had belong'd to his father *Clotaire*, and to *Sigebert* the kingdom of *Theodoric*, which had the city of *Metz* for its capital. Besides this way of division, which, as I said, is by no means agreeable to a popular election; besides that this division was made by the Princes themselves, it is expressly declared that they cast lots; than which, what can be less suitable to an election?

Proof III.

The third proof. *Gontran* King of *Burgundy* being left alone after the death of his three brothers, seiz'd on one part of *Chilperic's* kingdom, and on some part of that of *Sigebert*, which he pretended belonged to him in virtue of a treaty he had made with these two Princes his brethren. This Prince had no male issue, but two nephews, *Childebert*, King of *Austrasia* and son of *Sigebert*, and *Clotaire* II. son of *Chilperic*. He made a treaty with *Childebert*, by which he constituted him heir to all his states, just as he was thinking
of

of leaving them to *Clotaire*; and in consequence of this, *Childebert* took possession of the kingdom of *Burgundy* after his death. Is this like the conduct of a Prince in possession of an elective kingdom? Would the people have submitted without opposition to a treaty so manifestly in violation of their own right? Nor can it be said that this was an usurpation of *Gontran*; he was a good and holy Prince, neither very valiant nor ambitious, and even weak in his government and administration.

The fourth proof is, that the sons of the Kings of the first race were called Kings, without being made partners with their father in the throne. This is to be seen in several places of our history; nay, they bore the title of King from their very birth, as we learn from the thirty ninth *Formula* of the first book of *Merculphus*, the title of which runs thus, *Ut pro nativitate Regis ingenui relaxentur*. In this *Formula* the King orders a certain number of slaves belonging to the King's household to be set free, for obtaining of God a long life to the new-born Prince. Nothing can shew more clearly than this, that the birth of the King's sons gave them a right to the kingdom. Proof IV.

A fifth proof is taken from the words of *Agathias* the historian, who, speaking of the death of *Theobald* King of *Austrasian France*, says, that he left no male issue behind him. He tells us, that *after the death of* *Theobald*, *the law of the country called Childebert and Clotaire* (his two great uncles) *to the crown, as being his nearest relations*. It was then the law and proximity of blood, and not election, that regulated the succession of the empire of the *Franks* at that time. Proof V.

But there is a precedent which appears to me demonstrative in the affair before us; it is this. During the space of above three hundred years the crown continued in the same family, as well on the other side the *Rhine* as on this. For from the time of *Pharamond*, who began his reign about the year 420, to 751 or 752, when *Childeric III.* was deposed, and *Pepin* the first of the second race took the title of King, about 331 years, if, according to *du Haillan's* opinion the kingdom was merely elective, and all the other illustrious families among the *Franks* had a right to pretend to it, it is evident they would not have left him

in possession of such an honour and advantage for so long a period; not to mention the danger of a prescription, which was contrary to the particular interests of all these families.

It is for this reason that in *Poland*, where the kingdom is elective, we have seen in our own time different families ascend the throne one after another; and the same thing has been observ'd in other *European* states during the time that they continued to be elective. On the contrary, there is no instance of a different family upon the throne of the *Franks* under the first race; and, which is more remarkable, there is not the least mention in any historian, of any attempt of a different family to get the crown into their hands. In the reign of *Theudoric* I. King of *Austrasia* son of *Clovis*, there was indeed one *Monderic*, an enterprising fellow, who took upon himself the style of King, but it was under pretence of being one of the royal family. So again in the time of *Clovis*'s grandsons, one *Gondeband* came from *Constantinople*, and caus'd himself to be proclaimed King at *Brive-la-Gaillarde*, but it was under pretence of being the son of *Clotaire* I. This example shews, that birth-right alone gives a title to succeed to the deceased King. For if election was necessary to convey a right to the crown, *Gondeband*, tho' he had been certainly the son of *Clotaire*, would not have had an apparent right thereby; because when *Clotaire* was dead, no regard would have been had to him in the election of his successors.

Grimoald alone, who was Mayor of the palace of *Austrasia*, ventured to give his son the title of King of *Austrasia*; but immediately a general insurrection was raised against them both, and the father was taken and imprison'd at *Paris*, where he died, the son banish'd or kill'd, and the kingdom restored to the royal family.

Proof VI.

If the kingdom of *France* had been elective, who should have hinder'd the Mayors of the palace from procuring themselves to be chosen? They had the whole power in their hands under several Kings, were masters of the army, the treasury, and all places of trust and advantage, absolutely disposed of all, and wanted only the name of King and the crown. Why did not they get themselves chosen at the death of

some one of their Kings, instead of placing the brothers or children of these Princes, as yet too young and incapable of governing, upon the throne in their room, as they did?

Would not this reason, drawn from their incapacity by reason of their nonage, have sufficed to exclude them from an elective throne, especially considering how many enemies, or unruly tributaries, were placed upon the borders of *France*?

In the course of the history, we see the descendants of *Pepin* the first down to *Pepin* the third, who was at last King, using endeavours to ascend the throne, and that during the space of above an hundred years. To what purpose all this precaution, artifice, and affected modesty? Nothing was easier than for persons so beset with friends and dependants, to have got themselves chosen Kings, if the kingdom had been elective.

Pepin, the father of *Charles Martel*, invaded the kingdom of *Austrasia*, and made himself Duke of it independent of the King of *France*; but he never durst take upon him the title of King. *Charles Martel* his son, becoming absolute master of this duchy, not only observ'd the same conduct, but was obliged also, in compliance with the inclinations of the *Austrasian Franks*, to set up a King again of the *Merovingian* race, called *Clotaire*, and that too after an *inter-regnum* of seven and thirty years in this part of the *French* empire. Can any thing stronger be produced, to prove that these Princes had by birth an incontestable right to the crown?

The same *Charles Martel*, after the death of this *Clotaire*, acknowledged *Theodoric* of *Chelles*, not only as King of *Neustria* and *Burgundy*, but also as King of *Austrasia*. *Theodoric* being dead, he did not think fit to give *France* even the shadow of a King, as he had hitherto done; but then he forbore to take upon himself the title of King, and to date the publick acts from the years of his government according to the methods of the Kings of *France*. Some charters of that time are now in being, and, among the rest, one of this very *Charles Martel* dated in these terms, *The fifth year after the death of King Theodoric*; and it is by these kind of charters that this general *inter-regnum*

An historical Preface to

in the whole *French* empire is proved, which *Sirmond* and *Petavins* first discover'd in our history.

Pepin, Son of *Charles Martel*, placed *Childeric III.* upon the throne, and afterwards depos'd him to make room for himself. Why did not he get himself chosen without more ado, if the kingdom had been elective?

Proof VII.

L. 2. c. 9.

On the contrary, the *Franks* had long since made a voluntary submission of themselves to the regnant family. *Gregory of Tours* speaks clearly enough to this purpose, tho' upon the single authority of a bare tradition, in the following terms: "Many say, that the *Franks*, after they were settled upon the confines of *Turingia*, made them long-hair'd Kings out of the first and most noble family among them, of which family was *Clovis*." And so true is this, that all the petty Kings of *France*, who pass'd the *Rhine* with him, were all his relations, nor is there one named who was not. *Ranacaire* King of *Cambray*, *Reinomer* King of *Maine*, *Sigebert* King of *Cologne*, and *Cararic*, were all of *Clovis*'s family, none but those of this family being allowed the name of King after the nation had submitted to it. What *Gregory of Tours* relates as a mere tradition receiv'd among the *Franks*, *St. Gregory the Great* expressly affirms. "The Kings of the *Franks* and *Persians*, says he, owe their titles to their birth; *In Persarum Francorumq; terra Reges ex genere prodeunt*. This holy Pope lived in the time of *Clovis*'s grandsons.

Homil. 10.
in Evang.

In a word, what *du Haillan* advances to make his scheme appear probable, can by no means be supported, viz. that the continuance of this succession was owing to the affection of the people, who acknowledged in the person of the sons the benefits they had received from their father. For *Clotaire II.* who at the age of four or five months was own'd as King by the *French* of the kingdom of *Neustria*, was son of *Chilperic I.* and of *Fredegonde*, both of them so extremely hated by their subjects, that for the contrary reason to that of *du Haillan*, he should have been entirely excluded from the succession to the kingdom, which nevertheless was conferr'd upon him. All these observations seem to me to be invincible proofs of my opinion, and to render the other unsupportable.

Hercin

Herein chiefly lies the fault of the historian's reasoning whom I oppose, that he proves the right of the people to elect their Kings from such instances as are by no means proper for his purpose.

His first instance is the imaginary deposition of *Childeric* father of *Clovis*, and the election of *Count Giles*, General of the *Roman* army in his place. His second instance is the offer which the *French* of the kingdom of *Soissons* made to submit themselves to *Sigebert* King of *Austrasia*, at the time when he kept his brother *Chilperic* I. closely besieged at *Tournay*, without any appearance of his being able to escape. He adds the deposition of *Childeric* III. and the raising of *Pepin* the first of the second race to the crown; and lastly, the election of *Hugh Capet*, the first of the third race, in the place of *Charles* Duke of *Lower Lorraine*. These and such like facts, most of which are manifestly instances of force and violence, do by no means prove of themselves the right of the people to depose or elect their Kings. How often have the people, by the direction and encouragement of the great men, or of the enemies of a government, exercis'd these violences against the most lawful and undoubtedly hereditary Kings?

Would it not be exceeding bad reasoning, to conclude from the two famous examples we have seen in *England* during our own time, and from several others mention'd in the history of that island, that the kingdom of *England* was not an hereditary, but an elective state? And yet the arguments produced by this historian, to prove that *France* was an elective kingdom under the first race, are just of the same kind.

I know well, that our antient historians do sometimes make use of the word *election*: For example, the continuator of *Fredegarius*, speaking of *Clovis* III. son of *Theodoric*, says, that the *Franks* chose him King, young as he was; *Clodoveum filium ejus parvulum elegerunt in regnum*. But this way of speaking does not denote such an election as is made formally by votes in an elective kingdom. It signifies at most the unanimous consent of the Lords in those publick assemblies, where, according to the custom of the nation, the Kings were proclaim'd; but such a consent as neither was or could be ever refus'd, being founded upon

Loc. cit.

upon the law, as *Agathias* says, and upon the right of birth, as *St. Gregory*: It was a kind of renewal of the choice the nation had formerly made of the royal house to govern them; and it was made by a new oath of allegiance.

‡The French
is du Tillet's
translation.

I prove what I have been saying in this respect by an ancient ceremonial of the consecration of our Kings, made, according to *du Tillet*, by order of *Lewis* the younger, father of *Philippus Augustus*, and constantly used from that time to this. In one of the prayers pronounced by the Archbishop, who consecrates the King, are these words: ‡ *Multiply the gifts of thy blessings upon this thy servant, whom we with humble devotion have together chosen to the kingdom.* And yet the Archbishop in the course of the ceremony addressing himself to the King, adds, *Be thou firm, and keep long the state thou hast hitherto held, derived to thee from thy father by hereditary right, delegated by the authority of almighty God, &c.* This shews, that the term *election* signifies nothing more upon these occasions than the *acceptance* of the people, and is by no means opposed to the rights and idea that we have of an hereditary crown. It seems certain then, that the kingdom of *France* was not elective in these first times, but perfectly hereditary, and is in its present state exactly conformable to its first institution.

I can't say the same of the second race, where almost every thing we meet with has the marks of an elective kingdom. First, it is certain that *Pepin*, the head of this line, was made King by election, and that by this means the right of the King's sons to the crown of their father was abolish'd, that is, the crown ceased to be hereditary; and it is a question to be consider'd, whether it became so again afterwards.

Secondly, a kingdom becomes hereditary two ways. First, when the people solemnly engage to submit themselves to the government not only of a Prince himself, but to that of his family after him. Thus, according to *Gregory of Tours*, the Franks, after their settlement on the borders of *Turingia*, set over themselves long-hair'd Kings of the first and most noble family among them, of which family was *Clovis*. Thus also in our own time, ann. 1660, the states of *Denmark* secured that crown to the posterity of *Frederic III.*

But

But we meet with no such engagement of the *French* with regard to the second race. *Pepin* was chosen King; but it does not appear that the *French* were under any obligation to preserve the crown in his family; nay, if we do but reflect a little upon what happen'd afterwards we shall see the contrary.

Pope *Stephen* being arrived in *France* to demand succours against the *Lombards*, consecrated *Pepin*, though *St. Boniface* Bishop of *Mayence* had already perform'd that office; and afterwards he gave the royal unction to *Charles* and *Carloman*, *Pepin's* sons. When the ceremony was over, *Stephen* harangued the company, and giving the benediction to the *French* Lords, he exhorted and conjured them by *St. Peter*, whose authority God had committed to him, to maintain the family of *Pepin* in possession of the crown, under pain of interdict and excommunication, so far as *Pepin* and his sons had been raised to the throne by the divine mercy, and by the intercession of the holy apostles, as their election had been confirm'd, and themselves consecrated by the vicar of Jesus Christ. There is not the least mention here of any promise made, or oath taken by the *French* Lords, to continue the crown in the family of *Pepin*; and if there had been any such thing done, the Pope would not have fail'd to have laid it before them. He made use of nothing but exhortation and menaces of spiritual punishments, grounded upon the assurance he gave them, that such was the will of God, and of the apostles *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*.

See Gregory of Tours, p. 991. of Rinnart's edition.

Secondly, after the death of *Pepin*, says *Eginard*, the succession of the kingdom fell to *Charles* and *Carloman* by the will of God, *Divino nutu*, which had been declared by the Pope. The *French* in a general assembly chose them both for their Kings, upon condition that the kingdom should be divided into two equal parts; that *Charles* should have that part which his father *Pepin* had govern'd before he was made King, and *Carloman* that which had been administred by his uncle *Carloman* before his retirement from the world. The conditions were accepted on both sides, adds *Eginart*.

In vita Caroli Magni.

The succession to the crown descended to these two Princes by the divine order; but *St. Gregory*, speaking of the Kings of the first race, says, it came to them
by

by birthright; *Reges ex genere prodeunt*. It was the four sons of *Clowis* according to *Gregory of Tours*, who divided the kingdom between them; here we have the *French* Lords prescribing the division; under the first race, the four sons of *Clotaire* agreed among themselves to divide shares, and drew lots for each of them; here each person's portion is appointed to him, and they are not acknowledged for Kings, but upon condition of contenting themselves with what was assign'd them.

Thirdly, *Pepin*, *Charlemagne*, and *Lewis* the Godly, take their children into partnership with them, or divide their kingdom to them in their life-time, with the consent of the assembly or diets of the state; and for these distributions they required the approbation of the Popes, for whom they had inspired a great veneration into their subjects. So many precautions did they take to secure the crown to their families, which they would not have done, if it had descended to their children in full right.

Fourthly, *Carloman* brother of *Charlemagne* being dead, this latter was immediately chosen King by the subjects of *Carloman*, notwithstanding he left children behind him, who retired into *Italy* to the court of the King of the *Lombards*.

Fifthly, in *Charlemagne's* charter, by which he divided his kingdom between his three sons, and endeavour'd to provide against all inconveniences that might tend to break the peace between them, ordering, that in case one of the three should die, the two others should part his kingdom between them, we have these remarkable words, *That if one of the three has such a son AS THE PEOPLE SHALL BE WILLING TO ELECT, THAT HE MAY SUCCEED TO HIS FATHER'S THRONE, we will that his two uncles give their consent to the election, and permit him to reign in that part of the state which belong'd to his father.*

Sixthly, after the death and a very short reign of *Lewis* the Stammering, grandson of *Lewis* the Godly, *Duke Boson*, brother of the Empress *Richilda*, wife of *Charles* the Bald, got himself chosen King of *Arles* and *Provence* in a council; and this kingdom was of great extent. His example was soon after follow'd by *Rodolphus* Duke of *Burgundia Transjurana*, who took upon him-

self the title of King there. From all these facts it appears, that the *French* empire was no longer look'd upon as hereditary under the second race.

The other means by which a kingdom becomes hereditary, is a very long possession, and a long succession of Princes of the same blood, raised to the throne one after another, which shews the unanimous consent of the people to the perpetuating the crown in the same branch. But this is not to be found in the *Carlovingian* race. For after five generations, that is to say, after *Carloman* son of *Lewis* the Stamining, the crown was transferr'd by election to the Emperor *Charles* the Gross, who was of the *German* branch of *Charlemagne*, and soon after to *Eudes*, then to *Robert*, and last of all to *Rodolphus*, none of whom were of the male race of *Pepin*.

Charles the Simple himself acknowledged *Odo* King of one part of *France* by accommodation; and not only upon this occasion, but after his death also. For he gives him the title of King *Odo* [*Rex*] in a charter, by which he orders, that an anniversary founded by the said King should be observed in *St. Cornelius's* church in *Compiègne*. Mabillon in
diplom. P. 561.

The truth is, that after the death of these three Kings, *Odo*, *Robert*, and *Rodolphus*, the crown descended to *Lois* surnamed *Transmarine*, son of *Charles* the Simple, and to him succeeded his son *Lotharius*, and his grandson *Lewis V.* But two generations are not sufficient to confirm the title of a long possession, which I mention'd before; the house of *Austria* have at present a better prescription to the empire, which nevertheless is not as yet look'd upon to be hereditary.

By these observations we may resolve the question, whether the election of *Pepin*, the deposition of *Childeric*, and the exclusion of the sons of this Prince, were lawfully made. It would not have been safe to discuss this matter in the reign of the Kings of the second race; but we may do it now without any danger, it being not the interest of our present Kings to maintain the validity of this election; an election founded upon a maxim equally false in itself, and pernicious in its consequences to sovereign power; for it supposes a right in the people to withdraw their obedience from their lawful hereditary Prince, and to transfer

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transfer it to another of their own choosing. If then the kingdom of *France* was hereditary, as I have evidently shewn it was under the first race, we ought not to scruple affirming, that *Pepin* had no right to it, but unjustly usurp'd the possession of it from him to whom it was truly and lawfully due by birth.

The like question will occur in *Hugh Capet's* case, with regard to the descendants of *Charlemagne*; but it will be no difficult matter to give a satisfactory answer to it. I say then, first, that tho' it should appear that *Hugues Capet* usurped the kingdom against the rightful successor of the last King of the *Carlovingian* race: Yet possession for eight ages is such a prescription as cannot be gainsaid, and the unanimous consent of the people will perfectly supply all the original defects of this possession, especially considering there is no descendant of *Pepin* the first of the second race in being to claim against him. There is no Prince in *Europe*, nor indeed in the whole world, that can produce a better title.

In the second place I observe, that there is a wide difference between *Pepin* and *Hugh Capet* in this particular: For *Pepin* got possession of a throne that was hereditary, at least after its foundation in *Gaul*; but *Hugh Capet* was advanced to the crown by the votes of the Lords after it was become elective, and was no more look'd upon as hereditary, tho' some Lords, especially in *Aquitain*, maintain'd the contrary. Allowing this, *Hugh Capet* had so much the better pretence to it, because his grandfather *Robert*, and *Odo* his great uncle had sat upon the throne.

When therefore *Hugh Capet* got himself chosen King, the method of election had been introduced in *France*; but he had the best right to it then in being, as he was grandson and grandnephew of a King. From whence it follows, that it would be unjust to treat *Hugh Capet* as an usurper, as some have done, for want of considering those remarkable particulars above-mention'd. There was a great difference between the state and condition of affairs when he ascended the throne, and when *Pepin* got the possession of it.

It is very probable that *Hugh Capet* having confirmed the Dukes, Counts, and the rest of the nobility in their

their usurpations, not only for their own lives, but for their posterity, obtain'd also of them to have the right of succeeding to the crown establish'd in his family; but as he always mistrusted their constancy, he took his son *Robert* into partnership with him. This Prince did the same also with his son *Henry*; and the custom of associating continued to the time of *Philippus Augustus*, who concluding the right of inheritance to be sufficiently settled by regular descent of many Kings his predecessors, who from father to son succeeded *Hugh Capet*, and whose reigns were for the most part very long, gave himself no concern to associate his son *Lewis VIII.* And experience shews he made a true judgment; for this right has been observ'd in *France* for near eight hundred years, with greater exactitude than during the first race, under which it was instituted.



22

A N

ABRIDGMENT

OF THE

History of FRANCE.

The First Race. CLOVIS.

FROM the time of the Emperors *Valerianus* An. 486. and *Gallienus* the *Franks* were settled in Germany between the *Elbe*, the *Rhine*, and the *Neere*. We learn from a medal of *Constantine* the Great, that there was on the other side the *Rhine* a canton which bore the name of *France*. Under the empire of *Theodosius* the younger, the country to which they gave this name extended itself along the *Rhine* towards *Germany*, at least from *Cologne* to near the other side of *Nimeguen*. We see a succession of Kings begin there in the time of *Honorius*, the first of which is *Pharamond*, to whom succeeded *Clodion*, *Merovee*, and *Childeric*.

Tabulæ Peutingerianæ.

Prosper in chronico.

See the Historical Preface.

These Princes from time to time made irruptions into *Gaul*, but none of them fix'd his residence there; and being content with plunder, or beaten back by the *Romans*, as it happen'd to *Clodion* in the plains of *Artois*, they return'd to their own habitations on the other side the *Rhine*, till *Clovis* passing this river at the head of a numerous army, laid the foundation of the *French* monarchy in the great and fruitful provinces of *Gaul*, and erected a kingdom there, the possession of which he transmitted down to his posterity.

An. 486.

Gregor. Turon. l. 2.
cap. 27.

The state of
Europe at
the arrival
of Clovis in
Gaul.

It was in the fifth year of his reign, and the twentieth of his age, that he enter'd upon the execution of this great design. His conquests alter'd the face of affairs in *Gaul*, made the Princes that reign'd there very attentive to observe his steps, fill'd *Italy* with trouble and solicitude, put the Emperors of *Constantinople* upon taking new measures and produced several leagues against him. For this reason it is proper to give a short description here of the state of *Europe*, at least in the principal parts of it, at that time.

Gaul was then divided between the *Romans*, the *Visigoths*, and the *Burgundians*. The *Roman* territories extended themselves along the *Rhine*, and comprehended almost all the provinces between this river, the *Ocean*, and the *Loire*. The *Burgundians* were possessed of the parts between the *Saone*, and the *Rhosne*, and of several towns on both sides these rivers; they were masters of *Lyons*, *Vienne*, and *Geneva*; they spread as far as that which is now call'd *Dauphiny*, the province between *Durance* and the *Rhosne*, and *Savoy*. The *Visigoths* possess'd the rest of the country from the river *Loire* to the *Alps* and *Pyrenees*. *Syagrius* had in a manner the absolute government of what remain'd to the empire in *Gaul*; for the barbarians being masters of *Italy*, this General had no dependance but upon the Emperor of *Constantinople*, who could have but little communication with him either by land or the *Mediterranean*, all the shores of which in *Gaul* were possessed by the *Visigoths*.

The young King *Alaric* had just succeeded his father *Evric* in the kingdom of the *Visigoths*; and the Kings of the *Burgundians*, *Gondeband* and *Gondegesile*, having put to death their other brothers, were in peaceable possession of all the conquests of this nation. *Odoacer* King of the *Heruli* had taken *Italy* from the Emperor, but *Theodoric* the great King of the *Ostrogoths* drove him from thence himself a few years after.

Zenon held the seat of the empire at *Constantinople*, and had *Anastasius* for his successor, who hating the *Franks* less than he hated *Theodoric*, and the other people that had dismember'd the empire, sought the friendship of *Clovis*. In a word, this Prince, then reigning in *France* on the other side the *Rhine*, had but one neighbour who is known to have given him any uneasiness,

as long as he was engaged on this side, which was the King of *Turingia*, whose territories border'd upon *France* between the North and the East. An. 486.

Such was the situation of affairs in *Europe*, and in particular of those in *Gaul*, when the young King of the *Franks* appeared upon the banks of the *Rhine* with a formidable army. It is very probable he passed this river to *Cologne*, which a Prince of his family had formerly besieged and taken, and from thence he set forward for the forest of *Ardennes*.

He went directly to *Soissons*, the ordinary residence of *Syagrius* Governor of *Gaul*, and general of the *Roman* armies, who upon advice of the march of the *Franks*, had drawn up his forces; there they join'd battle, and the *Romans* were entirely defeated. *Syagrius* fled to the *Visigoths*, and went to *Toulouse* to throw himself into the arms of *Alaric* their King.

Clovis's entry into Gaul


Clovis's victory over Syagrius Governor of Gaul.

After this defeat *Soissons* open'd its gates to the conqueror, as did also several other unfenced towns. *Clovis* sent some officers of his army to *Alaric* to demand *Syagrius*, with orders, in case of a refusal, to declare war against him. This haughty conduct gave the first rise to *Alaric's* jealousy, and the hatred which he always after bore to *Clovis*; and here were laid the first seeds of the differences, which afterwards broke out with such an *eclat* between these two young Princes, and were so fatal to *Alaric*. This Prince chose rather to sacrifice the *Roman* General, than to expose his country to the dangers of a war; he deliver'd him up therefore to *Clovis's* messengers, who, after he had kept him some time in prison, beheaded him privately; and, by the death of this captain, destroy'd for ever after the authority of the *Romans* in *Gaul*. This happen'd about 537 years after *Julius Caesar* had made a conquest of it by a six years war.

The death of Syagrius.

The death of *Syagrius* determin'd most of the towns, which were not yet reduced, to acknowledge *Clovis* for their master. All the country as far as the *Seine* was subdued first, and at last the river *Loire*, which had for several years been one of the borders of the *Roman* empire, was wrested from it by this conquest of *Clovis*.

This Prince, who had as much policy as valour, and had a mind to free his new subjects, who were

An. 486.  most of them Christians, from the fear which the notion of a barbarian and pagan master, by whom they saw themselves enslaved, might have possess'd them with, did all that lay in his power after the victory was over, to moderate the license of the soldiers. Tho' he could not prevent their ravaging in the country, nor their pillaging the churches that were most exposed, yet he preserved the larger towns by incamping or marching under their walls without entering them. It was upon this account that he shew'd a particular regard to the city of *Rheims*, treated *St. Remigius* the Bishop of it with a great deal of humanity, and restored him a valuable vessel that had been taken out of the church.

Clovis's moderate conduct after his conquest.

Greg. Tur. l. 2. c. 27.

Clovis having driven the *Romans* from that part of *Gaul* which he had conquer'd, took care to maintain peace with his neighbours for three or four years, in order to secure the establishment of his new empire. But while he apply'd himself wholly in regulating and ordering the affairs of his kingdom, the treachery of one of his neighbours obliged him to take up arms again, and engaged him in a new war.

About the year 491. Greg. Tur. l. 2. c. 27.

It was in the tenth year of his reign, and the fifth of his coming into *Gaul*, that he received the news of an unexpected invasion, which *Bazin* King of *Turingia* had made upon the territories of the *Franks* on the other side the *Rhine*. This Prince taking advantage of the absence of *Clovis*, and the best troops of the nation which had follow'd him, not only made havoc, but also exercis'd unheard of cruelties upon several of those who fell into his hands.

Gesta Reg. Francorum.

But it was not long that he enjoy'd the fruits of this barbarous victory. For *Clovis* repass'd the *Rhine*, invaded and laid waste *Turingia*, and made an entire conquest of it. This is all we know in general of this expedition. But whether *Clovis* came to a composition afterwards, and restored *Turingia*, contenting himself with imposing a tribute upon it; or whether it was retaken in the wars he waged or sustain'd in *Gaul*, it is certain that the sons of this King of *Turingia* were yet in possession of it in the time of *Clovis's* successors, and had several quarrels with them, as we shall see in the course of this history.

Clovis being become more formidable than ever by An. 491. this new victory, returns to *Gaul*, where he thinks of contracting an alliance with some family of the Princes that reign'd there, by a marriage worthy himself. There was an intimate league and friendship between him and *Gondebaud* King of *Burgundy*; and their common interest requir'd it should be so; for both the one and the other had for the frontier of their kingdoms that of *Alaric* King of the *Visigoths*, a much more powerful Prince than themselves. The ambassadors which *Clovis* had frequently residing at the court of *Burgundy*, had several times commended the beauty and virtue of *Clotilda*, and rais'd in his mind an inclination for her. This young Princess was *Gondebaud's* niece, and had lived with him for some years. *Clovis* sent to demand her of him by *Aurelian* a *Gaulish* Lord, whom he had made great use of after his victory to gain the hearts of the people; he was in effect his prime minister, and was made by him Governor of *Melun*, a town at that time of great importance, as being the frontier of the kingdom of *Burgundy*.

Greg. Tur.
l. 2. cap. 28.

Clovis's
marriage-
negotiation.

Gondebaud was disturbed at the proposal; because *Clotilda* was his brother *Chilperic's* daughter, whom he had destroy'd, and usurped his kingdom. This made him afraid, that being married to *Clovis* she would persuade him to revenge her father's death, and demand that part of his kingdom which was due to her by succession. He excused himself therefore at first upon pretence that *Clotilda* being a Christian, and *Clovis* a Pagan, it would be difficult to persuade her to the marriage, and he was resolved not to force her inclinations. But *Aurelian* foreseeing this difficulty, had found means to get a sight of the Princess, and had already obtained her consent: Therefore he answer'd *Gondebaud*, that the obstacle he spake of was no objection, for he was well assured of the Princess's inclination to the marriage.

Gondebaud, in great surprize, offer'd at other excuses, but in vain; for the ambassador told him plainly, that he must resolve to break with his master, if he was determin'd to stand by this refusal, and that he had orders to depart immediately, and take the Princess with him.

Gesta Reg.
Francorum.

Añ. 491.

The reason of his pressing thus to be gone, was because *Clotilda* had inform'd him, that a Lord named *Aredius*, sent embassador from *Constantinople*, was just upon his arrival, who had a great influence upon the King, and being a declared enemy of the house of *Chilperic*, would infallibly put a stop to this marriage, if she was not gone before he came thither.

Gondebaud was more moved at the apprehensions of a present war, than at other more remote dangers, which his wisdom might be able to prevent, and therefore consented in the end to the marriage and departure of *Clotilda*: so the embassador went off with her, having first receiv'd a large sum of money for her portion.

They had yet a great way to the frontiers of *Clovis's* kingdom, when *Clotilda* receiv'd advice of *Aredius's* arrival. She told *Aurelian*, that if he would have her get safe to the country of the *Franks*, they must quit the *basterne*, or chariot wherein she travell'd, which being drawn only by oxen, made but a slow riddance. Upon this they resolv'd to set her on horse-back, and leave a guard with the *basterne*; and then they put on with great expedition, till they reach'd the frontiers of the kingdom.

How necessary this precaution was, appears by the sequel. *Aredius* prevail'd upon *Gondebaud* to alter his mind, by reasons which immediately sway'd him. A detachment of horse is sent after the Princess, which overtook the *basterne*, and carried it back with them, together with the greatest part of the money and other things of value that were in it. This is all the advantage that *Gondebaud* made of his inconstancy, which some time after he paid very dear for.

The danger the Princess had underwent, added greatly to *Clovis's* joy, and the joy of the *Franks* to see her happily arrived. Nor was the opinion which this Prince had conceiv'd of her from the relation of others at all lessen'd by her presence. She made her entry into *Soissons* with all the magnificence and marks of honour which the customs of that time afforded; and soon after the marriage was solemniz'd.

The *Gauls* who had lately been subjected to the government of *Clovis* had particular reasons for satisfaction upon this joyful occasion. They saw a Christian Queen placed upon the throne of their country, which

Clovis's
marriage.

which very much abated their fear of being disturbed in time upon account of their religion. They observed in her all the qualities necessary to win upon the affections, and gain the heart and confidence of the King, and perhaps to wean him from the superstitions of idolatry. And in case she should succeed in so pious a design, they promis'd themselves an advantage which all the other nations conquer'd by the barbarians wanted. All these barbarians, I mean the *Visigoths* and *Burgundians*, were Christians; but then they were infected with the *Arian* heresy; whereas, should *Clovis* be converted by *Clotilda's* means, he would most certainly be a Catholic: for this Princess had the good fortune to be a Catholic, tho' she was brought up in the very midst of *Arianism*. An. 492.

Nor were they deceiv'd in their expectations. The first thing *Clotilda* thought of was the conversion of the King her husband; and to effect this design, she took the advantage of his passion while it was yet warm. According to *Gregory of Tours*, she was sufficiently qualified both by capacity and her knowledge in the Pagan theology, to make her Prince sensible of the vanity and extravagance of it, and at the same time to convince him of the excellency of the Christian religion. But the time was not yet come, which providence had appointed for making *Clovis* the first Most Christian King. It was necessary that a conversion of such consequence as this should be attended with some *eclat*, and with such circumstances as might convince the people it was an act of heaven, and the handy-work of the Most High. However, he readily gave ear to her discourses, which insensibly wrought in him an indifference for the worship of idols, and by little and little lessen'd his aversion to the true religion. Greg. Tur. l. 2. c. 29.

Thus matters stood, when the Princess soon after brought a son into the world, whose birth greatly advanced *Clovis's* affection towards her. He suffer'd her to baptize and educate him in the Christian religion; and at the font he was named *Ingemer*; but, to prove the constancy of the Queen, God permitted him to die soon after. Greg. Tur. l. 2. c. 29.

The death of this Prince had an ill effect upon the King's mind, who could not forbear reproaching her with it; but she asswaged him, and being deliver'd of

An. 494. another son the year following, prevail'd with him to let him be baptiz'd; and he was named *Clodomir*. At last the grace of God produced a change in the King's heart, which happen'd upon the occasion and in the manner I am now going to relate.

An. 495. The *Alemanni*, a People situated between the *Mein*, the *Rhine*, and the *Danube*, seconded by a great body of the *Suevi*, pass'd the *Rhine* some leagues from *Cologne* with a design to drive the *Franks* from the countries they had conquer'd, and to fix themselves there in the room of them. *Clovis* to put a stop to this attempt, march'd with an army to *Sigebert*, King of *Cologne*, and join'd him. They came up with the *Alemanni* at *Tolbiac*, now *Zulpick*, in the duchy of *Juliers*. There they engaged each other; the onset was very terrible, by reason both of the valour of the two nations, and the number of the combatants. *Sigebert*, who sustain'd the first charge of the enemy, receiv'd a wound in his knee, which made him quit the field, and so astonish'd his troops, that they began to give way. The disorder and terror spread itself to *Clovis's* army, who were obliged to sustain the whole fury of the *Alemanni* by themselves. And now every thing appear'd desperatè; but this was the juncture in which God had determin'd to magnify his own power and mercy in favour of this Prince, and to hear the prayers of the holy Queen.

Greg. Tur.
l. 2. c. 30.

Clovis, when he was just upon the last push, made a sudden stop in the midst of the fight, and lifting up his eyes and hands to heaven, address'd himself to his wife's God in these words: "O Lord, says he, whose power I have an hundred times experienc'd to be above all the powers of the earth, and of those Gods I have hitherto serv'd, vouchsafe me one mark of it in the extremity I am reduced to. If thou wilt grant me this favour, I will be baptized as soon as possible, and adore none but thee for the future." He had hardly utter'd these words in the hearing of a great number of his officers and soldiers, but he found himself animated with a new courage, and perceived a proportionable warmth kindled in the heart of those that were about him by the God he had been invoking. Upon this he rally'd his army, march'd immediately to a body of the enemy that was going to inclose him, and

and by that means to compleat a victory, which was hardly disputed with them any where else. He charged them, broke thro' their battalions, and routed them, and then fell upon the other regiments with the same success. This sudden change surpris'd the enemy, and made the *Franks* take heart again, who rallying, made a stand against the *Alemanni*. Upon this the fight was renew'd, and the victory changed sides in a moment. That which confirm'd it to the *Franks* was the death of the *Aleman* King, who was kill'd in one of these last attacks, after which they scarce made any farther resistance.

An. 495.



Epist. Theod.
ad Clodovæ-
um ap. Cas-
siod. l. 2. ep.
41.

Clovis's vi-
ctory at Tol-
biac.

This victory was as advantageous to *Clovis* as he could wish; for now he passed the *Rhine*, and soon after the *Mein*, entred the country of the *Alemanni*, routed all the broken remains of their army wherever he found them got together, made the country tributary, and imposed his yoke upon a nation which the *Romans* were never able to overcome. It is highly probable, that in this same expedition he subdued the *Bajoarij* or *Bavarians*. At least we find soon after, that the descendants of *Clovis* gave Dukes to *Bavaria*, and that *Theodoric* King of *Austrasia*, his son, reform'd the ancient laws of this country, a visible mark of the sovereign power he exercis'd there.

Prof. Leg.
Bavar.

Clovis having no more enemies to struggle with, returned to his kingdom; and as he passed through *Toul*, finding *St. Vedast* in a monastery, where he lived in great reputation for his sanctity, he took him along with him, and became his catechumen in the way.

Vita S. Ve-
dasti, auctore
Alcuino.

Queen *Clotilda* went from *Soissons* as far as *Rheims* to meet him; and as she waited for his arrival, she consulted with *St. Remigius*, the Bishop of that see, what measures she should take for the present instruction and baptism of this Prince.

The Bishop had no need to be very pressing in his exhortations to the King, to be forward in executing a promise he had so solemnly made to God. The greatest part of the army appear'd to have the same disposition. In a word, the baptismal ceremony was perform'd in *St. Martin's* church upon Christmas-day with great magnificence, and according to the usual custom of the church. Three thousand of the most considerable persons of the court and army were baptized the same

Clovis's con-
version.

His baptism.
Avitus in
ep. ad Clo-
dov.

An. 495. same day. This blessing extended itself in a short time to all the royal family, and almost to the whole nation,

The news of this great event soon spread over all Europe. Pope *Anastasius*, just then raised to the apostolick chair, congratulated *Clovis* upon this occasion in a letter, in which he tells him, that he had firm hopes of meeting in his person with a sure prop of the catholick religion.

Indeed he was the only sovereign Prince he could at that time rely upon with any certainty. For the Emperor *Anastasius*, and the Kings of the barbarous nations, were either idolaters or hereticks. *Clovis* alone was a Christian and a Catholick, and upon that account worthy from thence-forward to bear the title of Most Christian, by which he and his successors have always been distinguish'd.

In the mean time, the holy employments to which this Prince after his baptism consecrated the rest of the winter, did not make him neglect the other important affairs of his kingdom, especially those which related to the apprehensions he was under on the side of the *Loire* from *Alaric* King of the *Goths*, a secret enemy to his person, as well as to the nation. As they then stood affected to each other, a very small matter would have sufficed to make a rupture between them; which had certainly been effected, had not *Theodoric* King of the *Ostrogoths* interposed his authority, and suspended the force of their animosities for some time. This Prince's wisdom, age, and reputation gave him a great sway with these young Kings, insomuch that in his letters to them he took upon himself the style of Father, and gave them the name of Sons.

He was indeed a very great Prince; and, excepting heresy, and one or two actions more which tarnish'd a little the glory of his long reign, we may justly say, that he was the pattern of Princes in his time; and in particular, that most of the *politesse* that was at that time seen in the courts of the *Gaulish* Kings, was derived from his, and from the correspondence these Princes held with him, who all had him in admiration.

He moderated then the passion of two Kings, who were upon the point to make war upon each other for some

some very trifling causes; and he effected it, by representing to *Alaric* how dangerous a thing it was for him to bring upon his country so formidable an enemy as *Clovis*; and he gave *Clovis* to understand, that if he did not submit to an accommodation, all the Kings of *Gaul*, and some of those of *Germany*, would form an alliance against him; and for his own part, though he had a great friendship for him, yet he could not dispense with himself from making one with them. The articles of agreement are not mention'd in history; but however, a peace was struck up at last, and a good intelligence, at least in appearance, settled between them.

An. 495.


Epist. Theodorici ad
Clovis. Reg.
Franc. apud
Cassiod. l. 1.
ep. 24.

Clovis laid a great stress upon *Theodoric's* authority; but there might be another reason to determine his conduct in this matter, drawn from the necessity he was under to keep every thing quiet at that time, that he might bring about an affair he was then upon, of great importance to his kingdom. This Prince, when he entred *Gaul*, left that part of *Gallia Belgica*, which now contains *Brabant*, the country of *Liege* to the side of the *Rhine* called the *Vahal*, and a part of *Flanders* to the right. The kingdom of the *Franks* on that side did not reach beyond *Tournay*. He had had his eye a long time upon all that country, which hindered him from uniting the lands of the *Franks* on the other side the *Vahal* to his other conquests. The most considerable of the several people of this country, who had each of them a particular name, were the *Arborici*. They were Christians, as were also the greatest part of the rest of the *Gauls*, and very much attached to their religion. For this reason, rather than any other, they had always kept their faith with the *Romans*. They had driven the *Franks* back, and forced them to repair the *Vahal*, as often as they had endeavour'd to enter *Gaul* this way.

Procopius
l. 1. de bello
Gothico.

But as soon as *Clovis* was baptized, as he knew the difference of religion was that which had given them the greatest aversion to the *Franks*, and had kept them from having any correspondence with them, he sent them word that this obstacle was removed, and represented to them that it was strange, that they who were themselves originally *Franks*, should have such an obstinate aversion to that name and nation; that he had no thoughts

of

An. 495.  of making war upon them, but only desired there might be a good understanding between them; and that, for the better preserving of this, the people might be allow'd to intermarry with each other, and a free correspondence be established between them. The affair succeeded, and in a short time the communication between both nations became very great; and these particular alliances, according to *Clovis's* intentions, insensibly produced a proposal for a general and publick one. This proposal took effect, and both they and their neighbours acknowledged *Clovis* for their King; and the two nations being thus united under one head, says the author of the history of the *Gothick* war, became a very potent state, and formidable to all others.

Clovis's progress in Gaul.

Procop. loc. cit.

But the matter did not stop here; for the *Romans*, tho' inclosed on all sides, had all along kept some stations towards the extremities of *Gaul*, that is, towards the sea, upon the banks of the *Rhine* and some other rivers; they had maintain'd garrisons there, and these were always a refuge for the *Roman* empire in case of any successful revolution. But these soldiers seeing the *Arborici* so solemnly united with the *Franks*, and finding there was no way for them to keep their stand, demanded a capitulation, the conditions of which were these, that they should suffer both them and the inhabitants to live according to their own laws and customs, to dress after their own fashion, and, in case of a war, to carry their own colours. These conditions were accepted, and they surrendered both their fortresses and colours into the hands of the *Arborici* and *Franks*; and thus the whole *Rhine*, from its mouth to beyond *Strasbourg*, and all the country between this river, the sea, the *Loire*, *Bretagne*, and the kingdom of *Burgundy*, was entirely brought under the dominion of the *Franks*.

This union was a stroke of the last importance for the establishment of *Clovis's* empire. By this means he had neither *Romans*, nor allies of the *Romans* to mistrust behind him; and he found himself in a condition not to be under any great apprehension for the future of his neighbours entering into a league, as one of the chief of them, who was upon the point of uniting with *Alaric* against him, experienced afterwards. This was *Gondebaud* King of *Burgundy*, who, while he concerned himself in accommodating the affairs of another,

Procop. l. 1. de bello Gothico.

little

little thought what terrible work was cutting out for him at home. An. 495.

This Prince had destroy'd his two brothers *Gondomar* and *Chilperic* the father of Queen *Clotilda*, in the wars he had with them for their shares of King *Gun-
dovic* their father's kingdom, and had given a small part to the fourth brother named *Gondegesile*, who made choice of *Geneva* for the capital of his kingdom.

But *Gondegesile* was very much discontented, and his displeasure carried him afterwards so far, that he solicited *Clovis* underhand to make war upon *Gondebaud*, offering to become his tributary, if he would assist him in getting possession of all the kingdom of *Burgundy*.

Clovis had too much reason to be dissatisfied on the part of *Gondebaud*, and too much policy to reject this offer; and therefore he assured *Gondegesile*, that he would second him with all his power. *Gondebaud* saw plainly, that *Clovis*'s preparations were design'd against him; and having no mistrust of his brother, desired him to join forces with him. *Gondegesile* gave him his word that he would; and as soon as *Clovis* came into the field, the two brothers join'd together, each at the head of his respective army, near *Dijon*, and march'd in battalia to meet the *Franks*. Greg. Tar.
l. 2. cap. 32.

The charge was given on the banks of the *Ousche*, a small river that runs into the *Saone*. The victory was not long in suspense; for *Gondegesile*, as soon as they came to an engagement, instead of supporting *Gondebaud*'s forces, which *Clovis* had charged with great fury, fell himself upon the flank at the same time, and began to make a terrible slaughter of the *Burgundians*. *Gondebaud*'s army was immediately put to the rout, and almost all cut in pieces; but he himself escaped to *Avignon*, where he shut himself up with such of his troops as he could get together. *Clovis* pursued the victory, and leaving *Gondegesile* to make himself master of several towns that open'd their gates to him, march'd onward to lay siege to *Avignon*. Marius in
Chr. ann.
500.

Clovis's vi-
ctory over the
King of Bur-
gundy.

The siege of
Avignon by
Clovis.

Gondebaud made a vigorous defence for some time; but foreseeing that his provision would soon fail him, he found means to bring *Clovis*, who was wearied out with the length of the siege, to an agreement. By the treaty *Gondebaud* submitted to a perpetual tribute, and Peace between
Clovis and
Gondebaud.

contented

An. 500. consented that *Gondegefile* should continue in possession of several places that he had taken after the defeat of *Ousche*, and particularly of the town of *Vienne*. As for *Clovis*, it does not appear that he reap'd any other advantage by this victory than that of having entirely weaken'd *Gondebaud*, and made two Kings of the *Burgundians* tributary to him. When he departed from *Gondegefile*, he left him five thousand *Franks*, who with this Prince's own standing forces were more than sufficient to have maintain'd him in possession of his conquests. But his own little precaution, and *Gondebaud*'s activity, who, notwithstanding all his oaths, waited only for the departure of the King of the *Franks* to recover his misfortune, soon changed the face of affairs. He surpriz'd *Vienne* by an aqueduct; and *Gondegefile*, who had fled to a church, was killed at the foot of an altar, with one of his *Arian* Bishops that had follow'd him thither. This was the third time that the cruel *Gondebaud* in the same town embrued his hands in the blood of his brethren.

During the slaughter committed in the town, the *Franks* rally'd themselves and seiz'd a tower, where they came to a parley. They obtain'd the grant of their lives, and remain'd prisoners of war. *Gondebaud* sent them to *Toulouse*, either as a present or as a mark of his victory, to *Alaric*; after which he procur'd himself to be acknowledged sole King of *Burgundy*, and declared to *Clovis*, that he would no longer pay him tribute.

Gondebaud might have well expected the resentment of *Clovis*; but he depended upon succour from *Alaric*, and by his means from *Theodoric* King of the *Ostrogoths*. But he was mistaken however. *Clovis*, who was at least as good a politician as himself, broke all his schemes, and brought *Theodoric* into his measures.

If he had had no other motives to offer this Prince but the cruelty of *Gondebaud*, and the treachery and indignity of all his conduct, he had fail'd of success. But he represented to him, that their common interests were jointly concern'd with the justice of the cause; that their states were equally frontiers of the kingdom of *Burgundy*; that the parts of this kingdom which border'd upon the *Alps* lay no less conveniently for the King of *Italy*, than those upon the *Rhone* and the

Saone for the *Franks*; and that by revenging in a just war the death of so many Princes unjustly massacred, both the one and other would reap as much profit as glory. An. 500.

Theodoric suffer'd himself to be tempted by this bait, and concluded an offensive league with *Clovis* against the King of *Burgundy*. But he proceeded with *finesse* and artifice in the execution; and it appear'd by the manner of his behaviour in it, that he rather wish'd to see *Clovis* beaten, than *Gondebaud* depriv'd of his kingdom. He made very slow preparations for this expedition, and *Clovis* had advanced a great way into the kingdom of *Burgundy* before *Theodoric's* army came near it. *Clovis's league with Theodoric against Gondebaud.*

Gondebaud thought it proper to prevent their joining, and immediately offer'd battle to *Clovis*, which he accepted. The fight was obstinate and bloody; but at last the King of *Burgundy* was defeated, and *Clovis* made himself master of several towns. *Clovis's victory over Gondebaud.*

The *Ostrogoths* hearing this news, advanced with great expedition. One of the conditions of the treaty was, that whatever conquests should be made even before the two armies join'd, should be divided between them, only the last comer should pay the other a certain sum of money. This the *Ostrogoths* offer'd to do, which *Clovis*, who saw into *Theodoric's* treacherous designs, would possibly have been in the right to have refused; but he chose rather to keep his word; and his generosity upon this occasion was at least as worthy the notice of the antient historian that informs us of these particulars, as the subtil prudence of *Theodoric*, which he so much extols. But be that as it will, the conduct which *Clovis* observ'd afterwards proves the truth of what the same historian adds, that having thus defeated the *Burgundian* King, he gave himself no great uneasiness about *Theodoric*; but, disregarding both his threats and craft, put the design in execution which he had been thinking of for a long time, of making war upon *Alaric* King of the *Visigoths*. This was one of the most glorious of all his expeditions, which enabled him to extend the bounds of his dominion farther than ever, and made the greatest alteration in *Gaul*.

Procop. l. 1. de bello Gothico c. 12.

Alaric

An. 500.

A comparison
between Clo-
vis and Ala-
ric King of
the Visigoths.

Alaric ascended the throne of the *Visigoths* about the same time that *Clovis* did that of the *Franks*. They were both much of an age; but the rest of their lives had till that time been very different from each other. *Alaric* found a fair country in *Gaul* ready conquer'd and subdued to his hands; but *Clovis* made his way to his kingdom by his sword. The one enjoy'd a constant peace, but the other was always in war. *Clovis* had the reputation of an excellent soldier, successful and victorious in all his undertakings; *Alaric* that of a wise and moderate Prince, who, while the neighbouring states were continually harrassed with civil or foreign wars, preserved his own in quiet and tranquillity: both beloved by their people; both cunning, politick, and contriving Princes; and this was the reason why they came to a rupture no sooner. *Alaric* did not want courage, but he had few opportunities of shewing it, none that could be properly called so, but that which the valour of his enemy furnish'd him with, of dying gloriously, which he refused not to do.

Greg. Tur.
l. 2. c. 35.

Fredegarius,
c. 25.

In the mean time matters did not break out all of a sudden. This great war was preceded by some appearances of a lasting peace. There passed between them several embassies, and the two Kings themselves came to an interview in an isle of the *Loire* near *Amboise*, where they seem'd to be perfectly reconciled. But as it was afterwards discovered, that *Alaric* was treating upon an offensive league with *Theodoric*, and making under-hand preparations for war to surprize *Clovis*, while he amused him outwardly with the appearance of a sincere reconciliation, this Prince not only stood upon his guard, but got the start of him also with his usual promptitude. He entred *Poitou* at the head of his army, and closed in with him at the plain of *Vouillé*.

Greg. Tur.
l. 2. c. 37.

There they join'd battle, and at the first onset the *Visigoths* gave way in some places; but there happen'd an accident, which for some moments put off the defeat.

The two Kings, who marched along the ranks to encourage their soldiers, found themselves at the head of two opposite armies, and acknowledged each other. They did not dally a moment, but advanced, these two alone, and encountred each other in the midst of the field of battle.

Both

Both sides stood still, waiting the event of a singular combat, which was in all appearance to decide the fate of the two nations. They made several pushes at each other, and many blows were given on both sides, which they warded off with their shields; but at last *Clovis*, whether thro' a superiority of strength, artifice, or success, dismounted *Alaric*, and gave him at the same instant a stroke, of which he died upon the spot.

After this there was no great trouble required to finish the overthrow of an army that had already begun to turn their backs.

This famous battle was fought in the year of our Lord 507, the twenty third of the reign of *Alaric*, and the twenty fifth of that of *Clovis*. We may look upon it as the last of the *Visigoths* government in *Gaul*, who after this defeat were able to preserve only a small part of that which they had possess'd there: For *Clovis*, whose victories were never unprofitable to him, having lost scarce any thing, and destroy'd a great number of his enemies, detach'd a large body of his army under the command of *Theodoric* [or *Thierry*] his eldest son, to carry the war into all the country of the *Visigoths*, which lay between the *Dordogne*, the *Garonne*, and the *Rhone*.

This is the first time we meet with this young hero in history, who treading in his father's steps, signaliz'd himself in the conquest of the countries of *Albi*, *Rouergue*, and *Auvergne*, and in general of all the places possess'd by the *Visigoths* on that side, to the frontiers of the kingdom of *Burgundy*. He laid siege also to *Carcassonne*; but *Theodoric* King of *Italy* coming in person to succour that town with a fresh and numerous army, *Thierry* was obliged to raise the siege.

Clovis for his part went on conquering, and brought under his obedience, without hardly striking one stroke, *Touraine*, *Poitou*, *Limousin*, *Perigord*, *Xaintonge*, *Angoumois*, excepting *Angouleme*, which he did not think proper to attack, because there was a large garrison of the *Visigoths* there. He finish'd the campaign with the taking of *Bordeaux*, where he pass'd the winter, and made new preparations for a prosperous entrance upon another.

The spring being come, he took the field, and began with the siege of *Toulouse*, which was the capital of the

The conquests of Clovis and Thierry his eldest son
Greg. Tur. loc. cit.

Procop. l. 1. de bello Gothico.

An. 508. kingdom of the *Visigoths*; this he took, and seiz'd upon the treasures amass'd together there by *Alaric*. He took *Angouleme* also; and from thence, having sent his army into *Provence*, he came to *Tours* to perform his devotions in the church of *St. Martin*.

There was another reason besides, which obliged him to repair to this town; namely, to receive the embassadors of *Anastasius* Emperor of the East, who came to do him an honour, that shew'd the great reputation he had gain'd in the most distant countries, and the idea they had of his person.

Greg. Tur.
l. 2. c. 38.
Clovis is
made Consul
by the Empe-
ror Anastasi-
us, and takes
the title of
Augustus.

The Emperor sent him by these embassadors the marks and ornaments of the Patrician and Consular dignity; a title of great honour and esteem among the Princes of that time, and which *Theodoric* King of *Italy* had himself receiv'd many years before. The ceremony was perform'd with great magnificence, and *Clovis* was vested with the ornaments of his new dignity, having the crown upon his head. From that time he took the title of *Augustus*, as some of his successors did afterwards, as we learn from the golden medals or coins of *Childebert* and *Theodebert*, the first Kings of their name in *France*.

An. 508. These honours paid *Clovis* by *Anastasius* were not the only motive of this embassy; the principal was to engage this Prince to continue vigorously the war against the *Goths*, and to make *Theodoric* some work, to oblige him to leave the empire in peace, wherein he had lately committed some hostilities. The embassadors found him well disposed to comply with the Emperor's intentions; so he dismiss'd them, and parting from *Tours* came to *Paris*, where this same year he fixed the capital of his kingdom.

He makes Pa-
ris the capi-
tal of his
kingdom.

In the mean time the army of the *Franks* invaded *Provence*, and laid siege to *Arles*, but were obliged to raise the siege, having been first beaten by a numerous army, which *Theodoric* King of *Italy* sent to reinforce the town.

The consequence of this victory of the *Goths* was not only the raising the siege, but also the loss of almost all that the *Franks* had taken in *Provence* and *Septimaine* or *Languedoc*.

It is very likely that *Gondeband*, King of the *Burgundians*, took the advantage of this war between the two Kings,

Kings, to recover the possession of those places they had taken from him, either by treaty or by force. For it is certain that this Prince was ever after in possession of all or most of the kingdom of *Burgundy*, and that this state was not united to that of the *Franks* by any lasting establishment till the reign of *Clovis's* sons. However, peace was at last concluded between the *Franks* and the *Ostrogoths*. *Clovis*, by *Theodoric's* consent, remain'd in possession of all he had taken and held to that time; and *Theodoric*, who had it much more at heart to aggrandize his own kingdom, than to relieve his countrymen the *Visigoths*, found a pretence soon after to make himself master of *Provence* and *Languedoc*.

An. 508.
Peace between
Clovis and
Theodoric.

Clovis moreover carried his conquests into the western part of *Gaul*, as far as *Britannia Armorica*. There is a great deal of reason to believe that this happen'd immediately upon the defeat of *Alaric*, or soon after he had made peace with *Theodoric*, who did not trouble himself to oppose him in this enterprize, because it was undertaken in a country very remote from his kingdom. There is no mention of this among the rest of *Clovis's* expeditions in our histories, unless it be in one place of *Gregory of Tours*, which bears some resemblance to it: However, the fact is certain, as we learn from other evidences; and indeed it is supposed in the whole course of the history, which speaks of him as master of *Rennes*, *Nantes*, and *Vannes*.

Clovis's expedition into
Bretagne.

L. I. de Glor.
Martyr. c. 6.

It is certain also, that from this time the Princes of *Britain* laid aside the title of King, and had only that of Count. The imposing this condition upon the *Bretons* by *Clovis*, of not giving their Princes any longer the name of King, was a consequence of the resolution he had taken to deprive all those who had submitted to his empire of the royal style, and to appropriate that privilege to himself. He abolish'd it among the *Alemanni*, from the time that they became his subjects, and they had none but Dukes afterwards. He made the same attempt also upon some Princes related to him, who had erected themselves petty kingdoms within the limits of his jurisdiction, and at last effected it, but by such means as tended to the great prejudice and abatement of his honour.

Greg. Tur.
l. 4. Hist. Fr.
c. 4.

An. 511. There is but little difference between the ambition that makes a hero and a conqueror, and that which makes an unjust usurper. This is the idea the most antient of our historians has given us of *Clovis* in this part of his history. He wrote in the reign and place where one of the grandsons of this Prince govern'd, and we have less reason to flatter him at this time of day than he had then. All that can be said in his vindication is, that these petty Kings carried on intrigues against him; but tho' the fact may possibly be defended upon this consideration, yet the manner in which he destroy'd them cannot be excused from an extremity of violence and cruelty. Some of them he killed with his own hand, and caused the rest to be murder'd upon diverse pretences.

Greg. Tur.
l. 2. c. 42.

Acta Sancti
Fridulini.

He procures
a council to
be held at
Orleans, an-
no 511.
Sirmundus
Concil. Gall.
tom. 1.

It was in all probability to efface these frightful ideas, and make satisfaction to the justice of God, that this Prince employ'd both his thoughts and revenue about this time upon many good and pious designs, and such as tended to the advancement of religion; that he began to erect, or finish'd some churches, and among others that of *St. Hilary of Poitiers*, and to found monasteries; and especially that he assembled a council of the greatest part of the Bishops of his realm, for establishing many important points of ecclesiastical discipline, and for the regulation of the manners of his subjects. For this purpose he made choice of the town of *Orleans*, as being most commodiously situated amidst the other churches. This council was held *anno 511*, in the month of *July*, whereat were present thirty two Prelates, among whom were several that were afterwards fainting by the church. This is the first council that was held in *Gaul*, and under the dominion of the *Franks*, after *Clovis* had conquer'd the countries on the other side the *Loire*.

The Bishops thus assembled, obtain'd of *Clovis* every thing they could wish for the advantage of their churches; and he took such measures for the encouragement and promoting of religion, that it began to flourish more than ever in his kingdom. But the providence, or rather justice of God, cut him off in his prime some months after the council of *Orleans*, in *November*, *an. 511*, the forty fifth year of his age and the thirtieth of his reign. He died at *Paris*, and was buried in the church

church of *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*, now call'd *St. Genevieve*, which himself had built. An. 511.

He was a Prince who signalized himself by his valour and his conquests, more than any of his time; a great commander, happy in the execution of his projects, and regular in his manners; at least, he is nowhere reproach'd in history for any irregularity after his conversion to Christianity. He applied himself to the concerns of government, as well with regard to civil, as religious affairs; prudent and politick, and such a one as knew well how to make his advantage of the proper junctures to improve his power; but of an ambition that knew no bounds, and exceeded all rule. The desire of making himself sole and absolute monarch of all *Gaul* was his governing passion; if he had been able to moderate this, his reputation would have stood clearer, and the end of his life been more innocent; nor should we have blamed in *Clovis* the Christian such cruelties as were opposite to the soft and humane disposition for which he was admired when a Heathen.

THIERRY, CLODOMIR, CHILDEBERT,
CLOTAIRE.

CLOVIS left four sons behind him, *Thierry*, *Clodomir*, *Childebert*, and *Clotaire*, who divided his kingdom between them. Thus this vast state produced four, three of which took the name of their capital. *Childebert* was King of *Paris*, *Clodomir* of *Orleans*, and *Clotaire* of *Soissons*. *Thierry*, the eldest, had the best share; he was King of *Austria* or *Austrasia*, that is to say, of oriental *France* between the *Rhine* and the *Meuse*, the capital of which was *Metz*. We shall see, in the course of the history, what countries each of these kingdoms contain'd. But besides *Austrasia*, *Thierry* had also the territories which the *Franks* possess'd in *Germany*, and moreover a great part of *Aquitain*, that is to say, *Rouergue*, *Auvergne*, *Quercy*, *Albigeois*, and all the country that separates the empire of the *Franks* from *Provence* and *Languedoc*, which the

The division of the kingdom between the sons of Clovis.

An. 512. *Goths* possess'd at that time under the authority of *Theodoric* King of *Italy*.

It was in the reign of these Princes, that that part of *Gaul*, where the *Franks* were settled, began to bear the name of *France*. The fear of a formidable enemy, which the nation had at that time in the person of *Theodoric*, kept these four Princes at unity with each other for some years. For besides *Italy*, where he reign'd, he govern'd also the kingdom of the *Visigoths*, and commanded absolutely there in the name of young *Amalric* his daughter's son, and heir of the deceased King *Alaric*.

This re-union of all the *Gothick* nations had rendred him a very powerful Prince; and he made the *Franks* sensible of it soon after *Clovis*'s death; for he laid hold of this opportunity to seize upon some towns belonging to them, and particularly upon *Rodez*. The war did not last long, and a peace was concluded upon condition that *Theodoric* should keep possession of the towns he had taken.

France had for seven or eight years past enjoy'd the sweets of peace, when a new and unsuspected enemy arose to trouble it. An army of *Danish* pyrates appeared on a sudden upon the *German* ocean, and made a descent upon the lands of the King of *Austrasia*, entred at the mouth of the *Meuse*, and ravaged the country of the *Attuarij* between this river and the *Rhine*. This is now a part of the duchy of *Geldres*. *Thierry* sent his son *Theodebert*, then about eighteen, with a fleet and a land force against them. This young Prince, who afterwards became formidable to the most puissant enemies of *France*, began to shew himself upon this occasion. He defeated the *Danes* both by land and sea, kill'd their King who was call'd *Cochiliac*, seiz'd upon all their booty, and took many prisoners.

The King of *Austrasia*, his father, was then making preparations for a more considerable war. He had entred into a league with *Hermanfroy* King of *Turingia*, against *Balderic* brother of this Prince, upon condition of sharing in the conquest of his part of that kingdom.

He join'd *Hermanfroy* with his army, gave battle to the enemy, and *Balderic* was defeated and kill'd in the fight.

Greg. Tur.
l. 3. c. 21.
Ann. 512.

Gesta Reg.
Francor. c.
19.
About the
year 520.
Greg. Tur.
l. 3. c. 3.
The victory of
Theodebert,
son of Thi-
erry.

About the
year 520, or
521.
Thierry's
league with
the King of
Turingia.

Greg. Tur.
l. 3. c. 4.
About ann.
522.

fight. Upon this all was surrendred to *Hermanfroy*, An. 522. who desired the King of *Austrasia* to permit him to defer the execution of the treaty, for fear of exasperating the *Turingians*; and he dissembled so well, that he perswaded him to withdraw his army from *Turingia*, promising upon oath to restore him in a short time his share of the new-conquer'd country.

He is deceived by Hermanfroy.

But when *Hermanfroy* saw himself in peaceable possession of all *Turingia*, he despised his ally, who, according to the character given him by an ancient historian, was no less cunning and politick than he was a brave and skilful soldier. He dissembled his resentment as long as *Theodoric* uncle to *Almaberge* Queen of *Turingia* lived; but it broke out in a most terrible manner after the death of this Prince, as I shall shew hereafter.

Vir acer & agilis bello, potens & astutus ingenio. Vita Theodorici Abbat. Remensis.

In the mean time *Clodomir* King of *Orleans*, *Childebert* King of *Paris*, and *Clotaire* King of *Soissons* envied their brother the King of *Austrasia*, and *Theodebert* their young nephew, these opportunities of signaling themselves; but one offer'd itself in their favour, which they did not neglect.

Gondebaud King of *Burgundy* had been dead five or six years, and *Sigismond* his eldest son succeeded him in his kingdom. He had married the daughter of *Theodoric*, whose alliance gave him new hopes of security against the attempts of the *Franks*; but the death of the Queen his spouse, and the disorder which that brought upon his family, deprived him of this support. He married a second wife, whose name is not recorded in history. By the first venter he had a son named *Sigeric*, whom his mother-in-law found means to render so odious and suspected to the King his father, representing him as an unnatural son, who envied him both his crown and his life, that he strangled him, having first made him drunk at a banquet. But the young Prince's innocence was soon clear'd, and *Sigismond* underwent a severe penance of several months continuance. But the *French* Kings foreseeing that *Theodoric*, besides the unworthy death of his grandson, would not be very forward to protect *Sigismond*, laid hold of this opportunity to fall upon him.

Greg. Tur. l. 3. c. 5.

Clodomir, *Childebert*, and *Clotaire* pour'd in upon this kingdom with a numerous army, defeated *Sigismond*

Greg. Tur. l. 3. cap. 6.

mond

An. 523. *mond* and *Godemar* his brother in battle, and made themselves masters of one part of the dominion. *Sigismond* falling into the hands of *Clodomir*, was carried prisoner to *Orleans* with the Queen his wife and his two sons. *Childebert* and *Clotaire* having in all probability had some difference with *Clodomir*, abandon'd the design of carrying on the *Burgundian* war any farther. *Godemar* took the advantage from hence to get an army on foot again, and recover'd in a few days all that the *French* had taken.

Passio S. Sigismundi.
Marius Aventicensis
ad ann. 523.
Clodomir
King of Orleans attacks
Sigismond
King of Burgundy, and
kills him.

However, this did not dishearten *Clodomir*, who resolved to continue the war. But before he took the field, fearing lest *Sigismond* with his wife and children should make their escape in his absence, he put them to death by a punishment not unusual in *France* at that time, which was by throwing them into a well. He had engaged his brother the King of *Austrasia* to join with him; but this Prince hearing of the cruel death of *Sigismond*, whose daughter he had lately espoused in a second marriage, kept his word indeed with *Clodomir*, but protested at the same time that he would revenge the death of his father-in-law.

Greg. Tur.
l. 5. c. 6.


Fredegarius
cap. 36.

He gains the
battle of Ve-
seronce from
Godemar
brother of Si-
gismond, and
is kill'd in
the midst of
his victory.

The two armies join'd at *Veseronce*, not far from the *Rhone* and the town of *Vienne*. *Godemar* lost the day there also, but made his escape. *Clodomir*, in the heat of the pursuit, was carried by his horse into the midst of the enemy as they were flying for security, and being discover'd by his long hair, was kill'd upon the spot. *Godemar* having taken off his head, stuck it upon the point of a lance, and having rallied some battalions, retook the field, hoping the death of their King would make the *French* lay down their arms. But the event was quite otherwise. For being animated with a desire to revenge the death of their victorious King, their courage was changed to fury, and falling upon the *Burgundians*, they cut them to pieces, over-ran all the country, and put every thing to fire and sword, and left not this miserable country till they had entirely laid it waste.

Gest. Reg.
Francor.
cap. 21.

Thus *Gregory of Tours* relates the death of *Clodomir*; but *Fredegarius* adds another circumstance, and pretends that he was betray'd by the King of *Austrasia's* auxiliaries, who abandon'd him in the pursuit of the enemy. This agrees well enough with the words which

which *Thierry* let fall at the beginning of this war, that he would revenge the death of his father-in-law. An. 524. 

But be that as it will, this brave Prince perish'd in the very midst of his victory, in the flower of his age, when he could not be above thirty years old, leaving behind him three sons that were minors, to whose disadvantage the other Kings seiz'd each of them such parts of the kingdom of *Orleans*, as lay conveniently for them. Agathias.

While they were busy in dividing the succession, *Godemar* made yet another attempt to recover his defeat, and reconquer'd the realm of *Burgundy*, that is, the greatest part of what the *French* had taken; for there was another breach made there at the same time which it was not in his power to repair. *Theodoric*, who was not willing the *French* should make themselves masters of all the kingdom of *Burgundy*, had possess'd himself of the *Burgundian* towns between the *Durance* and the *Rhone*, which he kept. Epist. Athalarici apud Cassiod. l. 2. ep. 10.

By the observations that may be made upon the history of these times, we see that wars are not always finished by formal and written treaties of peace. Oftentimes the two parties, tired out with the fatigues of the war, repose themselves as it were by concert, and continue as they were. Thus ended this battle between the *Franks* and *Burgundians*.

Gaul was quiet enough for two years, at the end of which happen'd the death of *Theodoric* the Great, King of *Italy* and the *Ostrogoths*, which could not but have some influence upon the affairs of *Gaul*, *Spain*, and *Italy*. The death of Theodoric King of Italy. Marius in chronico.

A Prince of this character and power never dies after a long reign, but the face of the world is changed, at least unless he has a successor capable of preserving matters in the same condition he finds them, and of stifling immediately all the seeds of revolution, which was not the case here. *Theodoric* had no male issue, but only two grandsons by his daughters *Amalasunte* and *Theuducuse*; the first being married to *Eutharic*, of the illustrious family of the *Amales*, to which *Theodoric* himself was related, had by him *Athalaric*; and *Theuducuse* being married to *Alaric* King of the *Visigoths*, who was kill'd at the battle of *Vonille*, had by him *Amalaric*,

An. 530. *Amalaric*, of whom I have already spoken upon occasion of the death of his father.

Theodoric had always designed the kingdom of *Italy*, or the empire of the *Ostrogoths* for *Athalaric*, and the kingdom of the *Visigoths* he had kept for the other. The succession was divided in a very amicable manner. *Athalaric* had besides *Italy* all the countries that depended upon it on that side next the empire of the East, and he reserved to himself *Provence* in *Gaul*. *Amalaric*, besides what belonged to him on the other side the *Pyrenees*, had on this side *Septimaine* or *Languedoc*, and fix'd the seat of his empire at *Narbonne*. *Amalaric* was already of age to govern; and as for *Athalaric*, tho' he was not above nine or ten years old, the *Ostrogoths* made no difficulty to acknowledge him for their King, and consented that *Amalasunte* should have the regency during his minority. She was a Princess of the greatest ability and the most unhappy fortune imaginable. The two greatest enemies she had to fear from abroad, were *Justinian* in the East, who succeeded his uncle the Emperor *Justin* soon after *Theodoric's* death; and *Thierry* King of *Austrasia* in the West; but they had both of them reasons for not meddling with the *Gauls* as yet. *Justinian* design'd to exterminate the *Vandals* in *Africa*, before he undertook the conquest of *Italy*, and *Thierry* was bent upon the destruction of *Hermanfroy* King of *Turingia*, from whom he had always had cause to expect a diversion on this side, in favour of the *Goths*, to whom this Prince had been ever greatly attach'd.

Thierry King of *Austrasia* had always a pretence of war ready at hand with regard to *Hermanfroy* King of *Turingia*, upon account of his infidelity in refusing him his share of the conquest of *Balderic's* dominions after the *Turingian* war. He only waited a proper opportunity to make good his pretensions; and such an one offer'd itself about ann. 531. *Balderic* had now been dead four or five years, and the misunderstanding in *Italy* between *Amalasunte* and the most powerful *Ostrogoth* Lords being then very great, she did not care to embarrass herself with the *French* in favour of *Hermanfroy*.

Thierry engaged his brother *Clotaire* King of *Soissons* in the quarrel; and the two Kings with *Theodebert*, *Thierry's* son, entred *Turingia* at the head of a great army,

army, and offer'd battle to *Hermanfroy*, who accepted and lost it. His defeat was followed with the entire loss of his kingdom, and sometime after with that of his life by *Thierry's* order.

While the Kings of *Austrasia* and *Soissons* signalized themselves at *Turingia*, *Childebert* King of *Paris* was preparing to do the same against the *Visigoths*. The cause for which he denounced war against them was worthy his anger and indignation. *Amalaric* King of the *Visigoths* had married *Clotilda*, sister to these three Princes. The difference of their religion soon broke the good understanding which ought to be maintain'd between man and wife. *Clotilda* was as good a Catholic as *Amalaric* was an obstinate *Arian*. He did all that lay in his power to pervert her; but finding gentle methods unsuccessful, he proceeded to force and violence, and even to blows.

Childebert undertook to revenge this usage of his sister, and march'd into *Languedoc* at the head of an army, where *Amalaric* attended him under the works of *Narbonne*. They join'd battle, and fought obstinately on both sides, but the *Visigoths* were conquer'd. The fruit of this victory was the taking and pillaging of *Narbonne*, and the death of *Amalaric*, in what manner soever it happen'd; for historians, tho' they agree in the fact, do hardly relate one circumstance alike. *Childebert*, after this expedition, return'd to *Paris* with the Queen his sister; but it was not long that she enjoy'd the pleasures of liberty, for she died by the way.

Childebert and *Clotaire*, encouraged by their success in *Languedoc* and *Turingia*, renew'd their old design of conquering *Burgundy*. *Godemar* King of the *Burgundians*, after so many defeats, was now become stronger than ever, having taken the advantage of *Amalasunte's* quarrels with the Emperor *Justinian* to oblige that Princess, partly by intreaty, and partly by threats, to restore him the places which the late King *Theodoric* had for some time before his death detain'd from him. But it was the fate of this Prince to be always beaten by the *French*; and in this first campaign he lost *Autun* and *Vienne*.

The King of *Austrasia* was all this time taken up in reducing *Auvergne* which had revolted from him; and it cost him some time and trouble to effect it.

Thus

An. 531.

The conquest of the realm of Turingia by the French Kings.

Greg. Tur. l. 3. c. 10.

Procop. l. 1. de bello Gothico. c. 13. Childebert's victory over Amalaric King of the Visigoths.

An. 531.

The death of Amalaric.

The Burgundian war.

Greg. Tur. l. 3. c. 1.

An. 533.



Greg. Tur.
l. 3. c. 16.
The cruelty of
Childebert
and Clotaire
King of Soif-
sons to the
sons of Clo-
domir.

Thus ended the year 532. The beginning of the following year we see two of our Kings betray'd by their ambition into one of the cruellest and most barbarous actions that can be imagin'd. *Childebert* and *Clotaire* persuaded their mother *Clotilda* to bring the three sons of their brother *Clodomir* to *Paris*, upon pretence of putting them in possession of their father's kingdom, but in reality to murder them. *Clotaire* stabb'd two of them with his own hand. *Clodoalde* was convey'd away out of the reach of his malice, but afterwards received the tonsure, and took orders when he was of age for them. The church and village of *St. Cloud* is called after him, tho' the name is pretty much disguised, and there he was interr'd, and is honour'd; happy in not having been a King, because that served to make him a saint.

Ibid. cap. 21.
Conquest over
the Goths.

After this massacre *Thierry* and *Clotaire* join'd together to recover the towns which the *Ostrogoths* had taken from them after the death of *Clowis*. *Gunthier* eldest son of *Clotaire*, and *Theodebert* son of *Thierry*, march'd each of them with an army on that side; *Theodebert* took some of the towns, and, among others, *Rodez*.

He summon'd another, called *Cabrieres*, to surrender. This fort or castle belong'd to a Lady of quality, named *Deuterie*. This Lady sent a compliment to him, and told him, that they would make no resistance against so invincible a Prince as himself, but would deliver up the place into his hands. *Deuterie* went to meet him, and by her beauty made a conquest of her conqueror. This Prince kept her with him for some years after as his wife, tho' she had a husband already, who himself some months after married *Visigarde*, daughter of *Vacon* King of the *Lombards*. The court of *France* was at that time extremely addicted to these irregularities.

Theodebert having made himself master of all these places, sat down before the town of *Arles*, which refused to surrender; and he not being in a condition to force it, contented himself with a ransom, after which he withdrew to *Auvergne*, to take up his winter quarters there.

In the mean time *Thierry* being wholly taken up with making great preparations for the conquest of
Provence,

Provence, which the bad state the affairs of the *Ostrogoths* were then in, had made easy for him, fell sick, and died soon after at *Metz*, in the twenty third year of his reign, and about the fiftieth of his age. He was a Prince in whom virtue and vice was so blended together, as to give him a title to a great deal of praise and proportionable censure. He had a mind qualified for governing, as he did with authority, a kingdom great as his own. He lov'd war, and managed it with skill and success, but without giving himself much uneasiness about the justice or iniquity of those he entred upon. The lands he gave to the church of *Rheims* and to the holy Abbot *Theodoric*, are proofs of his piety; but this is a much easier work for a great Prince, than to govern his lusts. He always paid a great respect to St. *Nicetus* Bishop of *Treves*, whom he had raised to that dignity for the esteem he had of his virtue, and as a recompence for the freedom he had sometimes used in reproving his irregularities. He made a kind of body or collection of laws, which contain'd the laws of the *Franks*, *Almans*, and *Bavarians*; for his dominions extended on the other side the *Rhine* over all these people, and even the *Saxons* themselves were his tributaries. He alter'd several of these laws, to accommodate them to certain customs establish'd among his subjects; added others, and retrench'd some, especially such as had any footsteps of Paganism remaining in them. He was an ambitious, hot, and crafty Prince, deceitful and treacherous to excess. In a word, he had several of those qualities which form a great Prince, and at the same time many of those that make an ill man.

As soon as *Theodebert* heard that his father was in danger, he came immediately to *Metz*, and arrived time enough to put an end by his presence to the intrigues that were carrying on in favour of the Kings of *Paris* and *Soissons*, to exclude him from the kingdom of *Austrasia*, which they design'd to get possession of themselves. As soon as *Thierry* expired, he was declared King, and recover'd a good understanding with the two Kings his uncles, by promising them his assistance in the *Burgundian* war, which he perform'd. *Godemar* King of *Burgundy* was not able to withstand such powerful enemies; being at the same time attacked

An. 533.

The death of
Thierry
King of Au-
strasia.
His chara-
cter.
Hermannus
contractus in
Chronico
an. 534.

In vita S.
Theodoric
Abbatis.

Greg. Tur.
in vita S. Ni-
cetij.

Præfatio leg.
Sal.

Greg. Tur.
l. 4. c. 4.

Theodebert
son of Thier-
ry recogniz'd
King of Au-
strasia.

Greg. Tur.
l. 5. c. 24.

The kingdom
of Burgundy
conquer'd and
united to the
French em-
pire.

An. 534.

Procopius
l. i. de bello
Gothico.
Marius A-
vent. in
Chron.

The Romans,
the Visigoths,
Turingia,
Burgundy.

Epist. Justin.
ad Regem
Franc. apud
Procop. de
bello Gothi-
co. c. 5.
The Empe-
ror's league
with the
Kings of
France.

About ann.
535.

tacked in so many different places, he was forced to yield, and after the loss of a battle was taken and imprisoned in a castle, where he ended his days; at least, there is no mention of him afterwards in history. Thus the kingdom of *Burgundy* was united to the empire of *France* near an hundred years after it had been founded in *Gaul*, and the three Kings divided it between them: This was about the year 534.

This was the fourth power that sunk under the efforts of the *French* arms, and the destruction of which rendered them more formidable than ever, not only to their neighbours, but also to the empire itself, the masters of which were obliged to be very cautious in their conduct towards them afterwards, and to endeavour always to bring them into, or maintain them in their interest. From hence came the several treaties, which sometimes the *Goths*, and sometimes the Emperor entered into with the *French* Kings, and especially with *Theodebert*, who seem'd always to be more disposed to make his advantage of them, than to execute them.

Athalaric King of the *Ostrogoths* being dead, worn out, young as he was, with debauches; and *Theodat*, who succeeded him, being soon deposed, and afterwards massacred, the Emperor *Justinian* prepared to make his advantage of the confusions of that state, in hopes of recovering all *Italy*. But to fall upon the *Ostrogoths* with the better success, it was necessary for him to give them some diversion in the West, while he attack'd them with all his forces in the other extremity of *Italy*.

The most effectual diversion he could give them, and that which was most capable of obliging the *Ostrogoths* to divide their attention and their forces, was to set the *French* upon their back. For this purpose he sent ambassadors to the three *French* Kings with rich presents, and a large sum of money to defray the expence of the war, promising a great deal more as soon as he received the news of their being in action. The presents, the money, and the promises were accepted, and the league immediately concluded; but these Princes were in no great haste.

Vitigez was seated on the throne of the *Ostrogoths*; a great soldier, and a man of understanding. He sent ambassadors to these Princes, with more money in all probability

probability than the Emperor had given them, and offer'd to make a cession to them of *Provence* and the other places in possession of the *Ostrogoths* on this side the *Alps*, upon condition of their concluding a league with him. The offers were accepted, and they promised to send him succours, not of the *French*, that they might in some measure save appearances, but of forces levied from among the other tributary nations, who did not march under the *French* colours. Immediately after the conclusion of the treaty, the *Ostrogoths* withdrew their forces from *Provence*, and the other places they had given up to go join *Vitigex*: The *French* Kings took possession of them; and from that time the kingdom of *France* extended itself as far as the *Alps*.

An: 535.
Vitigex King of the Ostrogoths draws off the French from the Emperor.

The kingdoms of France extended to the Alps.

Theodebert, in pursuance of the treaty, sent six thousand *Burgundians*, who assisted him in the recovery of *Milan*, which *Belisarius* General of the Emperor's forces in *Italy* had taken from him. But the year following *Theodebert* acted a part in this country, which neither *Belisarius* nor *Vitigex* did most assuredly expect from him.

Belisarius had a project of besieging *Ravenna*, the capital of the *Ostrogoth* states in *Italy*; but it was necessary for him to take *Osme* and *Fresoli* first. He formed these two sieges at the same time, and posted a body of soldiers at *Tortona*, on this side the *Po*, to observe the enemy, whose army was incamped about *Milan*. *Vrayas*, who commanded the army of the *Goths* about *Milan*, passed the *Po*, and incamped not far from the body that *Belisarius* had posted at *Tortona*. Both kept themselves closely incamp'd, and made no signs of a disposition to engage.

Procopius l. 2. de bello Goth. c. 23.

Some months had now passed, when the *Goths* received advice of a great army of *French* that had entered *Italy*. They were equally surprized and rejoiced at the news; not doubting but the *French*, being inform'd of the extremity to which *Vitigex* their ally was reduc'd, were come to his assistance to help them to drive the *Imperialists* out of *Italy*. But this was no part of *Theodebert's* design: He had left these two nations to contest it with themselves for some time, without giving himself the trouble of executing the treaties he had made with either of them. But understanding they were pretty well weaken'd by their battles

Ibid. c. 25.

An. 535.

Theodebert
enters Italy.He routs the
Romans and
the Goths.Appendix
ad Marcell.
Chroniq.

tles and sieges, he hoped to come upon them by surprise, and at least to have his share of the country they were contending for, if not to give laws to them both.

With this design he put himself at the head of an hundred thousand men, the greatest part of which were infantry, directed his course for *Suze*, entred the country which is now called *Piedmont*, and advanced as far as *Pavia* without committing any waste, and marching as a friend in the country of his allies. The *French* being arrived at *Pavia* were receiv'd by the *Goths* with the greatest demonstrations of friendship and acknowledgment, as the most seasonable succours in the world; and the troops of this nation, which guarded the bridge of the *Po*, suffer'd them to pass over without any resistance. But the *French* having put the guards in this place to the sword, commanded the passage, and march'd directly to the *Gothick* army, encamped not far from thence. *Vrayas* the commander being in the same persuasion with the other *Goths*, suffer'd them to approach and draw up in the plain; but he was strangely amazed, when he saw them march against him in battle array, and charge his people on all sides. The surprize was so great, and the flight so sudden, that the greatest part of them fled cross the *Roman* camp, which, as I said, was posted at *Tortona* to observe *Vrayas's* army. This made the *Romans* believe that *Belisarius* had poured in upon the *Gothick* camp. They prepared themselves to join him, and had already fallen upon the fugitives; but they found themselves charged with so much fury by the *French*, that, abandoning every thing, and throwing down their arms in the field, they fled with all expedition to *Toscany*, where the Generals gave *Belisarius* an account of what had happen'd.

The *French* spread themselves over *Liguria* and *Emilia*, and ravaged wherever they came; and at length having forc'd the town of *Genoa*, they sack'd and destroy'd it.

Belisarius was very apprehensive of having this victorious army upon his heels, and yet more of its falling upon the besiegers of *Fresoli*: but the want of provisions, and the dissensions that arose in the *French* army, deliver'd him from these dangers, and obliged *Theodebert* to return to *France*, leaving only *Bucelin*,

one of his generals, master of some posts on the other side the *Alps*, who continually made irruptions into *Italy*, and sent thence from time to time a great quantity of booty into *France*. An. 535.

In the mean time *Osme* and *Fresoli*, for want of succour, surrendred themselves upon terms to *Belisarius*, who, having drawn together all his forces, went to besiege *Ravenna*, where *Vitigez* had shut himself up: but some unforeseen and extraordinary misfortunes soon reduc'd *Vitigez* to the last extremity.

The Kings of *France* being inform'd of the difficulties *Vitigez* labour'd under, were again in hopes of drawing some advantage from them. They sent a new army to the *Alps*, and embassadors to this Prince to offer him succour. *Belisarius* had notice of it; and to put a stop to a negotiation, which he foresaw would be of dangerous consequence to him, he demanded a conference himself with *Vitigez*, who assented to his demand, and permitted *Theodosius*, this general's comptroller, to enter into the town. The *French* envoys, and those of *Belisarius*, press'd for a dispatch, and some days past before *Vitigez* came to a resolution; but having so often experienced the treachery of the *French*, and especially in the late affair of *Tortona*, he resolv'd not to trust them, and therefore dismissed their embassadors, and determin'd to continue treating with *Belisarius*, who kept him long in suspense; and having set fire to a large magazine of corn, which *Vitigez* had reserv'd for the last necessity, he forc'd him to surrender himself a prisoner into his hands. Belisarius's and the French negotiation with Vitigez.

With the siege ended his kingdom. For *Belisarius* himself carry'd him to *Constantinople*. This was the second royal captive he made a present of to the Emperor his master, having some years before done the same by *Gilimer*, King of the *Vandals*, after the conquest of *Africa*. *Vitigez* pass'd the rest of his days there in the quality of a Patrician, and with a fortune sufficient to satisfy the ambition of any man who had not been a King before. An. 539.

Belisarius during the siege of *Ravenna*, made himself master of the *Apennine* passes, and prevented the *French* from re-entring *Italy*; so that they left the *Greeks* and the *Ostrogoths* to contest it with each other for some time, after *Vitigez*'s departure, without con-

An. 539. cerning themselves with their differences: But it was more difficult at that time than it is now to calm the unquiet spirits of a warlike nation, that cou'd only then endure peace, when they had been well fatigued with war. Having nothing to do abroad, they began to make disturbances at home. *Childebert* and *Clotaire* fell together by the ears for reasons historians have not been pleased to take any notice of; and *Clotaire* went so far in the ravage of his brother's country, that he march'd as far as the mouth of the *Seine*, over against the country of the *Calefes*.

Greg. Tur.
l. 3. c. 28.
Gesta Reg.
Francorum.

The war between Childebert and Clotaire terminated by a kind of miracle.

Childebert assisted by *Theodebert* surrounded him in his camp, and when he was preparing for the assault, there arose the terriblest storm that was ever known.

What is very surprising among other extraordinary circumstances, is, that tho' the two camps lay very near each other, the storm did not reach that of *Clotaire*. This made the two Kings believe it was a stroke of the hand of God to punish them for the malice with which they were exasperated, the one against his brother, and the other against his uncle, and so they struck up a peace. Another proof that this peace was the particular gift of heaven, was the length and continuance of it, for it does not appear that these two Princes were ever after at variance from this time to the death of their nephew *Theodebert*.

About an.
540.

Childebert and Clotaire make war upon the Visigoths.

But as beneficial as this union was to *France*, so fatal was it to the *Visigoths* of *Languedoc* and *Spain*, against whom *Clotaire* and *Childebert* enter'd into a confederacy some time after.

About an.
543.

They invaded *Spain* with a formidable army, took *Pampeluna*, and overran *Hispania Tarraconensis*. They made almost an entire ravage of it, and sat down before *Sarragossa*, but without taking it. Some historians say it was the protection of *St. Vincent*, patron of this city, that preserved it, by infusing a panick fear into the *French* army. And others, that *Theudis*, King of the *Visigoths*, falling upon the *French*, totally defeated them.

About an.
544. The French utterly defeat the Goths near Sette.

The year following they had their revenge in *Languedoc*, took the little town of *Sette*, and having enclosed the army of the *Visigoths* between themselves and the sea, made such a slaughter of them, that hardly one escaped. They were all killed or taken. The

French

French received hardly other any benefit from this victory An. 544.
 than the glory of a conquest: being beaten in *Spain*, and
 conquerors in *Languedoc*, the two Kings came to
 terms, and concluded a peace with the *Visigoths*. Peace is made.

In the mean time the troubles in *Italy* continued.
 The War did not end with *Vitigex's* reign: *Belisarius's*
 departure put a stop to the Emperor's prosperity and
 victories. The avarice and mutual jealousies of the ge-
 nerals that remain'd in command there prevented the in-
 tire destruction of the *Ostrogoths*. They however did
 not reap that benefit from thence which they might have
 done by reason of their divisions. They had three
 Kings one after another in the space of eighteen months.
 The two first were assassinated, but they adhered, and
 with good reason, to the third. He was the famous Marius in chron.
Totila, the only Successor of *Theoderic* that resembled
 him in equity, moderation and prudence, in success,
 courage, and ability in military affairs. He recovered Totila re- stores the af- fairs of the Goths in Italy.
 in a very short time from the *Romans* a great number
 of towns, and several provinces, gain'd battles; and
 made himself master of *Rome*, which he deserted after
 he had pillaged it. It was at this juncture that *Justi-
 nian* and *Totila* endeavoured each of them to draw
 over the *French* to his interest, or at least to prevent
 them from joining his enemy.

It was upon this account that the Emperor, who al- Justinian re- signs Pro- vidence to the Kings of France.
 ways pretended a right to *Provence*, as having been
 dismembred from the empire by usurpers, made a ces-
 sion of it in form to the *French Kings*; agreed that
 these Princes should preside at *Arles* in the *Circensian*
 games, as the Emperors or the Governors of the pro-
 vince that represented them used to do; and that the
 money of the Kings of *France* coin'd in gold, and
 stamp'd with their image should be current in all the
 empire: a privilege which had never till then been
 granted to any Prince, no, not even to the Kings of
Persia. Procop. l. 3. de bell. Goth. c. 33.

Totila for his part, to engage the *French* to him, Ibid. c. 37.
 sent to demand *Theodebert's* daughter in marriage:
 But the embassadors, in opening their orders, gave
 their master the title of King of *Italy*. Upon which
Theodebert made answer, that he did not acknowledge
 him for King of *Italy*, who could not keep *Rome*
 when he had taken it; and that as he design'd his

An. 543

daughter for nothing less than a King, he wou'd not consent to give her to him. The embassadors returned with this rough answer, which so sensibly nettled *Totila*, that he seiz'd upon *Rome* a second time, repaired its breaches, restored the senate, renew'd the shews, and re-establish'd it in all the splendor that the misery of its inhabitants so often besieged, taken and pillaged, wou'd allow of.

But this was not the main cause of *Theodebert's* refusal. He intended, according to his former design, to make his advantage of the troubles of the *Ostrogoths*, and to compass this resolution, he took juster measures than he had done in his first expedition into *Italy*.

About an:

547.

Greg. Tur.

l. 3. c. 32.

Procop. l. 4.

c. 24.

Theodebert's conquests in Italy.

He sent an army thither under the command of general *Bucelin*, who, while the *Ostrogoths* and *Romans* were engaged against each other, seiz'd some towns of *Liguria*, and several other places as far as the country of *Venice*, which separated the *Roman* territories on the sea shore from *Bresse*, *Verona*, and the other inland possessions of the *Goths*. *Totila*, surpriz'd at these sudden conquests, laid hold on this opportunity as a motive to persuade the Emperor to a peace: but not succeeding, he entred upon a treaty with the *French*. It was agreed that each nation should continue in possession of what they held on the other side the *Alps*; that they should no longer look upon one another as enemies; and that if *Totila* shou'd accomplish his design of driving the *Romans* out of *Italy*, he should furnish the *French* with what lay convenient for them, to establish a sincere and lasting peace between them.

A league between the French and Goths against the Emperor.

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This was the point which the *French* had always aim'd to bring the *Goths* to. One of the articles of agreement was, that the *French* shou'd openly break with the Emperor, and besides the succours they sent to the *Ostrogoths* in *Italy* should make a great diversion by the *Danube*. The pretence of this rupture was very specious, and had made terrible work with the Emperor, if *Theodebert* had been at leisure to execute it. *Justinian*, among the other titles express'd in his edicts, has also that of *Francique*, giving us thereby to understand, that he was the subduer and conqueror of the *French*, as well as of the *Vandals*, and the rest from whom he surnam'd himself.

Theo-

The cause of Theodebert's rupture with the Emperor.

An. 547.

Theodebert demanded satisfaction for this injury, and undertook to oblige *Justinian* to renounce this title by carrying the war as far as *Thrace* and *Illyrium*. As he was master of *Bavaria*, and one part of *Pannonia*, as he himself tells the Emperor *Justinian* in a letter to him, this design had nothing of chimera in it; but to facilitate the execution of it, he endeavoured to provoke the resentment of the *Gepides* and *Lombards*, who possess'd the lands of the empire on the other side, by representing to them that the Emperor constantly took the titles of *Gepidick* and *Lombardick* with as much pride, vanity and falshood, as he did that of *Almanick* and *Francique*, and that they were as much concern'd in honour as he was to suffer it no longer.

Apud Andream Duchen.

Thus matters stood, when an unforeseen accident took him off in the midst of these great preparations, being wounded in hunting by a small tree that a buffler broke to avoid the dart with which he was going to pierce him. He dy'd an. 548. of this wound, some say the same day, others of the illness it brought upon him. He was aged between forty five and fifty, and had reigned fourteen years.

The death of Theodebert in 548.

The *French* or *Gaulish* historians, and those of the empire, as well ecclesiastical as prophane, agree in commending him. No body, says an *Imperial* historian, was more brave in the greatest dangers. None of the Princes, whom the *Romans* and *Greeks* called Barbarians, did ever support the dignity of his crown and rank like him; always fought to, and always fear'd by his neighbours, and especially by the Emperor, whom he was upon the point of forcing to deserve or lose the title of *Francique*, which his flatterers had given him. *Marius*, Bishop of *Lausanne*, who lived soon after him, calls him the great King of the *French*. Equal to his grandfather, father, and uncles in valour, without that savageness of disposition, which put them upon so many acts of cruelty. He was benevolent and humane to all the world, to such a degree, that he wou'd out of his own pocket redeem the prisoners taken in war by his soldiers, and restore them their liberty. He gain'd the hearts of his subjects, and had a very feeling sense of their miseries. The passion he had entertain'd for his mistress *Deuteria*, was a slight

Agath. l. 1.

In chron.

Greg. Tur. l. 3. c. 34.

An. 548.



Theodebalde
Son of The-
odebert, and
his successor
in Austrasia.

S. Clotilda's
death.

Greg. Tur.
l. 4. c. 1.

Procop. l. 4.
c. 24.

Narses in
Italy in Be-
lissarius's
place.

of youth, which the regularity of the remaining part of his life made amends for. The Emperor *Justinian* more than once complain'd of his unfaithfulness and disregard of engagements. But that was a vice from which few warlike Princes are exempt, and several have appear'd less to blame, because they cou'd better dissemble it than he. He left no male issue at his death, but *Theodebalde* or *Thibaut*, whom he had by *Deuteria*, and with whom neither *Childebert* nor *Glotaire* attempted to dispute the kingdom of *Austrasia*.

The death of *Theodebert* was soon after followed by that of the holy Queen *Clotilda*. She died at *Tours*, where she had lived for the most part near forty years. She was a Princess as remarkable for piety and zeal, as for her patience in those severe trials by which heaven purified her virtue after the death of *Glovis*.

By the news of *Theodebert's* death the Emperor was not only delivered from the apprehensions he was under from that Prince's great preparations for war, and the leagues that he was forming against him, but had also hopes of bringing the young King of *Austrasia* over to his side, and of recovering what the *French* had taken in *Italy*. Upon this message he some time after sent *Leontius* the Senator into *France*, who cou'd obtain no other answer upon these two points, but that they might have a conference with the Emperor in relation to his pretensions. And in consequence of this, soon after *Leontius's* departure the King made choice of *Leudard*, a *French* Lord, with three other Persons, and sent them ambassadors to *Constantinople*: where they so managed the matter with the Emperor, that the *French* continued in possession of their lands in *Italy*.

But the peace between the Empire and the *French* was of no long continuance. For the Emperor having sent *Narses* into *Italy*, this General gain'd two battles over the *Goths*, in one of which *Totila* their King was killed; and *Teias*, who succeeded in his place, in the other. These two defeats ruined the affairs of the *Goths*, insomuch that they capitulated with *Narses* for the liberty of a secure pass out of *Italy*, by promising not to bear arms for the future against the Emperor. There was but one *Gothick* Captain, nam-

ed

ed *Ingulphus*, who refusing to subscribe so dishonourable a treaty invaded *Pavia*, from whence having infused new life into the rest of his countrymen that inhabited along the *Po*, he sent embassadors into *France* to demand succour against the *Romans*. The King refused to comply with his request, but *Bucelin* and *Leutharis* his two Ministers told them privately at their departure, not to be discourag'd, assuring them that, notwithstanding the King's word, they themselves would quickly follow them at the head of such an army as should soon change the face of affairs in *Italy*. And indeed *Bucelin* and *Leutharis* did in a short time after pass the *Alps* with an army of seventy five thousand men, and being arrived at the *Po*, the *Goths* for the most part, notwithstanding the oath they had taken to make no more war against the Emperor, came and joined them.

An. 548.

Agath. l. 2.

A great army of the French in Italy.

The city of *Parma* received the *French*, who defeated thereabouts a considerable body of the *Heruli*, whose General named *Fulcaris* was killed in the fight. *Bucelin* advanced as far as the city of *Rimini*, near which *Narses* himself killed nine hundred men in a rencounter. And this was the last action of any moment in this campaign of the year 554.

An. 554.

An. 555.

The return of the spring was no sooner come about, but the *French*, who had winter'd in all that part of *Italy* which lies between the *Alps* and the *Apennine* mountain, and along the *Po* as far as to its mouth, took the field, and advanced, ravaging as they went, as far as the streight that separates the continent of *Italy* from *Sicily*. *Leutharis* with one part of the army return'd to the *Po*, to secure the prodigious quantity of booty he had taken, and to give the forces, that were some time after to return and join *Bucelin*, time to rest.

Leutharis's march to the *Po* was not attended with good success: For he was attack'd by a flying squadron of the *Imperialists* and lost a great part of his booty, and most of the prisoners whom he was carrying away in great number.

He had hardly arrived at the quarters in which he had design'd to refresh his army, when the fatigues they had endured, and the excessive heats which then happen'd, produced a plague which almost destroyed them

An. 555. to a man. *Leutharis* himself was seized with it, and died.

The French army is entirely defeated by *Narses* at the battle of *Caslin*.
Agath. l. 2.
Appendix ad Marcel.
Chron.

In the mean time *Narses*, who had suffer'd this torrent to spread as far as the extremities of *Italy*, without being able to put any stop to it, had got his army together again about *Rome*, and for some time intercepted *Bucelin's* provisions, who for that reason was resolved to give him battle. The two armies approach'd each other, and encamped upon the edge of *Caslin*, where they came to an engagement, which was so fatal to the *French*, that of thirty thousand stanch men, of whom his army was yet composed, there were but five soldiers escaped; all the rest being either killed or taken. Soon after, *Hamming*, another *French* Commander in the country of *Venice*, was also cut in pieces by *Narses*. So many losses happening one after another entirely ruined the affairs of the *French* on the other side the *Alps*, and obliged them wholly to abandon *Italy*, whither they did not return for a long time.

The death of the King of *Austrasia*.
Greg. Tur.
l. 4. c. 9.

During these transactions a great change happen'd in *France* by the death of *Theodebalde* King of *Austrasia*, who, while his two Generals were carrying on the war abroad, languished under a palsy for a long time, of which he died in the seventh year of his reign, leaving no other heirs behind him but his two great uncles *Clotaire* and *Childebert*.

At the time of *Theobalde's* death *Childebert* lay dangerously ill. *Clotaire* taking advantage of this opportunity, seized upon the whole succession, and took such effectual measures to secure it, that *Childebert* upon his recovery durst not venture to dispute it with him. His resentment did not hinder him from making a virtue of his necessity, by declaring an authentick cession of all his right to the kingdom of *Austrasia* in favour of his brother, upon pretence of his having no children. But his behaviour to him afterwards, his endeavours to molest and disturb him upon every occasion, sufficiently shew upon what principle he acted in this affair.

Clotaire had always governed his little kingdom of *Soissons* with authority, and kept his subjects and children in perfect submission. He found by his own experience that Princes don't always become more abso-

lute or more happy by increasing their power. The Saxons, who after the reign of *Theodoric* were tributaries to the *French* nation, shook off the yolk; and having engaged *Turingia* in their revolt, ravaged one part of *Francia Germanica*. *Clotaire* march'd against them in person, totally defeated them, and put all *Turingia* to fire and sword.

The Saxons in spite of their defeat revolted a second time the same year, and obliged this Prince to abate somewhat of the hard conditions they had submitted to some months before. He was no sooner returned, than they brought him the news of another revolt, which gave him much more trouble and concern than the two former, because it was excited by one of his own children.

This Prince was called *Cramne*, a name which was never after given to any Prince of the Royal Family, perhaps in abhorrence of the perfidiousness of him who first had it, for which he was at that time compared to *Absalem*. His misbehaviour proceeded so far, that the King his father upon complaint made against him, recalled him from his government of *Auvergne*.

As he knew how much his uncle *Childebert* was disaffected to *Clotaire*, he had recourse to his protection, which was promised him; but *Childebert*, before he declared himself openly, treated with the Saxons to persuade them to a new revolt. *Clotaire* march'd against the Saxons, and sent two of his sons, *Charibert* and *Gontran*, against *Cramne*, who presently forced him to raise the blockade, which he had formed before *Clermont* in *Auvergne*. But he refused to join battle, and spread abroad a report that *Clotaire* was killed in fighting against the Saxons; and bending his course to *Burgundy*, he took *Chalons* upon *Saone*. At the same time *Childebert* entred *Champagne* and ravaged it. *Cramne* went to meet him at *Paris*, where they engaged themselves by an oath not to make peace with *Clotaire*. Our historians are so little exact in this article, that they say nothing of the success of the war against the Saxons, nor of what became of the army of *Charibert* and *Gontran*, nor of what happen'd in the following campaign, which was that of the year 557 or 558. We learn by the chronicle of *Marius de Lausanne* that in the year 556 the *French* lost some of *Theodebert's*

An. 555.

Greg. Tur.
l. 4. c. 10,
14.

An. 556.

The revolt
of the Saxons
from Clo-
taire.

The revolt of
one of his
sons named
Cramne.

Greg. Tur.
l. 4. c. 9.

Appendix
ad Chron.
Marcel.

Childebert
supports the
Prince in his
revolt.

Greg. Tur.
l. 4. c. 17.

An. 557. &
558.
Marius in
Chron.

An. 558. *odebert's conquests in Italy, by which we are without doubt to understand some places among the Alps, which were retain'd after the defeat at Casilin.*

The death of
Childebert.
His character.

In the mean time *Childebert* died an. 558. in the forty seventh year of his reign. He was buried in the church of *St. Vincent*, which himself had built. This is now the monastery of *S. Germain des Prez*. France is full of such marks of his piety. Four councils held at *Orleans*, one at *Arles* and two at *Paris* in his reign, shew plainly how much he had at heart the business of religion, and well ordering the lives of his subjects. In this history we have proofs of his valour, he was beloved by his subjects, and *Paris* was greatly afflicted at his death. We can't much reproach him with cruelty, in relation to the share he had in the death of the sons of *Clodomir*, his nephews. Ambition put him upon a resolution to commit this crime, but compassion wou'd not let him go thro' with it, and if *Clotaire* wou'd have hearkned to him, it had not been done.

Fortunat. l.
6. carm. 4.
& 8.

In fine, the war which he carried into the very midst of *Spain*, the conquest of *Burgundy*, and the battle of *Narbonne*, which he gain'd against *Amalaric*, are illustrious proofs of the courage of this Prince, and add to the praise of his earnest endeavours to preserve his kingdom in peace during the long period of his reign.

Clotaire
Monarch of
the French
empire.

Clotaire by this death found himself sole master of all the *French* empire.

Greg. Tur.
l. 4. c. 20.

At the same time ended the civil war, and *Cramne* having lost his support, was obliged to have recourse to his father's mercy, who pardoned him. But his unquiet spirit engaged him in new intrigues, and gave his father fresh provocation against him; but when he was just upon the point of being seized, he escaped with his wife and daughters to the Earl of *Bretagne* named *Conomor* or *Conobert*. *Clotaire* pursued him thither attended with his son *Chilperic*, and gave him battle. History says that the King at the beginning of the fight addressed himself to God, and cryed out aloud, *O Lord, be thou the judge of my cause, and assist David against Absalom*. God heard him; the *Bretons* were defeated, and the Earl himself destroyed; and *Cramne* being shut up in a country-cottage, which they set on fire, was burnt with all his family.

He defeats
the army
of the rebel
Prince, who
perishes mi-
serably.

The King, after this fatal victory, returned into *An. 558.*
France, by *Tours*, where he made great presents to the
 tomb of *St. Martin*, and the year following, just as
 he began to enjoy the tranquillity which he had settled
 thro' out his empire, he was taken ill of a fever, as
 he was hunting in the forest of *Cuise*. They carried
 him to *Compiègne*, which was then no more than a
 pleasure-house, where he dyed in the fifty first year of
 his reign, a year and one day after the battle of *Bre-*
tagne. A little before he died, he utter'd these words,
 which had been much more proper for his meditation
 during his life, than to wait for the pronouncing of
 them at this terrible moment. *How great,* cried he
 groaning, *must the power of this King of heaven be,*
who destroys, whenever he pleases, the greatest Kings
upon earth? At his return from the expedition into
Bretagne, as he was performing his devotions in the
 church of *St. Martin*, he shew'd a very sensible con-
 trition for the sins of his past life, and intreated that
 Saint to obtain mercy of God for him. And indeed
 he had great need of it. For there never sat upon the
 throne of *France* a more dissolute Prince than himself,
 or one that was less ashamed of his irregularities. He
 was a publick adulterer, and had two or three wives
 at once, to whom he gave equally the title of Queen
 and Spouse; he was crafty, cruel, and bloody, having
 scarce any good quality but that of valour, intrepidity,
 and a talent for war, which was inherited in common
 by all the sons of *Clovis*. He was buried at *Soissons* in
 a church which he had begun to build there in honour
 of *S. Medard*. He left four sons, who were all that
 remained of a great number he had had by all his
 wives. Their names were *Chilperic*, *Charibert*, *Gon-*
tran, and *Sigebert*.

ibid. c. 21.

About the
year 562.The death of
Clotaire.This Prince's
qualities.

CHARIBERT,

An. 562.

CHARIBERT, *King of Paris*, GONTRAN, *King of Burgundy*, CHILPERIC, *King of Soissons*, SIGEBERT, *King of Austrasia*.

The division
of the French
empire be-
tween Clo-
taire's sons.

AFTER the death of *Clotaire* the *French* monarchy was divided between his four sons, as it had been formerly between the four sons of *Clovis*. The kingdom of *Paris* fell to *Charibert's* lot; that of *Orleans* to *Gontran*; *Chilperic* had that of *Soissons*; *Sigebert*, the youngest of the four, had the kingdom of *Austrasia*.

These four kingdoms had not now the same limits as at first, the monarchy having been afterwards enlarg'd with the addition of the whole kingdom of *Burgundy* and *Provence* on this side the *Rhine*, and of all *Turingia* on the other side, not to speak of several people of *Germany*, who were tributaries to *France* in the last reigns.

Gontran, together with the kingdom of *Orleans*, had that of *Burgundy*; *Orleans* also ceas'd to be the capital city of his kingdom at that time, and *Chalons* upon *Saone* became the royal city. This Prince was no more call'd *King of Orleans*, but *King of Burgundy*; and all his subjects were comprehended under the name of *Burgundians*, by way of distinction from the rest of the *French*. Some cantons also were dismembered from the other kingdoms by consent and composition.

A compari-
son of the
four Princes
together.

If the two youngest, *Chilperic* and *Sigebert*, had been of the same disposition with the two eldest, *France* had been quiet and happy under their government. *Charibert*, *King of Paris*, was a peaceable Prince, and without ambition, taken up in preserving the repose and tranquillity of his kingdom, without troubling himself with the thoughts of enlarging it. He govern'd in this manner during his whole reign, which lasted near six years at least. He has had the misfortune to have his vices only published by our antient historians, and especially his extreme incontinence, for which

Greg. Tur.
l. 4. c. 26.


which *S. German*, Bishop of *Paris*, excommunicated him, after a second and third marriage contracted in the life-time of his lawful wife: and this is all we should have known of him, if another contemporary Bishop had not been concern'd for his part to inform us of his virtues. According to him he was a wise, moderate, and equitable Prince, a zealous observer of justice and the laws, with which he was perfectly acquainted; liberal and courteous, and of an air and countenance that won the hearts of all that came near him, of a quick and piercing judgment, regarded by his council as an oracle, and especially distinguished by his wisdom in the instructions he gave his ambassadors: He was a lover of learning, and understood and talk'd *Latin* as readily as his mother tongue.

It was a much more extraordinary thing at that time to find a Prince of this character, than one famous in the exploits of war. For military endowments met with much less opposition from the savageness, which still remain'd in some measure among the *French*, than all these civil and political virtues. The second brother *Gontran*, King of *Burgundy*, who was more regular in his manners, was yet much inferior to him in his abilities and conduct in the art of government: but he lov'd peace equally with him, and never made war, but when he was compelled to it either by the insults of his neighbours, or the quarrels of his brethren, who often forc'd him into it against his will, which was always ready and dispos'd to reconcile them both with himself and to each other.

Sigebert and *Chilperic* on the contrary were of too martial a spirit to let their subjects be at rest; but *Chilperic*, who was almost always the aggressor in the differences between these Princes, is the person we ought to look upon as the principal cause of all the misfortunes and civil wars with which *France* was har-
rass'd during their reigns. A woman whom he had rais'd to the throne, notwithstanding the meanness of her birth, having got the command of his inclinations, already too restless, violent and ambitious in themselves, put him upon all the extravagant enterprises and attempts imaginable. This woman was *Fredegonde*, as famous in our history as the most renowned of our Kings. She found

An. 562.

Fortunat. l.
6. c. 4.Gesta Reg.
Franc. c. 31.

An. 562.  an enemy in *Brunehaut*, Queen of *Austrasia*, and wife of *Sigebert*, as full of cunning and intrigue, and some say as full of wickedness as her self. Two Kings and several Princes of the royal family lost their lives by their means, notwithstanding which the troubles continued, because these two ambitious Queens surviv'd their husbands. This is in general what concerns the reigns of the four grandsons of *Clovis* the Great, and which I shall endeavour to disentangle and extract from the Chaos of our ancient histories, which continue to be upon all occasions extremely confus'd.

Greg. Tur.
l. 4. c. 25.

*Sigebert's
victory over
the Avars.*

About ann.
563.

*War between
this Prince
and his brother
Chilperic.*

The news of *Clovis's* death being carried to the other side of the *Rhine*, the King of the *Avars*, who were a remnant of the *Huns*, and had fix'd themselves on the Banks of the *Danube*, thought this a favourable conjuncture for him to pillage the lands of the *French* on the other side the *Rhine*. This country lay in the division of *Sigebert*, King of *Austrasia*, who therefore advanc'd to meet the King of the *Avars* in *Turingia*, the people of which had revolted and joyn'd themselves to this new enemy of the *French* nation. There they engaged: and *Sigebert* marching among the first ranks with his battle-ax in his hand charged the enemy on all sides. The *French*, animated by this example, fell on with such resolution, that the enemy being routed and overthrown on all sides, lost ground, and were driven upon the banks of the river *Elbe*, from whence they sent to demand peace, which *Sigebert* granted them.

Chilperic did not miss the opportunity which this *German* war afforded him to revenge himself on *Sigebert*.

The cause of his resentment was this. Being very desirous to have the kingdom of *Paris* for his share in his father's succession, he had got himself proclaim'd in this city, but *Sigebert* with his two brothers had oblig'd him to quit his hold, to draw lots, and to content himself with the kingdom of *Soissons*, which fell to him. As soon therefore as he saw *Sigebert* taken up on the other side the *Rhine*, he laid siege to *Rheims*, with some other towns in the neighbourhood, and wasted all *Champagne*.

Sigebert, whom this news obliged to strike up a peace in all haste with the King of the *Avars*, repair'd

repair'd to the *Rhine*. His presence secur'd his frontiers, and he in his turn lay'd siege to *Soissons*, where *Chilperic* had left his son *Theodebert* to command in his absence. The town was taken and *Theodebert* seiz'd and sent prisoner to *Pontyon*, a house of pleasure belonging to the King of *Austrasia* in *Partois*. Afterwards *Sigebert* gave battle to *Chilperic*, defeated him and recover'd *Rheims* and all the other towns that had been taken from him.

Ann. 562.

About ann. 564.

This war was of no long continuance. A peace was made by the mediation of the two other Kings, who threatned to declare themselves against him that refus'd. *Sigebert* restor'd *Soissons* to *Chilperic* and releas'd his son *Theodebert* upon his promising never after to bear arms against him.

Obliged by the two other Kings to make peace. Greg. Tur. l. 4. c. 23.

The peace being concluded, *Sigebert* thought of a marriage worthy himself notwithstanding the bad example of his brothers before him, who in this affair had had more regard to their inclination than to their dignity and birth. *Athanagilde* King of the *Visigoths* reign'd then in *Spain*. He had two daughters, the youngest of which nam'd *Brunehaut* was one of the most beautiful and accomplish'd Princesses in *Europe*.

Sigebert marries the daughter of Athanagilde, who reign'd in Spain.

Sigebert sent to demand her in marriage. She was granted him, and receiv'd in *France* with all possible magnificence. But that which compleated the joy of the *French* upon this occasion was, that this Princess, who had been an *Arian*, submitted to be instructed at the instances of the King, and soon after embraced the catholick religion.

Fortunat. l. 7. carm. 1. About ann. 565.

Chilperic touch'd with his brother's example, thought also of ridding himself of his unworthy amours, and demanded of the King of *Spain* his eldest daughter call'd *Galswinde*. He obtain'd her, but not without great difficulty, his debauches were grown so publick that they had reach'd the ears even of foreigners. This Princess follow'd the example of her sister, in becoming a catholick and even a great saint.

Greg. Tur. l. 4. c. 28. *Chilperic marries Galswinde, Brunehaut's eldest sister.*

This marriage of *Chilperic* supposes the custom of divorces, which was at that time but too common in *France*, especially among the great ones; he had already put away *Andovere*, who retir'd into a monastery in the country of *Maine*, and resolv'd also to repudiate *Fredgonde* that he might espouse *Galswinde*; but for all that

that

An. 562. that *Fredegonde* did not leave the court: it was she that found means to destroy *Andovere*, and also compass'd the destruction of *Galswinde*, who was one morning found dead in her bed. The publick charg'd her with this death, which they no longer doubted when they saw *Chilperic* take her for his wife a second time, and restore her the title of Queen.

Fredegonde repudiated by Chilperic, destroys Galswinde, and becomes Queen again.

The Queen of *Austrasia* sister of the deceas'd Queen sent to demand satisfaction, for this murder, of the other *French* Kings, and stirr'd up *Sigebert* her husband to revenge it. Her complaints were found so just that they all joyn'd in a league against *Chilperic*. But when they had made themselves masters of the greatest part of his kingdom, a peace was hastily struck up upon condition that *Chilperic*, to appease the Queen of *Austrasia*, shou'd resign her some towns which he had given to *Galswinde* by way of appennage at her marriage. These were some towns which he had receiv'd by inheritance from *Charibert* King of *Paris*, who died in his capital a little before the arrival of *Galswinde* in *France*.

Greg. Tur.
l. 4. c. 20.

Soon after the peace was concluded, *Sigebert* was oblig'd to maintain a new war against the King of the *Avars*, in which he did not meet with the same success as in the former; for he was defeated and taken prisoner, but soon releas'd by a treaty; the conditions of which are not mention'd in history: But after that time it does not appear that these two Princes had any quarrel against each other.

Ibid. c. 29.
Sigebert defeated and taken by the Avars, but set at liberty.

While the *Avars* kept the *French* in play on the other side the *Rhine*, another enemy which *France* had never yet seen upon its frontiers, attack'd the King of *Burgundy*. This war was the first consequence which the *French* felt of the sudden revolution in *Italy*, which some years after oblig'd them to interest themselves in the affairs on the other side the *Alps*, as they had done in the time of the *Ostrogoths*.

An. 568.
& 569.

Narses having exterminated these *Barbarians* in *Italy*, and having driven out the *French*, govern'd it in peace till the death of the Emperor *Justinian* in the year 566. *Justin* his successor had not the same regard for this sage commander, and the Empress *Sophia* treated him with indignity. It is pretended that being furiously incens'd against her, by an outrageous letter she wrote to him,

him,

him, he reveng'd himself of her by bringing the *Lombards* into *Italy*. This nation had formerly served under him with great advantage against the *Ostrogoths*, and were seated in *Pannonia*. Their King was call'd *Alboin*, a great soldier, whose first wife was *Clodeswinde* daughter of *Glovaire I.* An. 562.

Alboin made no pause upon *Narses's* proposal, but sent immediately to *Germany* to invite the *Saxons* to assist him in his conquest; and soon after twenty thousand of them took the road for *Italy* and were follow'd by several others. *Sigebert* King of *Austrasia*, whose tributaries they were, made no opposition to their departure, because this detachment served only to weaken the strength of a nation, which he cou'd hardly preserve in their duty; and as the lands they abandon'd were good, he sent a colony of the *Suevi* to inhabit them, who were another people of his dominion situated about the *Danube*. The Lombards make themselves masters of Italy.

The *Lombards* then set out from their own country an. 568, entred *Italy*, seiz'd upon *Liguria*, excepting some towns of that province upon the sea-shore, made themselves masters of *Milan*, and lastly in three years and a half *Alboin* conquer'd almost all *Italy*, which had no sooner received these new masters, but *France* was sensible of it. They sent a detachment to savage *Savoy*, and that which is now called *Dauphiny*. The patrician *Amé* hasted thither with an army of the King of *Burgundy* to put a stop to these incursions, but was defeated and killed in the fight. *Mummol*, the best soldier at that time in *France*, was sent to the frontier with another army, where he came upon the *Lombards* by surprize, and so beset them, that very few escaped. Marinus in Chron. Greg. Tur. l. 4. c. 36.

But this was not the last alarm that was given to these provinces adjoining to the *Alps*. A body of *Saxons*, that had followed the *Lombards*, entred *France* by *Ambrun* and *Nice*, and penetrated as far as *Riez*, where *Mummol* beat them a second time. They enter France, and come off conquerors at first, but are afterwards defeated. Ibid. c. 27. A second irruption and defeat.

At that time *Sigebert* bethought of making good his pretensions to the city of *Arles*, surprized and took it from the King of *Burgundy*. This prince sent an army on that side under the command of *Patricius Celsus*, who took *Avignon* from the King of *Austrasia*, defeated his army near *Arles*, and recovered this place. But the King of *Burgundy* following his peaceable inclina-

An. 572. tions, contented himself with this advantage, and re-
 stored *Avignon* to his brother, and peace was concluded between them.

Chilperic however thought to make his own use of these divisions between his two brothers, and being stirred up and excited by *Fredegonde*, he declared war against the King and Queen of *Austrasia*; for these two princesses after the death of Queen *Galswinde* were irreconcilable, and never ceased to infuse their aversion into their husbands. *Chilperic* sent his son *Clovis* at the head of an army into *Tourain* and *Poitou*. And it being very difficult for *Sigebert* to succour these provinces detached from the rest of his kingdom, the young Prince took the two capital cities of *Tours* and *Poitiers*, and made himself master of almost the whole country.

Chilperic, who did not expect to see the peace so soon concluded between his two brothers, was greatly surprized, when he was informed that general *Mummol*, who had taken the command of the *Austrasian* troops with the King of *Burgundy*'s consent, was march'd into *Tourain*. This general retook *Tours* and afterwards *Poitiers*; and *Clovis*'s army being disbanded, he had a great deal of difficulty to escape himself. The war continued with various success on both sides, and *Chilperic* was obliged to sue for peace, which was granted him.

This peace lasted but one year, when *Chilperic* bestirr'd himself in making private preparations for war, and in engaging the King of *Burgundy* in his Interests. The treaty was no sooner concluded between them, but *Chilperic* suddenly entred *Champagne*, and put every thing to fire and sword as far as *Rheims*, while his son *Theodebert* was preparing to do the same in *Tourain*.

Sigebert surprized, and extremely offended at this procedure, drew together his forces as expeditiously as possible, and sent an army upon the *Loire*, under the command of two of his generals, *Godegefile* and *Gontran Boson*. *Theodebert* went to meet him, but either thro' cowardise or treachery, most of his troops deserted during the march. However he resolv'd to give battle, notwithstanding the inequality of his forces, but he lost the day and was killed, and was found after the battle was over amidst the bodies of several Lords that had perished with him.

This

Ibid. c. 45.

An. 572.

Peace made
and soon af-
ter broke.

An. 572.

Ibid. c. 51.

This loss put *Chilperic* into a great consternation, but he was much more uneasy when he received the news that the King of *Burgundy* had made peace with *Sigebert*. Nor durst he venture to take the field any more, so he retired with his Queen and children to *Tournay*. *Sigebert*, being master of the field, seized upon all the towns round *Paris*, and was received in this capital with great joy by that part of the inhabitants that belong'd to him; for after the death of *Charibert*, each of them had his share in this city, none of the three being willing to make an intire cession to the two others.

An. 572

The Queen of *Austrasia* came to meet the King her husband at *Paris*, and brought her three children with her, viz. the young Prince *Childebert*, aged five years, and her daughters *Ingunde* and *Clodovinde*.

Every thing fell before *Sigebert*, he sent a detachment of his army to invest *Chilperic* and *Fredegonde* in *Tournay*, and advanced as far as *Vitri* a borough lying between *Arras* and *Donay*; and here most of the Lords of the kingdom of *Soissons* came and acknowledged him for their King, and took an oath of allegiance to him.

Ibid. c. 52

Chilperic being shut up in *Tournay*, found himself without remedy, when *Fredegonde*, who never boggled at any villany, thought that necessary, which alone cou'd deliver her from this extremity, and sent two resolute desperado's to *Sigebert*, who under pretence of proposing an accommodation, stabb'd him, and were themselves destroyed by this Prince's attendants. Thus died *Sigebert* King of *Austrasia* in the very height of his prosperity at the age of forty years, after a glorious reign of fourteen years, the most accomplished Prince of his time.

*Sigebert being
sieging Chil-
peric in
Tournay is
stab'd by the
intrigues of
Fredegonde*

This accident changed the face of affairs in a moment. The siege of *Tournay* was broke up. *Fredegonde* sent immediately to *Paris* to acquaint those of her faction of what had happen'd, with orders to seize upon the Queen of *Austrasia* whatever it cost them. She met with proper instruments for the business they were imployed in. *Brunebaut* and her children were taken into custody. This was *Chilperic*'s shortest way to make himself master of the kingdom of *Austrasia*. But *Gondebaud* one of the generals of the *Austrasian*

An. 575

*Brunehaut
wife of Sigebert
is seized
with her son
Childebert*

An. 562. army, having overreach'd or bribed the guards, let the young Prince *Childebert* down in a sack thro' a window, and carried him safely to *Metz*, where he was placed upon his father's throne.

The young Prince is carried off by an Australian nobleman.
Greg. Tur. l. 5. c. 1.

Queen *Brunebaut* met with more gentle usage than she cou'd expect; for *Chilperic* contented himself with banishing her to *Rouen*, where he allowed her the city for her prison, and her two daughters were sent to *Meaux*.

He dispatched immediately one of his generals named *Rocolene* with a force to invade *Tourain*; and *Tours* finding itself unable to make any defence, open'd its gates to him.

Merovee son of Chilperic marries Brunebaut without his father's knowledge.

Chilperic at the same time order'd *Merovee* his third son to march with an army for *Poitou*. But he was greatly surpriz'd, when it was told him that this young Prince had quitted the army and repair'd to *Rouen*; and that *Pretextatus* Bishop of that city had married him after his arrival to *Brunebaut*.

This Princess became a widow while she was yet very young, and had lost nothing of those charms which induced the late King to prefer her to her eldest sister. *Merovee* had seen her in prison at *Paris*, and was then enamour'd with her. She for her part did not seem insensible of his passion, who in the ill state of her affairs might have been of service to her. From that time in all likelihood they were engaged, and the business was executed in the manner I have been relating.

Chilperic surprizes them at Roan.

Chilperic foresaw the consequences of this match, and knew what he was to expect from such a disposition as that of *Brunebaut's*. He set out directly, arriv'd at *Rouen* sooner than was expected, and surpriz'd these two lovers, who had no other way to save themselves from the effects of his anger than by flying to the church of *St. Martin*, which was built upon the walls of the city.

The churches dedicated to this saint were an inviolable *Asylum* in *France*. And therefore they refused to quit it, 'till *Chilperic* had not only given his oath to do them no harm; but also to confirm the marriage, upon condition he should find it to be a lawful one. Which he very readily assented to, because he knew it was against the canons, which prohibited a nephew from

from marrying his uncle's widow. After this oath, they came out of the church, and presented themselves before the King, who embraced them, and set them at table with him. But within a few days he commanded the Prince to follow him to *Soissons*, who was forc'd to obey. From that time he was watch'd very close, and the King had his eye in a manner always upon him. This incident also determin'd *Chilperic* to finish a negotiation which he had prolonged to that time: it was a negotiation with the young King of *Austrasia* concerning the liberty of his mother, whom he sent back to him, as well to remove her out of *Merovee's* reach, as to prevent the intrigues, which he apprehended he had more reason to fear from her continuance in his kingdom, than from her residing in *Austrasia*.

An. 572.

An. 576.

Brunebaut, at her arrival found a council of several Lords establish'd for the government of the state during her son's minority, and firmly resolved to allow her no part in the government. She was fain to dissemble her resentment. But tho' she cou'd not compass her ambition in this particular, she had at least credit enough to engage the council to second her revenge and animosity against *Fredegonde*, by declaring war against *Chilperic*, who then began to doubt whether he had acted wisely in letting her go.

Brunebaut is sent back to Austrasia.

She is excluded the government of this state.

The forces in *Champagne* march'd directly to *Soissons* with an intent to surprize *Fredegonde* there. This prize wou'd have made *Brunebaut* amends for all her past misfortunes: But *Fredegonde* got timely notice of it, and march'd off with Prince *Clovis* in great dispatch. *Merovee* thought proper to continue there, wishing nothing more than to be taken by the *Austrasian* troops.

War between Chilperic and Childebert King of Austrasia.

Chilperic immediately took the field, attack'd the *Austrasians* and overcame them, and victoriously re-entered his capital. There he set a guard upon *Merovee*, and took away his arms, being perswaded that these new emotions were owing to no other cause than the intrigues and correspondence of this Prince with *Brunebaut*. He sent his son *Clovis* into *Tourain*, and general *Didier* into *Limousin*, who ravaged all the country subject to the King of *Austrasia* in those Quarters.

Greg. Tur. l. 5. c. 3. A guard is placed over Merovee.

In the mean time this young Prince had engaged the King of *Burgundy* his uncle in his interest; and the patrician *Mummol*, who commanded their army, com-

An. 576. ing up with General *Didier*, there ensued a very bloody battle, in which *Chilperic's* army was entirely defeated. Five and twenty thousand men among the conquered, and five thousand of the conquerors were killed upon the place.

Ibid. c. 14.1

This loss stirr'd up *Chilperic's* fury against Prince *Merovee*, whom he made responsible for all this bad success, disinherited and imprison'd him, shav'd him, and made him take orders in spite of his disinclination. After this he sent him with a convoy to the Monastery of *Anille*, otherwise called *S. Calais*, in the country of *Maine*: but he made his escape by the way, reach'd *Tours*, and fled to the church of *S. Martin*, where Duke *Gontran-Boson* had also taken sanctuary to shun the wrath of *Chilperic*, who would have destroyed him upon supposition that he had killed his son *Theodebert* at the battle which this Prince lost in *Tourain*.

Merovee some time afterwards left his *asylum* to go into the kingdom of *Austrasia*, and when he was arriv'd, gave notice of it to *Brunehaut*. This Princess allowed him to come privately to court, where he discours'd with her and conjur'd her not to forsake him in his misfortunes. She was very much inclined to do it her self, but she was not mistress there; and the young King's council obliged *Merovee* to depart the kingdom immediately.

*Merovee is
massacred.*

An. 577.

This Prince not knowing where to secure himself, came to the parts about *Teroüenne*; where being discovered by *Fredegonde's* emissaries, he was invested in a house in the middle of the field. *Chilperic* came thither himself to fetch him; but upon his arrival, he found him dead with a sword thrust through his body; and the common report was that he had been killed by an assassin sent by *Fredegonde*.

Chilperic look'd upon it as the Death of an enemy, not as that of a son. It very much farther'd *Fredegonde's* design, who had it in her view to place some of her children upon the throne of *France*, and for that purpose was under a necessity of extirpating all the offspring of *Chilperic* by Queen *Andovere*. There was now none but *Clowis* left, a Prince always tractable and submissive to his father's orders, and whose ruin consequently she must have time to bring about.

Upon

Upon the discovery of a conspiracy against her and *Chilperic* and their children, she laid hold of the opportunity to fall upon this Prince, however innocent of the fact laid to his charge. Upon this he was seized and conveyed to the castle of *Noisy* on the other side the *Marne*, where he was stab'd with a dagger. She made the King believe he had killed himself, and that the dagger was found lying by him. The death of this Prince did not happen till about the year 581 near three years after that of *Merovée*. I must now give some account of the other matters of importance, which passed in diverse parts of *France* during these troubles of the Royal Family, which in this space of time saw five Princes perish miserably, either by the fury, or in punishment of the fury of *Fredegonde*: for three sons whom she had by *Chilperic*, the eldest of whom was not above thirteen or fourteen years of age, were carried off by a contagious distemper a little before the death of *Clovis*.

Varoc Count of *Bretagne* took the advantage of these conjunctures to shake off the yolk of homage and tribute, which he owed to *Chilperic*. But *Chilperic* drew up his forces upon this frontier to reduce the Count to his duty. They suffer'd themselves to be surprized by the *Bretons*; but notwithstanding this advantage, *Varoc* made his submission. However some time after he renew'd his irruptions upon the territories of *France*. The *French* did the same upon his. And great excesses were committed on both sides. We have no account in history of the time or manner in which these new differences were ended.

During this time several treaties were concluded between the Kings of *France*: *Gontran* readily uniting himself with his nephew the young King of *Austrasia*, to moderate the ambitious designs of *Chilperic*; and *Chilperic* endeavouring to engage the *Austrasians* in a war against *Gontran*. There happen'd a difference between the Kings of *Burgundy* and *Austrasia* upon account of *Marseille*. This place had belong'd to *Charibert* King of *Paris*; and in the division of the succession, it fell to the late King *Sigebert* and the King of *Burgundy*, who had each of them a moiety of it; these odd divisions being at that time much in use. The young *Childebert* in the beginning of his reign,

An. 577.

Clovis another son of *Chilperic* stab'd by *Fredegonde's* order.

An. 581.

Greg. Tur.
l. 5. c. 16.

A new war
between the
French
Kings.

An. 581. when he stood in perfect awe of *Chilperic*, durst not refuse his uncle the King of *Burgundy*, that part of *Marseille* which belong'd to him: but thinking himself afterwards in a condition to fear nothing, he had a mind to recover the transaction he had made upon this article, and being sure of succours from *Chilperic*, he first made some overtures to the Duke of *Burgundy*, for the recovery of this part of *Marseille* out of his hands, and then proceeded to force, surpriz'd and took it. From that time these Princes had no regard for each other, but began to treat one another openly and in all respects as enemies.

Greg. Tur.
l. 6. c. 12.

Cilperic, in virtue of his alliance with the King of *Austrasia*, sent an army into *Perigord* upon the lands of *Gontran*, under the command of general *Didier*, who having defeated a body of troops that he met in his way, attack'd and took *Periguez* and after that *Agen*. While Duke *Berufle* with another army stop'd that of *Burgundy* upon the frontier of *Tourain*, without their offering to make any attempt.

Ibid. c. 22.

The affairs of the King of *Burgundy* were in a bad posture, and if *Childebert* had acted with as much vigour as *Chilperic*, *Gontran* had run the risk of losing his kingdom. But some difference which arose between the *Austrasian* Lords prevented his being overborn by his enemies; so that a peace was at last concluded with *Chilperic*, on condition of leaving him in possession of the places he had taken: but the war soon after broke out anew. For whether the King of *Burgundy* had met with some fresh reason for breaking with *Childebert*, he surprized that part of *Marseille*, which had been the cause of the first war, and recovered the possession of it.

Ibid. c. 37.

Chilperic, still in union with the King of *Austrasia*, immediately invaded the *Burgundian* territories in several Places with his armies. And a bloody battle was fought near *Melun*, where seven thousand men on both sides were killed upon the spot, and neither of them wou'd acknowledge themselves conquered, or cou'd pretend a complete victory. The case was far otherwise in another fight that happened some days after, where *Gontran* in person attack'd *Chilperic's* camp, and killed all before him. This bad success abated somewhat of this Prince's haughtiness. The King of *Burgundy*

dy being always disposed for peace, they entred into a negotiation the next day, and a truce was concluded. At last, *ann.* 584. a general peace was agreed upon on condition that *Gontran* should restore the King of *Austrasia* that part of *Marseille*, which had been the cause of the quarrel.

Chilperic did not long survive this peace; for he died this same year in a very fatal manner. He was gone to *Chelles*, a summer-house which he often resorted to. One night, as he return'd from hunting, and was getting off his horse supporting himself with his hand upon the shoulder of one of his courtiers, an assassin who had mix'd himself with the company, gave him two blows with a dagger, of which he dy'd immediately, without any one's being able to stop the villain, who made his escape by the favour of the night.

The flight of the assassin is the reason we can make no discovery who they were that put him upon this parricide. Some charge it upon the Queen of *Austrasia*, because she look'd upon *Chilperic* as the author of her sister *Galswinde's* death, and of that of the late King *Sigebert*, her husband; others upon *Fredegonde*. An ancient author, but one who wrote long after that time, imputes this crime to her without the least hesitation, and pretends that having given *Chilperic* room to suspect her of a love intrigue with a Lord of the court named *Landri*, they resolved together to get the start of this Prince, whose resentment they had all the reason in the world to be afraid of. These two Princesses were of so blemish'd a reputation that we can easily believe all that is said of them in this matter.

But be that as it will, all the world agree that it was a judgment of God, whose patience this Prince had tired out by his irregularities and crimes. The Bishop of *Tours* calls him expressly the *Nero* and the *Herod* of his time. It was for his cruelty that he pretends *Chilperic* resembled these Princes, and especially the second by reason of the slaughter he made in his own family by destroying two of his own children: but this sin was perhaps not so much owing to him, as to the ascendant he had suffered *Fredegonde* to get over him. His proper and peculiar vices were an immoderate ambition, which put all *France* in a combustion, an unmerciful disposition towards his people, whom

An. 584.

The unfortunate death of *Chilperic*.

Gesta Reg. Francorum, cap. 55.

Greg. Tur. l. 6. c. 46. The character of this King.

An. 584. whom he loaded with taxes, and exhausted, an extreme incontinence, no degree of piety, unless it was when his fear of provoking St. *Martin* against him carried him to superstitious lengths. His greatest pleasure was to banter and revile the Bishops, and to inveigh against the extravagancy of their power; vain and presumptuous to excess; he had the modesty to call himself the wisest Prince of his time. He took upon him to judge in matters of religion, and even in the *Arian* dispute. He contrived an edict, by which he ordered that for the future, they should never make use of the word Trinity of persons in speaking of God, because the word persons, which is us'd in speaking of men, was unworthy of God; and this edict had been published, if the Bishop of *Tours*, and *Salvius*, Bishop of *Albi*, had not remonstrated strongly against it. He valued himself much upon his wit and politeness. He composed two or three volumes, where among other things were some very bad verses, as the same Bishop of *Tours* assures us, and which must indeed be very bad, if they were worse than those that were much esteemed at that time, as *Fortunatus's* and some others. He added four letters to the *Gaulish* alphabet, and ordered all his provinces to insert them in the books, by which they taught their children to read. This order was in all likelihood never executed.

Fortunat. l.
9. carm.
l. 2. 3.

This is the description the Bishop of *Tours* has left us of *Chilperic*. The encomiums which the Bishop of *Poitiers* has given us of him in some poems address'd to this Prince, are so loose and general, that the idea the poet gives us of him is not sufficient to destroy that of the historian. He was no sooner dead than the whole court departed from *Chelles*, and the corps of this unfortunate Prince continued there forsaken, without any one's thinking so much as to bury it; *Malulfus*, Bishop of *Senlis*, was the only person that perform'd this last office by him, and convey'd it by water to *Paris*, where he was interred in the suburbicary church of St. *Vincent*, now St. *Germandes prez*.

If *Chilperic's* death was *Fredegonde's* crime, she must have judg'd it absolutely necessary for her own security upon account of the state to which this death reduced her. She was abhorred by his subjects for her

her cruelties, avarice, and violent proceedings, de-
 tested by the King and Queen of *Austrasia*, who
 look'd upon her, the one as the murtherer of his fa-
 ther, the other as the murtherer of her husband and
 sister, hated or at least feared by the King of *Burgun-*
dy, who in the assassination of two Kings, his bro-
 thers, had seen the sacred character of Royalty vio-
 lated, which at all times was held in such great ve-
 eneration by the *French*: far from being secure of the
 good will of the great ones, who had always serv'd
 her more out of fear, than affection, having no other
 refuge or support for her tottering fortune and condi-
 tion than a son of four months old. Such was *Fre-*
degonde's situation after the death of *Chilperic*.

An. 584.



Fredegonde's
 perplexity af-
 ter the death
 of her hus-
 band.

The part she took was to deliver herself up into
 the hands of the King of *Burgundy*, whose goodness
 she well knew. She never made more use of her
 wit and address than upon this occasion; and she
 knew so well how to work upon the mind of this
 Prince by her tears, and the compassion she inspired
 into him for her son, that he took them both into his
 Protection, in spite of all the efforts of the King of *Au-*
strasia to render her odious to him, and to obtain ju-
 stice of the crimes she had been guilty of. Nor was
 this all: for *Gontran* soon after made all the towns
 belonging to *Chilperic's* domain to take an oath of
 allegiance in her name, and the name of the young
 Prince; nay, and his generals seiz'd some places in
 the King of *Austrasia's* possession, to which he had
 pretensions.

Greg. Tur.
 l. 7. c. 3.

Ibid. c. 7.

These hostilities kindled a war between this Prince
 and the King of *Burgundy*; but it did not last long,
 there being an end put to it by a very singular event,
 which re-united the two Kings when they least ex-
 pected it. This event supposes another, which for
 some time kept all *France* in suspense, and which I am
 going to relate.

The rigour of *Chilperic's* government, the little
 constancy of that of *Gontran*, and the minority of the
 King of *Austrasia* had rais'd a design in the heads of
 several Lords of the three kingdoms to set them-
 selves up another master, whom they might rather go-
 vern themselves, than be governed by him; and by
 their intrigues a new King appeared all of a sudden
 in *France*.

He

An. 584.

A new King
appears in
France, call-
ing himself
son of Clo-
taire.

He was nam'd *Gondebaud*, and call'd himself son of the late King *Clotaire I.* The matter was not altogether without foundation. After many attempts to get himself acknowledged in the life-time of *Clotaire*, and after several hazards he retir'd into *Italy* to *Narses* who sent him to *Constantinople*, where he made himself to be respected by the Emperor. It was upon him then that the conspirators cast their eyes, and some also of the young King of *Austrasia's* ministers were in the plot. He parted from *Constantinople* with a considerable sum of money, and arriv'd at *Marseille*, where he immediately experienced the treachery of Duke *Boson*, who himself had been at *Constantinople* to fetch him, and who, as soon as he landed, took from him all his treasure. After such a piece of treachery, when he knew not what way to take, happen'd the death of *Chilperic*, and afterwards the war between the Kings of *Austrasia* and *Burgundy*, which brought him upon the stage again: For the partisans which he had in the *Austrasian* Council, having informed the young King that *Gondebaud* had several correspondents in the kingdoms of *Gontran* and *Fredesgonde*, he resolv'd to give him some troops.

He forms a
great party.

An. 584.

Greg. Tur.
l. 7. c. 10.

Ibid. c. 28.

An. 585.

cap. 32.

Upon this he is sent for to *Auvergne*, and placed at the head of an army which *Mummol* one of the conspirators commanded under him. He entred *Limousin*, and caused himself to be proclaimed King at *Brive-la-Gaillarde*. He seized several towns of the late King *Chilperic's* dominion, and put himself in possession of *Angouleme*, *Perigueux*, *Cabors*, *Bordeaux*, *Toulouse*, and several Lords declared openly for him. He had the assurance to send embassadors to the King of *Burgundy*, with proposals for an accommodation, and to require him at least to resign up all the towns that had belonged to the kingdom of *Chilperic*. But *Gontran* having notice of it, surpris'd them at a time when they had no certain consecrated canes in their hands, which were at that time an inviolable pass.

He put them to the rack, and by force of torture drew from them, first, that the occasion of Duke *Boson's* voyage to *Constantinople*, was to treat with *Gondebaud*; that the Dukes *Didier* and *Mummol* and some others were in the conspiracy; and in a word, that

Gondebaud

Gondebaud not only thought to seize on the kingdom of the late King *Chilperic*, but also held a correspondence with several *Austrasian* Lords, who wish'd to have him for their King. An. 585.

This last article of the deposition was the most important of them all, and the King of *Burgundy* did not fail to make his advantage of it. He wrote to his nephew the young King of *Austrasia*, conjuring him to come to him without delay, for that he had something of the last importance to communicate to him; that he shou'd have no regard to the differences between them, but trust to his word, and he should have all the reason in the world to be satisfy'd with him.

The King of *Austrasia* knowing the goodness and integrity of his uncle, made no difficulty to go. *Gontran* laid before him all that he had heard, and made him take it from the mouth of the prisoners themselves. And then taking him aside, he represented to him how much it was his interest to continue always at unity with him, mentioned all those of his council whom he ought to suspect; and particularly put him in mind that in assisting *Gondebaud*, he gave encouragement to such as were traitors to his kingdom, and wou'd set up this knight-errant in his room.

Childebert was in his fifteenth year, and already capable of distinguishing what was truly his interest, being a Prince of great discernment and sagacity. He received *Gontran's* advice with a becoming gratitude, and a reconciliation was concluded between the two Kings in the presence of all the *Burgundian* court.

This union between *Gontran* and *Childebert* very much disconcerted *Gondebaud's* affairs. The *Austrasian* troops, that had been given him, deserted him for the most part. Upon this he repaired to *Comminges*, with a resolution to defend himself there to the last extremity, if they came to besiege him. Immediately he was invested with an army of the King of *Burgundy*. He defended himself with great bravery, and held out a long time; but was betrayed by *Mummol* and *Boson* who capitulated, and killed by the last with a stone, which he threw at him, just as they were going out of the town, to surrender it up into the hands of the *Burgundian* General.

Greg. Tur.
l. 7. c. 34.
He is besieged in Comminges, betrayed and assassinated.

An. 585.

Thus

An. 585. This ended the unfortunate *Gondebaud*, after he had personated a King for two or three years, and peace was again establish'd in *France*. But *Gontran* did two things but a little before which greatly mortified *Fredégonde*, and it is likely he did so out of pure complaisance to the King of *Austrasia*.

First he gave this Queen a council composed of the principal Lords of the kingdom to govern jointly with her during the minority of her son. In the second place, he obliged her to quit *Paris*, for fear she shou'd gain too much credit in this capital of the *French* empire. She retired to *Vaudreuil* a royal palace four leagues from *Roan*, very much exasperated that one part of the authority, which she pretended to have entire in the government of the states of her son, was taken from her.

She supposed the Queen of *Austrasia* had put this design into the head of the King of *Burgundy*, and resolved to be revenged of her for it. Her revenge commonly aim'd at the death of her enemies, upon which she was seldom long in deliberating: So she engaged one of her domesticks to charge himself with the death of the Queen of *Austrasia*: but the conspiracy was discovered.

War between
Gontran
and Leu-
vigilde, King
of the Goths
in Spain.

Two foreign wars succeeded the civil. The one against *Leuwigilde* King of the *Goths* in *Spain*, and the other against the *Lombards* in *Italy*. The occasion of the first was as follows.

Ingonde daughter of *Brunebaut*, and sister of the King of *Austrasia*, had married *Hermenigilde* son of *Leuwigilde* King of the *Goths*, and had not only withstood the good and bad treatment of Queen *Goswinde*, who had done all that lay in her power to make her an *Arian*, but had also brought over her husband to the *Catholick* Religion. This conversion produced some strange consequences: For upon this occasion *Hermenigilde* revolted from his father; but this crime he expiated by the martyrdom he suffer'd, choosing rather to dye by the hand of an executioner than to renounce his religion.

He had been supported in his revolt by *Justinian's* troops, who still possess'd some places in *Spain*. *Anamirc* King of the *Suevi* in *Galicia* had also taken him under his protection, and had endeavour'd to engage the

the Kings of *Burgundy* and *Austrasia* to declare for him: But *Leuvigilde* had secured *Chilperic* in his interests, which prevented the two Kings from making war upon him, but *Chilperic's* death removed this obstacle.

Their reconciliation together, which I have spoken of before, and the authority of *Brunebaut*, who had made her self mistress of the affairs in *Austrasia*, by procuring the council, which govern'd during *Childebert's* minority, to be dissolved, put them in a condition to revenge the death of *Hermenigilde*, and the ill treatment shewn to *Ingonde*.

Gontran sent so numerous an army into the territories of the *Visigoths*, that he hoped to have taken *Languedoc* from them in this first campaign; But these troops were so ill disciplin'd, and so little under command; and the *Goths* on the other hand had so well fortified their best towns, that the *French*, having committed great waste equally in the countries of their friends and enemies, were obliged to return to *France* for want of subsistence. They were charged on all sides upon their retreat, and lost above five thousand men. In a short time after *Recarede*, son of *Leuvigilde*, entred the *French* territories with an army, ravaged all the country about *Toulouse*, went as far as the *Rhone*, besieged *Ugerne*, a very strong castle upon this river, in the same place, where, as some believe, *Beaucaire* now stands, and took it by storm.

Greg. Tur.

l. 8. c. 30.

An. 585.

The *French* had no better success by sea than by land: for a fleet, which they had sent to *Spain*, being surpriz'd by that of *Leuvigilde*, almost all the vessels were taken, and those who escaped were put to the edge of the sword: *Recarede*, after this expedition, retired to *Nismes*, and from thence return'd to *Spain*, where in a short time he ascended the throne by the death of his father *Leuvigilde*, who dy'd this same year.

Recarede, being now King, renew'd his suit to the *French* for peace, notwithstanding the advantages of the last campaign. He had in the following years almost continually ambassadors at *France*, either at the court of *Burgundy* or *Austrasia*, and the war went slowly on during the campaign of the year 586.

An. 586.

The following year was something more lively. General *Didier*, who commanded the King of *Burgundy's*

An. 587.

An. 588. *gundy's* army, defeated the *Goths* at *Carcaffonne*, but was killed in pursuing them.

The *French* took *Carcaffonne*; but afterwards, suffering themselves to be surprized, were beaten miserably by the *Goths*. Five thousand men of the *French* army dy'd upon the spot, and three thousand were taken prisoners. *Recarede*, who was just become a catholic, with the greatest part of his nation, obliged the King of *Burgundy*, by this victory, to accept the peace he offered him, and to restore *Carcaffonne*.

While the King of *Burgundy* was taken up with the war against the *Visigoths* in *Languedoc*, the King of *Austrasia* was no less with that he had undertaken in *Italy*.

The French
war in Italy
against the
Lombards.

Besides the first irruptions the *Lombards* had made in *France* in the life-time of their King *Alboin*, they had made another after his death, which succeeded no better. The *French*, as well those of *Austrasia* as of *Burgundy*, came about with them in their turn. The expedition of the *Austrasians* had a successful beginning, but a bad conclusion. They took *Trent*, and some other places, but, suffering themselves to be surpriz'd, they were beaten, and lost their conquests.

Frede. Chr.
c. 45.

The *Burgundians* came off with better success; for having taken *Aoste* and *Suse*, the *Lombards* demanded peace, which they agreed to, but without restoring these two places.

This peace lasted till the Emperor *Mauritius* had taken a resolution to reconquer *Italy* from the *Lombards*, as *Justinian* had done from the *Ostrogoths*. *Mauritius*, for the execution of his design, had recourse to the *French*, and engaged the *Austrasians* with a large sum of money to attack the *Lombards*. The young King *Childebert* put himself at the head of his army, and pass'd the *Alps*. The *Lombards* thought to lay the storm, and sent to him to demand peace, made all possible submissions, and added thereto so much money and presents, that the young Prince suffered himself to be gain'd; and after he had just shewn himself in *Italy*, repass'd the mountains, having made the *Lombards* pay much dearer for the peace than he sold his succours for to the Emperor. Some time after the Emperor came to a truce with *Atharis*, King of the *Lombards*.

What reason soever the Emperor had to be dissatisfied with the *French* upon this occasion, he solicited them anew to enter into a league with him, and as soon as the truce was expir'd, he obtain'd of *Childebert*, that a numerous army should pass from *France* into *Italy*. It was composed partly of *French* and partly of *Almans*, subjects of this Prince: but this expedition also prov'd abortive by the jealousies of the respective generals and nations against each other. But as the *French* were able to carry the balance, the *Lombards*, and the Emperor were not discouraged, but negotiated continually at the court of *France*; the *Lombards* to obtain peace of *Childebert*, and the Emperor to maintain the league he had made with him.

Childebert seems in all this affair to have made *Theodebert's* conduct towards *Justinian* and the *Ostrogoths* his model; that is to say, without troubling himself about the engagements he so often made with either party, he observ'd and broke the treaties as the present interest determin'd him. He made peace with the *Lombards*, and soon after sent a fresh army into *Italy*. But here he suffered for his infidelity; for this army was defeated by *Autharis* with so great a slaughter, that, according to our historian, it was one of the bloodiest battles the nation ever lost. It happened in the year 588, the third year of the reign of *Childebert*.

This defeat of the *French* served only to animate them the more against the *Lombards*. But it required some time for them to recover such a loss, which is the reason they did not re-enter *Italy* the following Year. But an. 590. *Childebert* sent a numerous army thither, one part of which, under the command of Duke *Codin*, penetrated into *Trentain*, and took, pillaged and levelled some towns there. The other part ravaged the country about *Milan*.

Autharis in the mean time not daring to appear in the field, shut himself up in *Pavia*, and dispersed his troops in the principal towns of his kingdom. His affairs were in a very bad situation, and himself in danger of being overthrown, if a misunderstanding had not risen between the *French* and *Imperialists*, and if the excessive heats and the dysentery had not taken his part against his enemies.

An. 588.

The Emperor
Mauritius's
league with
the French
against the
Lombards.
Ibid. c. 28,
29.

Paulus Longobard. l. 34.
c. 30.

Greg. Tur.
l. 9. c. 23.

An. 588.

An. 589.

Paulus Longobard. c.
32.

An. 590.

An. 590.



The Lombards become tributary to France.
Fredeg. in Chr. c. 45.

This obliged the *French* generals to withdraw their troops into the kingdom, leaving garrisons in some of the towns, which they thought proper to keep, and making a truce for six months with *Autharis*, who had recourse to the King of *Burgundy*, and conjured him to obtain a peace for him of the King of *Austrasia*, upon whose mind he knew he had a great influence. During these transactions *Autharis* dy'd, but the negotiation continued nevertheless with *Agilulphus*, *Autharis*'s successor, who at last obtain'd peace, by making himself tributary to *France*, and submitting to the payment of twelve thousand *sols d' Or* a year. *Bavaria*, which by *Autharis*'s instigation had revolted from *France*, return'd to its duty; and whether *Garibalde*, Duke of *Bavaria*, and father-in-law of *Autharis* was dead, or had been oblig'd to abandon his states, *Childebert* created another Duke called *Tassillon*.

Fredegonde laid hold of the opportunity of these two wars of *Languedoc* and *Italy*, which kept *Gontran* and *Childebert* employ'd, to destroy a great number of her enemies, and in particular *Pretextatus*, Bishop of *Roan*, who, after the death of *Chilperic*, had return'd from his banishment in spite of her, and been resettled in his see by *Gontran*. She found means to have him stabb'd one *Sunday* in the choir of his church in service time. She made an attempt also to kill the King of *Austrasia* and Queen *Brunebaut*, but cou'd not bring her design to bear. Some other conspiracies were discovered and suppress'd, both in the kingdoms of *Burgundy* and *Austrasia*.

Varoc, Count of *Britanny* took occasion also by these wars to revolt from *France*, and *Fredegonde* was in the plot with him to destroy Duke *Beppolen*, general of the forces which *Gontran* had sent against him, and she compassed the affair at the expence of one part of the *French* army, which was betray'd and cut in pieces.

The death of King Gontran.

An. 593.

This was the last war that happened in the time of the King of *Burgundy*. *France* had peace both at home and abroad for near four years, at the end of which this Prince dy'd on *March* 28, an. 593. aged above sixty years. He had declar'd the King of *Austrasia* successor to the greatest part of his kingdom.

CLOTAIRE II. CHILDEBERT.

315

An. 593.

He was a good and peaceable Prince, of a tender conscience, liberal to the poor and the church, of an austere life, and a true christian. *Gregory of Tours* attributes some miracles to him also in his life-time, and the church numbers him among the Saints. But as for other matters, he had only a moderate share of the kingly spirit and authority, ill served by those he placed at the head of his armies, whose licentiousness, which he was not able to curb, caused a great deal of mischief from time to time in some provinces of *France*, which he sharply resented, because he loved his subjects as he was beloved by them.

CLOTAIRE II. King of Neustria; CHILDEBERT, King of Austrasia and Burgundy.

THE King of *Austrasia* having for a long time been designed by his uncle *Gontran* to succeed him, took possession of his kingdom without any opposition. It seems also, that the young King *Clotaire II.* was without any difficulty recogniz'd by the subjects of the late King *Chilperic* his father; and that *Soissons* itself, which had been put under the dominion of one of the sons of *Chilperic*, submitted, as all the rest did, to their lawful master. An. 593.

But notwithstanding this division was amicably made, the good understanding between the two kingdoms, or rather the dissimulation between the persons that govern'd them, did not last long. The mutual hatred of the Queens *Fredegonde* and *Brunehaut* being no longer under the curb and restraint of the late King of *Burgundy's* authority broke out immediately. Gesta Regi
Francorum
c. 36.

The least appearance of justice, or interest of state join'd to the massacre of *Sigebert* the late King of *Austrasia*, and to the conspiracies contrived by *Fredegonde* against the life of *Childebert* himself, and against that of the Queen his mother, was sufficient to authorize a rupture. And as Princes never want a pretence, when they have a mind to make war upon their neighbours,

An. 593 bours, it was easy for *Childebert* to find one for this purpose against *Clotaire*. This same year therefore a great army composed of *Burgundian* and *Austrasian* troops, entred the kingdom of *Soissons* by *Champagne*, and made great havock there. *Fredegonde*, who was no ways disconcerted at the greatness of the danger, assembled also a body of troops, and having taken a review of them near *Brenne*, put herself at the head of them with the young King, who was not then above nine or ten years of age.

Encamping some leagues from the *Austrasians*, she march'd all night, and at break of day storm'd and forced their camp.

*Fredeg. in
chron. c. 14.
Paul. Diac.
l. 4. c. 4.
Fredegonde
gains a great
victory over
the Austrasians.*

A thousand men on one side and the other were killed upon the place, but the greatest loss fell upon the *Austrasians* and *Burgundians*. This battle was fought at *Troucy*, a borough situate upon the little river of *Delete*. Such a defeat, join'd with the two diversions *Fredegonde* had made, obliged *Childebert* to let her alone, and give her time to make her son's government firm and secure to him.

An. 594.

She continued her correspondence with *Varoc* Count of *Britanny*, who was always ready to break with the *French*. He entred *Childebert's* territories, where a bloody battle was fought between the *Bretons* and the *French*, and much blood spilt on both sides.

*Proc. l. 4.
de bello
Goth. c. 20.*

The second diversion was made by the *Varnes* on the other extremity of *Childebert's* kingdom. These *Varnes* were a people that inhabited on the other side of the *Rhine* at the mouth of an arm of this river which loses itself in the sands of *Holland*. *Childebert*

An. 595.

sent an army against them, which not only subdued them, but exterminated them in such sort, that from that time we meet with their name no more in our historians. But *Childebert* did not long survive this

An 596.

*The death of
Childebert
King of Au-
strasia.*

victory, dying the following year, in the twenty sixth year of his age and the twenty first of his reign. He was a Prince that promised much. He left two sons, one named *Theodebert* about ten or eleven years of age, who was crown'd King of *Austrasia* the second of that name. The youngest called *Thierry* had for his share the kingdom of *Burgundy*, and fix'd the capital of his kingdom at *Orleans* again.

The guardianship of the two Princes, and the regency of their kingdoms was committed to their grandmother *Brunebaut*, who chose to reside in the kingdom of *Austrasia*, and made *Syagrius*, bishop of *Autun* and Mayor of the palace, tutor to the young King of *Burgundy*. Thus the whole *French* Empire was at that time governed by two women, but such as equalled the greatest Kings in ability and courage.

Fredegonde did not fail to make use of this conjuncture; for as soon as she heard of the death of *Childebert*, she drew together her forces, and march'd with her son *Clotaire* to take possession of *Paris*, and several other towns upon the banks of the *Seine*. *Brunebaut* for her part sent an army to relieve them, which was totally routed by that of *Fredegonde*, at a place called *Latofao*, which is at present not known. But at length *Fredegonde* died when she was at the height of her prosperity: the most ambitious, revengeful and cruel Princess of her sex, and worthy the hatred of all mankind: but the best qualified to gain the favour, esteem and respect of those whose countenance and support she stood in need of. She reigned thirty years in the name of her husband and son, after she had destroyed one King, two Queens, two sons of a King, and an infinite number of persons of consideration, whose deaths she thought necessary for aggrandizing or securing herself. Two battles gained in person, her son rais'd to the throne and establish'd in it, together with her great and speedy conquests, had almost effaced the remembrance of her crimes, and prevented any other thoughts but those of her glory, worthy at the same time of the curse and admiration of posterity. She was interred at *S. Vincent* near King *Chilperic* her husband.

The news of her death was very agreeable to *Brunebaut*, and gave her hopes of leisure and tranquillity for the establishment of her authority. Her first care was to put an end to all the wars and remove all pretences of renewing them.

The nation of the *Auaries* hearing of the death of *Childebert*, had made incursions into *Francia Germanica*. *Brunebaut* made up the matter with them, and for a sum of money they departed. She confirmed the peace made some years before with *Agilulphus* King

An. 596.

Brunebaut
Regent of
Austrasia and
Burgundy.

Paul. Diac.
l. 4. c. 11.

The death of
Fredegonde.
Her character.

An. 596. of the *Lombards*, who in this interval had embraced the catholic religion. She engaged S. *Gregory* the great, who was then Pope, to take upon him the mediation between her son *Thierry* King of *Burgundy* and the Emperor, upon account of some differences which might produce a war: but notwithstanding her application and ability, she was not able to maintain the tranquillity she had procured in the kingdom of *Austrasia*, for above two or three years. The uneasiness of the great men, many of whom were impatient of seeing themselves governed by a woman, who ruled them with great severity, proceeded even to the lengths of a revolt. They made themselves masters of the person, and afterwards of the mind of the young King *Theodebert*. They persuaded him to consent to the banishment of his mother, who fearing something worse might follow, was obliged to make her escape privately to the King of *Burgundy*. King *Thierry* her son received her there in a manner proper to comfort her under her affliction; in the mean time the war broke out again with more fury than ever between the *French* Princes.

War between
Clotaire II.
and Theode-
bert King
of Austrasia,
and Thierry
King of Bur-
gundy.

Ibid. c. 20.

Gesta Reg.
Francor. c.

37.
An. 600.
Vita Sancti
Berthnarij
Ep. Carnot.
Aroana Va-
lesius not.
Call.

Theodebert and *Thierry* had a mind to recover the towns *Clotaire* had taken from them the year before his victory, and *Brunchaut* engaged *Recarede* King of the *Goths* in *Spain* to send them succours.

Clotaire without any concern went to meet them as far as the kingdom of *Burgundy*, and engaged them at *Senonis* upon the little river of *Ouaine*. The battle was fought near the village of *Dormille*. It was very bloody on both sides, but the two Kings got the victory; *Clotaire*, being intirely defeated, with much difficulty got to *Melun*, from whence he fled to *Arelanne* now the forest of *Bretonne* near the mouth of the *Seine*.

The two Kings pursuing their victories, retook most of the towns situate upon this river. *Chartres* also was taken and pillaged. At length the King of *Soissons* was forced to sue for peace, which he obtain'd upon very hard conditions, viz. that he shou'd yield up to the King of *Burgundy* all the towns he possessed between the *Seine*, the *Loire*, the *Ocean* and the frontiers of *Britanny*; and to the King of *Austrasia* part of the country between the *Seine*, the *Oise*, and the

A disadvan-
tageous peace
to Clotaire II.

sea.

sea. Thus ended in *France* the sixth century, and the hundred and fourteenth year after the establishment of the *French* monarchy in *Gaul*. An. 600.

These victories encouraged the two young Princes, who left *Clotaire* in tranquillity after they had put it out of his power to hurt them, to think of enlarging the bounds of the *French* Empire after the example of their ancestors.

The *Gascons* who yet inhabited on the other side the *Pyrenees*, made irruptions from time to time on this side into the territories of *France*. The two Kings went to punish them, defeated and made them tributaries, and set over them a Duke named *Genialis*. An. 602.

If there had always remain'd a good understanding between these two Princes, they had been formidable to their neighbours: but the ambition of *Brunehaut*, her desire to revenge the affront she had received in being driven from the kingdom of *Austrasia*, her eagerness for the whole authority in that of *Burgundy*, and another passion yet more unworthy of her, raised a division between her two grandsons; which in a short time drew down a total ruin upon all this branch of the royal family.

Brunehaut's
abominable
policy.

Bertoalde Mayor of the palace in *Burgundy*, wou'd not suffer her to take as much authority upon her as she pleas'd in the government. Upon this she found means to dispossess him, and place another Lord in his room named *Protade*, with whom she was in love. She always hindred the young King of *Burgundy* from marrying, lest a Queen shou'd get too much the ascendant over him, and be able to withdraw him from the dependance in which she kept him. To carry on this design she was obliged to support him in the debauches he had plunged himself into, by furnishing him with proper objects to indulge his passion, in such sort that this Prince at the age of eighteen had already three base sons; but she did not set the two Kings together by the ears till some time after, upon the occasion I am going to mention.

Ibid. 27.

Clotaire King of *Soissons* having recovered his first fright, bethought himself of reconquering a part of his kingdom, which he had lost by a forc'd treaty of peace, and entred the country between the *Seine* and the *Loire* with an army, when he was least expected. He took some

New civil
wars.

An. 602. Some towns, and Duke *Landri*, who commanded his army, laid siege to *Orleans*.

The King of *Burgundy* came to its relief, at whose approach *Landri* rais'd the siege, and withdrew to *Etampes* where he join'd the other forces. *Thierry* followed him thither attended with *Bertoalde*, who notwithstanding his disgrace still commanded the army. The two armies came in sight of each other on *Christmas* day. There was but a little river, and a lane between them, which *Bertoalde* passed with the van-guard. Upon this he was immediately charged by *Landri*, but sustain'd the shock a long time to give the rest of the army time to pass, and draw up in Battalia.

Having given this mark of his fidelity to his King, by whom he had been indeed ill used, and being unable to persuade himself to survive the affront of having the dignity of Mayor of the palace taken from him, and given to his enemy, he threw himself into the hottest part of the fray, and perished there. The victory, which he had begun by sustaining so courageously the first effort of all the enemy's army, was gain'd by the *Burgundians*, who overbore Duke *Landri* with their number. The King of *Burgundy* without delay took the road for *Paris*, and was received there with submission by the inhabitants, who by means of the civil wars had from time to time changed their masters.

While the King of *Burgundy* was attacking Duke *Landri* at *Etampes*, *Theodebert* King of *Austrasia* advanced also with an army against *Clotaire*, who was at the head of another body at *Compiègne*. They were just upon the point of giving battle, when the news of *Landri's* defeat arrived. This new success of the King of *Burgundy* in all appearance gave the King of *Austrasia* a jealousy, who began to fear him. Instead therefore of charging the army of the enemy already dismayed, he hearkned to the proposals which *Clotaire* offer'd him, and made peace with him. And in like manner an accommodation was some time after struck up with the King of *Burgundy*.

Protade kept possession of the dignity of Mayor of the *Burgundian* palace, no longer than while he acted in concert with *Brunebaut* to bring the two brothers to a rupture. They spared no artifice nor calumny, and brought the matter about so as to persuade the King

King that *Theodebert* was not his brother, but a supposititious son imposed upon the late King *Childebert*. An. 605.

Thierry readily believed this gross imposture, which authoriz'd him to dethrone his brother, and take possession of his kingdom. Therefore he declared war against *Theodebert*, at a time when this Prince was taken up with punishing the revolt of a part of the *Saxons*, who refused to submit till most of them were killed and destroyed. Paul Diac. l. 4. c. 31. 32.

War being declared the Kings took the field, but the event proved contrary to *Brunebaut's* expectation. Most of the *Burgundian* Lords that went to this war, did it against their inclinations. And when they were all met together with their arms in their hands, they disclosed their concern, and declared aloud in the army, that it was strange the restless disposition of *Protade* Mayor of the palace, and the ambition of a woman shou'd raise these disturbances in the royal family; and that before they cut each other's throats in this manner, it was necessary for them to see if no way cou'd be found out to accommodate the business. They sent to the King to lay before him the unhappy consequences of this division, and at the same time a troop of soldiers invested the tent of *Protade*, where he for his part was playing at chess with the King's chief physician. They forced the tent, and tore this miserable man in pieces, who enjoyed the honour, to which he had waded thro' so much wickedness, but a few months. Ad tabulam. Cum Archiatro.

Thierry saw plainly by this execution, that he was not very secure himself, and therefore consented to a negotiation. The danger he was in greatly facilitated the accommodation, and the two armies return'd home without fighting. An. 605.

Protade's place was filled by a Lord named *Claude*, An. 606. a prudent and an able statesman, who persuaded *Thierry* in spite of *Brunebaut* to demand *Ermanberge* daughter of *Viteric* King of *Spain* in marriage: which he did and obtain'd her. But when the Princess was arrived in *France*, *Brunebaut* seconded by *Theudelane* the King's sister, set him so much against her, that he put off the marriage for a whole year. At the end An. 607. of the year he sent her back to *Spain*; and which is yet more base, did not restore her portion,

This

An. 607.

Fredeg. in
chron. c. 30.
31.

This conduct had like to have ruined the King of *Burgundy*; for the King of *Spain* being provoked at such an affront, made a league with *Clotaire* King of *Soissons*, with *Theodebert* King of *Austrasia*, and *Agilulphus* King of the *Lombards* to attack the King of *Burgundy*. The armies of these three Princes began their march: but this terrible storm, which shou'd have swallowed up the King of *Burgundy*, dispersed without doing any mischief, either thro' *Brunehaut's* dexterity, or by some other incident not mention'd in history, and the King of *Spain* was not revenged. But God himself soon after took vengeance of all this wretched branch of the royal family, by whom ambition, debauchery, and injustice, were so publicly authorized.

This fatal desolation began by a new division which arose between the two brothers, *Theodebert* King of *Austrasia* and *Thierry* King of *Burgundy*. In the year

An. 610.

610. *Theodebert* entred *Alsatia* with an army, pretending that it was unjustly dismembred from the kingdom of *Austrasia*, and added to that of *Burgundy* by the late King. Upon this the King of *Burgundy* immediately took the field to defend this, and some other countries to which also *Theodebert* wou'd have made good his pretensions. Both of them endeavour'd to persuade *Clotaire* King of *Soissons* to be his second, but he thought proper to remain neuter.

Jonas in vita
S. Colum-
bani.

But notwithstanding the animosity of the two Kings they came to a treaty, and chose the town of *Seltz* upon the *Rhine* for the place of the interview. But *Theodebert*, contrary to the promise he had made his brother, beset him there, and obliged him to agree to

An. 611.

his own terms. The King of *Burgundy* took no notice of the injury for the space of two years. But he negotiated privately with *Clotaire*, and promised if he wou'd always continue in a neutrality, not to make peace with *Theodebert* without obliging him to restore the duchy of *Dentelenus*, between the *Oise* and the *Seine* to the kingdom of *Soissons*. Upon this condition *Clotaire* gave him his word to remain neuter.

An. 612.

Fredeg. in
chron. c. 38.

In the month of *May* 612. *Thierry* entred the territories of *Austrasia*, and advanced as far as *Toul*. In the country adjoining, where *Theodebert* came to engage him, was fought a bloody battle, in which the

Austra-

Austrasians were defeated with a very great slaughter; and *Theodebert* being obliged to fly, repaired to *Metz* his capital, and from thence to *Cologne*, where he soon raised a new army of his subjects on the other side the *Rhine*, repassed this river, and came to meet the King of *Burgundy* as far as *Tolbiac*. This Prince accepted the battle, and gain'd the victory once more, and having detach'd *Bertaire* his chamberlain after *Theodebert*, this general overtook, seized, and brought him to *Cologne*, which *Thierry* had made himself master of.

There this Prince order'd all the marks of the royal dignity to be taken from his brother, and his cruelty proceeded to such a length that he massacred the young Prince *Merovee*, who was taken with the King his father. *Brunebaut* also, to satiate her revenge for the affront *Theodebert* had offer'd her in procuring her to be driven out of the kingdom of *Austrasia*, had him shaved, and soon after order'd him to be run thro' with a dagger. By this death the kingdom of *Austrasia* was united to that of *Burgundy* in the person of *Thierry*.

Jonas in vita
S. Colum-
bani.

The death of
Theodebert
King of Au-
strasia.

The great power to which he saw himself raised, made him forget his promise to reinstate *Clotaire* in the possession of the country between the *Seine* and the *Oise*. But this Prince without waiting for his consent, took possession of it after the battle of *Tolbiac*. *Thierry* sent ambassadors to him to require him to withdraw his forces, and upon his refusal to declare war against him. *Clotaire* kept his hold, resolving any thing rather than to renounce a right so well acquired as that was.

The spring was no sooner come than *Thierry* took the field, with a design to invade the kingdom of *Soissons*: but in passing thro' *Metz*, he was seiz'd with a dysentery of which he died in a short time, in the twenty sixth year of his age, and the seventeenth of his reign; a reign as fatal to *France* as that of his brother. By the death of the King of *Burgundy* *Clotaire*, upon the point of being ruined, saw himself delivered from danger by the retreat of an army which came to charge him: but he did not fail to make his advantage of so favourable a juncture.

An. 613.
The death of
Thierry
King of Au-
strasia.

The hatred which the *Austrasian* Lords had conceiv-
ed against *Brunebaut*, made several of them declare
for *Clotaire*, and he gained a large party also in *Bur-
gundy*.

Fredeg. in
chron. c. 49.
&c seq.

An. 613. *gundy*. *Brunebaut*, who had proclaimed *Sigebert*, the eldest of the four sons *Thierry* had left behind him, King, sent an army against King *Clotaire*, which came up with him near *Chalons*, upon *Marne*; but the generals, who were in correspondence with him, instead of fighting disbanded the army.

After this rout, *Brunebaut* fled to the other side of mount *Jura*. *Childebert* one of *Thierry's* four sons escaped also, without being ever seen afterwards.

The three others were taken and carried to *Clotaire*, who slew the eldest and one of the others named *Corbus*. The fourth, who was called *Merovee*, moved his compassion, because he had formerly stood godfather to him: So he spared him, and this young Prince lived a long time in the condition of a private man. As for *Brunebaut*, after they had made search for her in several places, she was found in the town of *Orbe* between the lake of *Geneva* and mount *Jura*, and carried to *Clotaire* at a place then called *Rionava* upon the *Novigenne* a small river that runs into the *Saone*.

There she was presented to this Prince the son of *Fredegonde*, heir to his mother's mind, and by consequence the most exasperated enemy *Brunebaut* cou'd have upon earth. She had been guilty of a sufficient number of crimes to deserve to be sacrificed to the hatred of the publick. But some were imputed to her which she never committed, to prevent the bemoaning her under the most cruel punishments, with which it was resolved to put an end to her life. *Clotaire* having reproached her among other things with the death of ten Kings, including in the number not only such as had born the sceptre, but also the sons of Kings, to whom this title was sometimes given, delivered her to the executioners, who for three days together tortured her with all sorts of punishments. After which they set her upon a camel and made her walk thro' all the camp, where the soldiers insulted her with a thousand outrages and affronts. At length they tyed her by the hair, by one foot and an arm to the tail of a wild horse, who dragging her all round the camp, tore her in pieces, and put an end to her infamy and her punishment. Her body was thrown into the fire by the people, and burnt to ashes. Thus perished the miserable *Brunebaut*, who in some respects was a very great

Brunebaut
betrayed and
delivered to
Clotaire II.

Her infamous
and cruel
death.

Appendix ad
chronic, Ma-
rij.

great Queen, and in many others an extreme bad woman. An. 613.

It was about the end of the year 613, that the family and branch of *Sigebert* the first King of *Austrasia* and grandson of *Clovis* was thus exterminated. And by this means *Clotaire II.* got possession of all the *French* empire, in the thirtieth year of his reign reckoning from the death of *Chilperic*, and in the thirtieth or thirty first of his age: For he was not above four months old at the death of his father.

Clotaire II. was the third universal monarch of the *French* empire after the establishment of the monarchy in *Gaul*, and the second of this name who had the good fortune to be so; who by a destiny attending upon his name, having had *Soissons* the least considerable of the *French* kingdoms for his share, united all the others to it, as his grandfather *Clotaire I.* had done before him. *Clotaire II.*
sole monarch
of France.

He made it his whole business to endeavour the re-establishment of order and tranquillity in his vast Empire, which he successfully effected. The punishment of *Alethaus* the patrician, Duke of *Transjurane Burgundy*, whom he beheaded for a conspiracy against him, was almost the only instance of severity during the first years of his monarchy, which he complied with on purpose to keep the *Grandeess* in their duty. Fredeg. in
chron. c. 44

Being firmly resolv'd to keep peace with his neighbours, he consented that *Adaloalde* King of the *Lombards* shou'd redeem by a moderate sum once paid the tribute of twelve thousand *sols d'Or*, which that nation had paid *France* from the time of *Gontran* for the purchase of a peace. Fredeg. in.
chron. c. 45.

Clotaire continuing always in the same disposition to maintain peace throughout the Empire of *France*, had a mind to discharge himself of the government of a considerable part of his states, viz. of the kingdom of *Austrasia* and all his possessions in *Germany*, which he gave his eldest son with the title of King. This is the first example we have in *France* of a communication of this august title. Ibid. c. 47.
An. 622.

This Prince was named *Dagobert*, a mere youth, son of the first of *Clotaire's* three wives. He gave him two persons of great wisdom and piety for his mini- He makes his
son Dagobert
King of Au-
strasia.

An. 625. ministers, *Arnoldus* Bishop of Metz, and *Pepin* Mayor of the *Austrasian* palace. Four years after he married him to *Gomatrude*, sister of Queen *Sichilde* then reigning.

Ibid. c. 54. This long tranquillity of *Clotaire's* government was a little interrupted by the revolt of the *Gascons* and

An. 626. *Saxons*. The first were easily suppressed, but he was forced to make war upon the *Saxons*.

The revolt of the Saxons. Their Duke *Bertoalde* engaged several barbarous nations in his interest, and sent *Clotaire* word that he wou'd no longer pay tribute. *Dagobert* drew his army together, and march'd first, expecting his father's arrival to join him. The *Saxon* Duke attack'd him, and the *French* were hard beset. *Dagobert* had his helmet cleft with a cutlash, and was obliged to leave the camp.

Armigerum. He dispatch'd his Esquire to *Clotaire* to hasten his march; but at the same time to let him know that he had done his duty in the fight, he sent him the pieces of his helmet and the hair which he had lost by the blow of the cutlash.

Clotaire decamp'd the same night he received this news, and march'd with all expedition to join *Dagobert*, and found the two armies posted on the river *Vefer*. He passed the river with his cavalry in sight of the enemy, and having discovered the Duke of the *Saxons*, he rode up to him, charged, defeated, and killed him, and having beheaded him, stuck his head upon the point of a lance. His forces animated by the example of his bravery, fell furiously upon the *Saxons*, and cut them in pieces.

An. 626. This was the last exploit of this Prince who died some months after in the forty fifth year of his life and reign. His valour, of which this last action is a great proof, and the resolution with which he sustain'd the attacks of the Kings of *Burgundy* and *Austrasia*, who were much superior to him in force, was so much the more to be prized, as he knew how to moderate it for the repose and quiet of his subjects. His cruelty to *Brunebaut* and her family is the only blot in this Prince's life, which yet he effaced by the lenity of his government, by a singular piety, by his charity to the poor, by his liberality to the church, by the particular veneration he had for the servants of God, and by his constant perseverance in goodness and virtue during the thirteen

thirteen or fourteen years that he reigned alone in *An. 626.*
France: Queen *Fredegonde* his mother having taken
 care to commit him to the government and direction
 of good tutors. It was he, who in a numerous assembly
 of Bishops and Lords had the laws of the *Aleman-*
ni put in writing, and digested into a code. To con-
 clude, in some ancient monuments he is sometimes
 called *Clotaire* the Great, and sometimes *Clotaire* the
 Debonnaire. There are two things laid to his charge:
 First that he was too fond of game, and secondly, that
 he was too complaisant to the Ladies, and too suscep-
 tible of the impressions that were by their means made
 upon him. He was buried in the church of *S. Vincent*,
 now *S. Germain des Prez*, by his father *Chilperic* and
 his mother *Fredegonde*, whom he had the happiness and
 the glory not to be like.

DAGOBERT.

Dagobert, upon the news of the King his father's *An. 628.*
 death, so order'd matters by his friends in *Neu-*
stria and *Burgundy*, and by means of a nu-
 merous army, which he set on foot in a short time,
 that these two kingdoms acknowledged him for King
 in exclusion of *Caribert* or *Aribert* his brother. How-
 ever by the advice of the most moderate of his
 council, he left him a considerable part of *Aquitaine*
 or the country on the other side the *Loire*, that is to
 say, *Thoulouse*, *Agensis*, *Quercy*, *Xaintonge*, *Perigord*,
 that which we now call *Gascogne*, all the towns of the
Pyrenees, and all this frontier of *Spain* as far as the
 ancient *Gascogne*, which was on the other side. This
 young Prince, after the example of the ancient Kings
 of the *Visigoths*, made *Thoulouse* the capital of his go-
 vernment, which he enlarged three years after by sub-
 duing the *Gascons*, who had shook off the yoke of
France.

Dagobert, who was now in peaceable possession of
 his great kingdom, made a circuit round the principal
 provinces of it, and distributed justice with so much
 integrity, uprightness, and exactitude, that they were
 every

*Fredeg. in
 chron. c. 56*

*Dagobert's
 happy begin-
 nings.*

An. 628. every where full of his praises, and openly declared he was the greatest King that ever governed *France*.

Ibid. c. 25. He came to *Paris* and fix'd his capital there, after the example of his predecessors; and being at *Rumilli* a summer-house in the adjacent parts, he there divorced *Gomatrude* whom he had married at *Clichy* some years before. He did this by the advice of his council, because she was barren, and at the same time took to wife one of her maids of honour, called *Nantilde*.

His irregularities. From this divorce, which was contrary to the laws of the church, tho' it was thought beneficial to the state, he soon passed to debauchery: and this was one consequence of the retirement of *Arnoldus* the holy Bishop of *Metz*, who obtain'd his permission to quit the ministry and withdraw himself to solitude and recess. Immediately he fell in love with a young *Austrasian* named *Ranetrude*, and had by her a son called *Sigebert*. And his irregularities continually increased upon him afterwards, that he surpassed the lewdest of his ancestors. He had at the same time three wives, who all bore the name of Queen, and mistresses every where without number. And to satisfy their insatiable demands, he was forced to lay heavy taxes upon his people, by which he attracted the hatred of his subjects, who adored him before.

An. 630. In the mean time his brother *Caribert* King of *Aquitain* died, and his death was within a few days followed by that of *Chilperic* his only son. *Dagobert* took possession of his kingdom and of *Gasconia* *Ultramontana* conquer'd by *Caribert*, by which means the whole *French* monarchy was a fourth time reunited under the dominion of one single King.

The neighbourhood of so puissant a Prince as *Dagobert* caused a revolution in *Spain*, or at least contributed very much to it. *Suintila* King of the *Visigoths* reigned there in glory. He had subdued the *Gascons*, and entirely expelled the *Greeks*, who had maintain'd themselves 'till that time in some places there by the help of some assistance from *Africa*. A *Gothick* Lord named *Sisenande* revolted from him, pretending that this Prince had violated the laws of the nation, by associating his son as yet an infant without having first demanded the consent of the Lords and Bishops. He levied troops, and engaged *Dagobert* to support him.

This Prince sent an army into *Spain*, which marched as far as *Saragossa*, and order'd another to follow it, made up of *Burgundian* forces. *Sisenande* had conquer'd *Suintila*, who was deserted by his army and forced to fly, without remedy. *Sisenande* mounted the throne and maintain'd himself in it. And every thing being brought under his power, he dismissed the *French* with rich presents.

An. 630.

While *Dagobert* was employ'd in taking possession of his brother's kingdom, and in the war with *Spain*, another broke out in a different extremity of his states in *Germany*. The *Sclavonian Vinides* having taken up arms against the *Avars*, who had subjugated them, a *French* merchant, named *Samon*, did them so much service, and perform'd such extraordinary exploits, that they desired him to head them, and made him their King. He accepted their offer, made war successfully, governed and defended them against their enemies for thirty five years that he lived after his coronation. It was this merchant, now become a King, that had the assurance to maintain a war against the King of *France*. The cause of this war was the ill treatment that the *French* merchants had receiv'd in the country of the *Sclavonians*, some of whom were killed and their goods pillaged.

A merchant
named Samon
becomes
King of the
Vinides.

Fredeg. in
chron. c. 68.

Dagobert demanded satisfaction for it. *Samon* was very much inclined to give it, but being afraid of provoking the *Vinides* by delivering up those who were to blame in the affair, and being offended at the haughty language of the envoy of *France*, he drove him out of his presence. Upon this they attack'd him with a numerous army, and after three assaults, which he sustain'd three days continually in his camp, the *French* army being weakened with the great losses they met with, withdrew in disorder, leaving their tents and baggage behind them. The Duke of the *Urbians*, a part of the *Sclavonian* nation, who had formely submitted to the *French*, took this opportunity of revolting. The *Vinides* made irruptions as far as *Turingia*, and *Samon* ravaged it with an army. The King stir'd up the *Saxons* against them by discharging them of the yearly tribute they paid him: but they were beaten by the *Vinides*, who being worsted however some time after, a peace was concluded.

He defeats
the French,
and obliges
them to make
peace with
him.

An. 631.
& 632.

An. 632. This war, in which the *French* nation lost a great deal of its reputation, gave *Dagobert* much uneasiness, which determin'd him to follow his father's example in making his son *Sigebert*, King of *Austrasia*, to the intent that the *Austrasians*, who always wish'd to have a King of their own, might have more regard to the defense of their frontiers, and that the orders, which he was to give for that purpose, might more affect them.

Sigebert, son of Dagobert, is designed King of Austrasia.

Fredeg. in chron. c. 75. An. 633. This association of *Sigebert*, who was not then quite three years old, was made at *Metz* in an assembly of Lords and Bishops. *Dagobert* gave him for his ministers *Cunibert*, Bishop of *Cologne*, and *Adalgise*, whom he made Duke of the *Austrasian* palace, a character which seems to be distinguish'd here from that of Mayor of the palace; for *Pepin*, whom *Dagobert* retain'd with him, had that, and this also afterwards.

Ibid. c. 76.

What the *Austrasians* had always wish'd, to have their own particular King, the *Neustrians* and *Burgundians* wish'd also. Wherefore *Dagobert* having afterwards another son by Queen *Nantilda*, who was named *Clovis*, the Bishops and Lords of these two kingdoms desired the King not only to give the new born Prince the character of King of *Neustria* and *Burgundy*, but also to agree with the *Austrasians*, that their King should content himself with the kingdom of *Austrasia*, and that *Clovis* should be declar'd successor to the other kingdoms, to the intent, that at the King's death the people might not be expos'd to the miseries of civil war, as had often hapn'd already since the establishment of the monarchy. This demand appearing very just and beneficial for the repose of the state, was allowed, and matters adjusted according to this proposal, notwithstanding the opposition of the *Austrasians*, who wou'd hardly consent to it.

Clovis, Dagobert's second son, designed King of Neustria and Burgundy.

An. 634.

Ibid. c. 78.

An. 635.

Dagobert once more defeated the *Gascons*, who descending from the *Pyrenees* entred *Novempopulania* (the present *Gascogne*) and ravaged it. But the *French* drove them back to their mountains, fell upon them there, and made a great slaughter of them; upon which their commanders were forc'd to come to *Paris* and implore the King's clemency, who pardon'd them because at their arrival they took sanctuary in the church

church of *St. Denys*, for whom this Prince had a great veneration. An. 635.

The *Bretons* also had invaded the frontiers of *France*: and the King was upon the point of sending the army that had been to chastise the *Gascons*, into *Britany*; but before he declared war against them he thought proper to send *S. Eligius*, afterwards Bishop of *Noyon*, who was then at court, to *Judicaël*, Count of *Britany*. He succeeded in his negotiation with this Prince, who had himself a great deal of piety, and persuaded him to come to the court of *France*. The King receiv'd him there with great goodness, and the differences were accommodated to the mutual satisfaction of both parties.

*Audoenus in
vita S. Eli-
gii.*

Dagobert did not long enjoy the peace he had procured to his whole kingdom. He was seized of a dysentery, of which he died *January 19, 638.* at *An. 638.*
Epinay, a house of pleasure upon the river *Seine* near *Paris*. He was interr'd in the abby of *St. Denys*, which he had enrich'd with a great many lands, and adorn'd with magnificent presents, some of which are yet to be seen in the treasury of this abby.

He was not at most above thirty five or thirty six years of age. He employ'd himself or others, after the example of his predecessors, in correcting the laws of the several nations brought under the government of the *French* empire. The great charities which he disburs'd, even in the midst of his debaucheries, appear to me a much more solid ground for believing that God had mercy on him, than the visions which the anonymous monk of *St. Denys* speaks of, who neither lived nor wrote till long after his time.

*Gesta Dag.
Reg. c. 45.*

An. 638.

CLOVIS II. *King of Neustria and Burgundy*; SIGEBERT II. *King of Austrasia*.

Vita S. Eligii per S. Audouenum.

FRANCE, like all other states, has had its vicissitudes, its periods of rising and its falls. In the two preceding reigns it was at an higher pitch of grandeur and power than ever, quiet at home, fear'd abroad, and abounding with every thing that could make a nation happy. Nothing was ever more splendid than the courts of *Clotaire* and *Dagobert*. Our historians talk of nothing but the magnificence, not to say the luxury of the court Lords, of spacious churches, and monasteries built in great numbers by the Kings and private men: all which supposes both the Prince's treasure, and the whole kingdom to be at that time very opulent and wealthy: but the pomp and splendor of this flourishing monarchy began insensibly to decay by the weakness of the succeeding Princes, who suffer'd their ministers to have too great a share in the royal authority. From this time we see civil wars spring up anew, and the frontiers revolt: whole provinces dismember'd from the empire; and all this tending in time to the degradation and ruin of *Clovis's* posterity.

The beginning of the power of the Mayors of the palace.

They were the Mayors of the palace, whose power came at last to such a height as to jostle out the authority of the Kings; and it was in the reigns of *Clovis II.* and *Sigibert II.* whose history I am now entering upon, that those who possessed this dignity began insensibly to invade the government of the state, and in a manner to make themselves absolute masters of it.

Fredeg. in chr. c. 79, 80.

Dagobert, at his death, committed the government of the kingdoms of *Neustria* and *Burgundy* to one of his ministers named *Æga*, and Queen *Nantilda* jointly together, during the minority of his son *Clovis*, who was not then above six or seven years old. *Æga*, if he was not then Mayor of the palace, was so soon after.

Duke *Pepin* was Mayor of the palace of *Austrasia*. *Dagobert* had always kept him with him in *Neustria*. But as soon as the Prince was dead, he repair'd to *Sigebert*, who was then about eleven years of age, took upon him the execution of his charge, and governed *Austrasia* with *Cunibert*, Archbishop of *Cologne*, with whom he had always held a great intimacy and friendship.

An. 638.

Pepin died within two years after his arrival at *Austrasia*. This is he who is commonly called *Pepin* the old, to distinguish him from his grandson called *Pepin* the young, father of, *Charles Martel*, and grandfather of a third *Pepin*, who was the founder of the second line of our Kings. *Pepin* the old left a son behind him named *Grimoald*, inheritor of many of his great qualities, but not of his virtue. He carried the dignity of Mayor of the palace from *Otho* his competitor, whose father had been the King's tutor, but the affair was not determined but by the death of *Otho*, who was killed by *Leuthaire* Duke of the *Alemanni*, *Grimoald*'s great friend. Thus the young King had not even authority to choose him a minister, or rather a master.

Ibid. c. 85.

An. 640.

Fredeg. in
chron. c. 86.
88.

Duke *Radulfus* maintain'd himself in spight of this Prince, in his government of *Turingia*, which he had well defended against the *Sclavonian Vinides*, who would have taken it from him. Much blood was spilt upon this occasion in two battles. The King betray'd by some of the Lords, and ill serv'd by those who continued faithful to him, was constrain'd to capitulate with his subject, and leave him in possession of this government, exacting only a new oath of allegiance from him.

This was the only memorable expedition in *Sigebert*'s reign, more taken up with works of piety and religion than with military actions and affairs of state. They reckon up twelve monasteries founded by his order, and at his expence, in the kingdom of *Austrasia*.

The reign of his brother *Clovis II.* was equally inglorious. After the death of *Æga*, master of the palace, who died in the third year of his regency, *Erchinoald* was, in like manner, Mayor of the palace of *Neustria* only. The *Burgundians*, who had agreed to

have

An. 640.

Fredeg. in
chron. c. 89.

have no Mayors at all in the reign of *Clotaire II.* elected one for the kingdom of *Burgundy*, and *Nantilda*, the Queen-mother, procured the choice for *Flarade*, who was very much attach'd to her, and to whom she had married her niece named *Ranoberge*. She managed the matter so, that he had always a good understanding with the Mayor of the palace of *Neustria*.

About the
years 654,
655, 656.Apud Du-
chesne
T. I.

The two Kings died at very near the same time, as far as we can guess in the confusion of our chronology, which is darker than ever under these reigns: but *Sigebert* died first. The writers who speak of *Clovis*, and are for the most part monks, are some of them too extravagant in their praises, and others in their reproaches of him. According to these he was a Prince abandon'd to all sorts of debauchery, and a man of no spirit. According to others, he was a wise and well-disposed Prince, a man of courage, equity and piety. It is hard to say which were in the right. He left three sons behind him, *Clotaire III.* of that name, *Childeric* and *Thierry*.


As for *Sigebert*, King of *Austrasia*, he was, as I have already observed, and according to all our historians, a very good and godly Prince, but as bad a politician, if we judge rather by the facts themselves which the monk *Sigebert* relates, than by the empty praises he gives him by way of gratitude for the great benefactions he heaped upon his order. It was in the reign of *Sigebert*, that the Mayors of the palace began to shew how far they would carry their pretensions, and that their ambition had no less an object than the throne itself.

Vita Sigeb.
apud
Hensch.
Grimoald,
Mayor of
the palace,
gets Sigebert
to adopt his
son.

Sigebert suffer'd himself to be so far deceived by *Grimoald's* artifices, who possess'd this post in his kingdom, that he promised to adopt his son, in case he had no children. He cou'd have done no more, if he had seen himself without posterity at the age of fourscore: but he had a son whom he named *Dagobert*, after his grandfather. The greatest fault he committed was upon his death-bed, when he declared the Mayor his son's guardian. This was to deliver him up to the discretion of an ambitious wretch, who did actually yield to the temptation of transporting the crown into his own family.

He

He had not cruelty enough to attempt the life of the young Prince: but having given out that he died of a fit of sickness, he sent him privately into *Scotland*. *Didon* Bishop of *Poitiers*, tho' a near relation of *Dagobert's*, had the baseness and treachery to serve as an instrument to the tyrant's ambition. He himself carried the Prince into *Scotland*, and left him there abandoned to his bad fortune. Afterwards *Grimoald* making use of the pretended adoption of his son by the late King *Sigebert*, crown'd him King of *Austrasia*. This usurper took the name of *Childebert*, which in all likelihood he never assum'd till he was raised to the throne.

An. 656.

 He transports
 Dagobert, son
 of Sigebert,
 into Scot-
 land.
 Vita Sancti
 Wilfridi.
 He crowns
 his son King
 of Austrasia.

But it was not long that he held it. A powerful party was made against him, not only in favour of the exil'd Prince whom they believed to have been dead; but of other Princes of the Royal Family, I mean of the sons of *Clovis II*. The matter was so well managed that *Grimoald* cou'd not stand against it, his son was dethron'd, and himself taken and carried to *Paris*, where he died in prison. *Childeric* the second son of *Clovis* was placed upon the throne of *Austrasia*. *Clotaire* the eldest had *Neustria* and *Burgundy* for his share; *Thierry* the third son had not at that time any part in the succession.

The father
 and son are
 punished for
 their crime.

CLOTAIRE III. King of Neustria and Burgundy; CHILDERIC; King of Austrasia.

CLOTAIRE III. reign'd four years according to some writers, and seven according to others. There are some also who lengthen out his reign to ten years, and others to fifteen or sixteen. It furnishes us with nothing memorable, excepting one single event mention'd in the history of the *Lombards*, from whom *France* took some part of their country. *Grimoald* Duke of *Beneventum* having usurped the kingdom of the *Lombards*, *Pertharit* the lawful heir after many

Paul Lang.
 l. 4. c. 53.

An. 663

An. 663. many adventures took sanctuary in *France*, where they had compassion on his misfortunes, and soon after order'd an army to be rais'd, and to march over the *Alps* against the *Lombards*. But the *French* suffer'd themselves to be surprized by the Duke of *Beneventum*; and being intirely defeated, *Pertharit* was forsaken by *France*, and obliged to fly for shelter into *England*. But at length, after nine or ten years disgrace, *Grimoald* being dead, the *Lombards* restored him to the throne of his father.

Queen Batilda, Regent of the kingdoms of Neustria and Burgundy. She retires to Chelles. Vita Sancti Leodeg. c. 2. Ebroin, Mayor of the palace, his tyranny.

Queen *Batilda* mother of *Clotaire III.* governed the kingdom with *Ebroin* Mayor of the palace for a great part of the reign of this Prince; but retiring afterwards to the monastery of *Chelles*, where she lived and died like a saint, the whole authority fell into the hands of *Ebroin*.

Batilda's wisdom, moderation, and resolution was, during the time that she governed, a curb upon the violent disposition of *Ebroin*. He was one of those cunning, ambitious, and insolent men who gain authority as well by hardiness as subtilty, who push their power to the utmost, and manage it without any fear or regard. As soon as he saw himself entirely master of affairs, he acted the tyrant. There was no coming at him but by bribery. He equally exposed justice and injustice for a price. The people were burden'd, the Nobility ill used, and the least faults cost persons of the highest character and quality their lives.

The death of Clotaire III. without children.

In the mean time *Clotaire* died, and left no male issue behind him. The crown regularly devolved upon *Childeric* King of *Austrasia*, the eldest of the two brothers of the deceased King, or upon *Thierry* the youngest, who had no part in the succession of his father *Clovis*. The people of *Neustria* and *Burgundy* being desirous to have a King to themselves, as well as the *Austrasians*, had most inclination for *Thierry*. *Ebroin* also designed to proclaim him King, which he did, but without calling the Nobility together, contrary to the usual method in those cases.

Ebroin banished to a monastery.

This conduct was more than the *Grandeess* of the realm cou'd bear, and produced a general revolt in *Neustria* and *Burgundy*. *Ebroin* had no other way to avoid the fury of the people than by taking refuge in a church, where they refused to grant him his life but upon

upon condition of his taking the habit and tonsure of a monk in the abby of *Luxeuil*. An. 663.

Their aversion to the Minister recoil'd upon the Prince, whom he would have placed upon the throne of *Burgundy* and *Neustria*. So *Thierry* was seized, and shaved, and had the permission of his brother *Childeric*, to whom the two crowns were yielded up, to retire to the abby of *S. Denys*. Thus *Childeric* added to the kingdom of *Austrasia*, which he possess'd already, those of *Neustria* and *Burgundy*.

Before the assembly of the great Lords broke up, they presented a petition to the King, in which among other things they requested him not to put the whole authority and government of the state into the hands of one man. But this article did not extend to the suppression of the office of Mayor of the palace, but only to the moderating his power; for Duke *Wulfoalde* was chosen Mayor in the kingdom of *Austrasia*: and this was the best opportunity the Prince could have had to deliver himself from slavery, if he had been capable of making use of it.

Childeric
King of the
three realms.

They had good hopes of his government when they saw that he made choice of *Leger*, Bishop of *Autun* for his chief minister, and, according to some, for the Mayor of his palace of *Neustria* and *Burgundy*. For that Prelate was a person of quality, and related to the royal family, and universally esteem'd for his capacity, virtue and merit: But this fair prospect was of no long continuance.

Ibid. c. 4.

The Prince admitted certain pragmatcal, passionate persons, who had hardly any religion, into an intimacy and familiarity with him, who soon made him withdraw all the confidence and trust he had reposed in his sage minister. *Wulfoalde*, Mayor of the palace of *Austrasia*, join'd in the plot against the Bishop, who ran the risk of his life, and was thought to be favourably dealt with, in being shut up in the monastery of *Luxeuil*. There he found *Ebroin* in the habit of a monk, who immediately desired his friendship. But the violent death of the King, which happened shortly after, soon set these ministers at liberty, and revived the ambition of *Ebroin*.

His coil de-
partments.

Childeric, depriv'd of the advice and assistance of Bishop *Leger*, had no other guide but his passion. He was

An. 663. was naturally very hasty, and being one day angry with a certain Lord named *Bodillon*, he us'd him as a slave, ordering him to be ty'd to a post and receive a thousand blows.

He is assassinated.

This gentleman, exasperated at such treatment, conspired against him with some of his friends, and a few days after laid an ambush in a forest, where *Childeric*, with Queen *Bibichilda*, who was then big with child, was killed. They had two sons, the one named *Dagobert*, then very young, who was also massacred upon this occasion, or at least did not live long after. The other escaped and shut himself up in a monastery for several years, but in time came out to ascend the throne of his ancestors.

Childeric was twenty four years of age when he died. He was a Prince of no conduct or courage, neither capable of governing himself, or of suffering those to govern, whose prudence might have supply'd his defects.

Dagobert, son of Sigebert, returns from his banishment in Scotland, and is acknowledged King of one part of Austrasia.

About the end of his reign there appeared all of a sudden, and when it was least expected in *France*, a Prince of the royal family, I mean the young *Dagobert*, son of *Sigebert*, King of *Austrasia*, whom we have already seen banished beyond sea by *Grimoald* the treacherous Mayor of his palace. This young Prince having wander'd a long time, at last met with an *Englishman*, who was a person of quality, named *Wilfrid*, to whom he opened himself upon the particulars of his bad fortune. The *Englishman*, moved with compassion, took him home with him, carried him into *England*, and some time after procured him a secure passage into *Austrasia*.

Childeric, who had a great regard for *Dagobert's* mother *Innichilde*, consented that he should reign, at least in *Alsatia*, and the parts about the *Rhine*.

Acta Sanct. T. 7, lib. de tribus Dagobertis. Valeſius preſends alſo to the honour of this diſcovery.

This Prince, who had diſappear'd in *France* for ſeveral years, has done the ſame alſo for a long time in our hiſtory, by the negligence of our modern hiſtorians, who were for the moſt part but little converſant in antiquity. We are obliged for this particular to the learned *Henſchenius*, who in the life of *S. Wilfrid* has diſentangled this important point of our Hiſtory.

Childeric's

Childeric's death was followed by an interregnum An. 663. of some months at least, during which those who had been imprison'd or banish'd in the preceding reign, fill'd *France* with murders and robberies. The partisans of the Bishop of *Autun* and those of *Ebroin*, went to pay their respects to them in the place of their retirement, and put them at their head. *Ebroin* forgetting the friendship he had sworn to the prelate, because he found him in a condition of rivalling him, resolved to have him assassinated, but was dissuaded from his purpose by *Genesius* Bishop of *Lyons*. He continued to dissemble, and made his entrance into *Autun* with Bishop *Leger*; where they were received with all the marks of joy, which a people is capable of shewing upon these occasions. It was principally upon the Bishop's account that they made these rejoicings. But their aversion to the late government, which had blotted out all remembrance of *Ebroin's* violent proceedings, or the inconstancy of the people, made them glad to see even him return from exile.

THIERRY *King of Burgundy and Neustria.*

DURING these transactions, *Thierry*, whose hair had time to grow during his retirement at *S. Denys*, resum'd the title of King, and had already a great court at *Nogent*, which is now called *S. Cloud*. The Bishop of *Autun* repaired to him with his friends, and *Ebroin* made as if he wou'd have taken the same measures: but fearing lest the Bishop shou'd get the upper hand of him with the new King, he alter'd his design.

He repair'd to *Austrasia*, where he had many friends, and produced a young child to whom he gave the name of *Clovis* declaring him to be the son of *Clotaire III.* and had interest enough to get him proclaimed King of *France*. *Didier* Bishop of *Chalons* upon *Saone* and *Bobon* Bishop of *Valence*, who were both of them *Burgundians*, and had been deposed for their crimes, countenanced and supported the vain pretences of this faction, so that in a short time *Ebroin* with his new King found himself at the head of an army and in a

An. 663. condition to enter the kingdom of *Neustria* to oblige the rest of the *French* to recognize the King he had set up.

He advanced as far as *Paris* with a design to surprise *Thierry*, ravaged all the country thereabouts, enrich'd his army with the spoils of churches and the substance of all those that refused to declare for him. Bishop *Leger* was return'd some days before to *Autun*: where he was besieged by the forces of the Bishop of *Chalons* conducted by himself in person. The holy prelate to prevent the devastation of the town, delivered himself up into the hands of his enemies against the will and dissuasion of his people. The Bishop of *Chalons* had the cruelty to put out his eyes, and committed him to the custody of *Vaymer* one of the heads of his party.

Ebroin re-
establish'd in
his office of
Mayor of the
palace.

Ebroin, being now grown formidable to *Thierry*, obliged him to come to terms with him, and forced him to make him Mayor of his palace: after which he deserted his phantom of a King, whom he had produced only for the sake of compassing this dignity. Some time after he made search for all those who had had any hand in the assassination of *Chilperic*, and under this pretence put to death a great number of Lords whom he suspected might oppose him. He used the same artifice some years after against the holy Bishop of *Autun*, whom he kept imprison'd for a considerable time in the monastery of *Feschamp*, and at last beheaded.

Henschen.
de tribus Da-
gobertis l. 8.

It is highly probable that *Dagobert*, who, as I have already observed, reigned in one part of *Austrasia*, took the advantage of these broils to put himself in possession of some other remainders of this kingdom which belonged to him by birth-right.

In vita S. Sa-
labergz.

But after he had reigned seven or eight years, a war breaking out between him and *Thierry*, he was assassinated as he was hunting in the forest of *Vainre*, by a factious gang belonging to the party that *Ebroin* had always kept up in this kingdom, and which was a remnant of Mayor *Grimoald's* faction, by whom this Prince had been formerly banish'd into *Scotland*. Some ancient monuments speak of a son of *Dagobert's* named *Sigebert*, who is supposed to have been killed with him. And thus the throne of *Austrasia* was left vacant.

The

The Dukes *Pepin* and *Martin*, who were cousin-germans and of Mayor *Grimoald's* family, were declared Dukes or governors of the Kingdom of *Austrasia*; and the people being afraid of falling under *Ebroin's* tyranny refused to acknowledge *Thierry* for King of *Austrasia*.

An. 663.

Fredeg. in
chron. c. 97.

It was a dangerous blow to the rights of the Royal Family, to dismember so considerable a part as this is from the kingdom, and occasion'd a war between the two governments, in which the Dukes or governors of *Austrasia* were defeated, and *Martin* perished by the treachery of *Ebroin*. By his death *Pepin* became sole Duke of *Austrasia*, and afterwards employed all those great qualities nature had given him, to ruin the Royal Authority. This is he who is called in history *Pepin le gros*, by reason of his short and thick stature. He is also called *Pepin d'Heristal* from the name of a palace that belong'd to him, which name is still retain'd by the borough wherein this palace was seated upon the banks of the *Meuse*, a league above *Liege*. He made use of several happy conjunctures, that were either started by him or offer'd themselves, to raise himself to the head of affairs not only in *Austrasia*, but also in all the *French Empire*.

Austrasia being dismembered from the crown has Pepin le gros for its Duke.

Ebroin the Mayor of the palace having lorded it over *France* for more than twenty five years, met at last with the ordinary fate of men of his character and such as abuse their authority. He was assassinated by a Lord named *Hermanfroy*, who was persecuted by him but got the better of him. After his death *Thierry* had several Mayors of the palace successively in a few years, one of whom named *Gislemar* made war upon Duke *Pepin*, who by the manner in which he defended himself, secured his government in *Austrasia*; and soon after resolved himself to go upon the offensive side and to attack his enemies. *Ebroin's* persecution had forced several Lords to fly for shelter to *Austrasia*, and some others were just arrived to throw themselves into *Pepin's* protection, by reason of the ill treatment they had received from the new Mayor named *Bertraire* for opposing his election. *Pepin* hearkened to the instances of all his exiles, who were continually soliciting him to make war upon *Thierry*; but before he took up arms, he represented to him the injus-

About the
year 683.

Continuar.
Fredeg. c. 98.
Ebroin is assassinated.

tice

An. 663.

Annal. Me-
tenses ad an.
689.

tice of oppressing these Lords, and intreated him to restore them what had been taken from them. This Prince, instigated by *Bertraire*, gave a haughty and threatening answer, which took away all hopes of an accommodation.

Upon this *Pepin* drew his army together, entred *Neustria*, and advanced as far as the river *Somme*, incamping at *Tesstri*, a village between *S. Quentin* and *Peronne*, upon the little river of *Daumignon*.

Thierry was already posted on the other side this river with an army much exceeding that of *Pepin* in number, with a full resolution to fall upon him, if he ventured to pass over it. But the Duke made up in stratagem what he wanted in forces, decamped all night, and passed the river at high water in a place which he had discovered to be fordable. *Thierry's* spies coming early the next morning to the *Austrasian* camp, found the coast clear, only some waggons, and paltry baggage half burnt. So they return'd speedily to make their report, and brought word that the *Austrasians* had fled away with such precipitation, that they had left their baggage behind them, and set fire to them.

Thierry immediately sounded to Horse, and made his army pass the river with all speed, to pursue the enemy, supposing he shou'd now be able to cut him off from all possibility of escaping.

Ibid. ad an.
690.

Pepin defeats
Thierry's
army.

But hardly was one half of the army got over, when *Pepin* appeared upon the hills on the other side. *Thierry* immediately draws back his forces: but *Pepin* taking advantage of the confusion they were in, charg'd them on all sides and cut them in pieces. A great number of *Neustrian* and *Burgundian* Lords were killed upon the spot, and the rest disbanded and fled. *Bertraire* the Mayor of the Palace was killed by some of his own soldiers. *Pepin* pursued them closely, and dissipating all that drew together again, march'd up to *Paris*, which open'd their gates. The citizens delivered the King and all his treasures into his hands, and when he was master of the King's person, he was of course master of his kingdom.

Annal. Me-
tenses.

He leaves
him only the
title of King.

The author, from whom we learn these particulars, very much commends *Pepin* for leaving *Thierry* the name of King. But besides this he left him nothing save a good table, and an unactive slothful life, which were

were in all appearance as agreeable to his inclinations, An. 663. as they were beneath his birth and rank. In every thing else *Pepin* deserves the praise of his moderation. For he pardoned his prisoners and all those, who had fled to *S. Quentin* and *Peronne* for security, and restored them to the possession of their estates, only requiring them to swear that they wou'd never for the future act in opposition to his interest.

When he saw every thing quiet, he entred upon the business of government, consider'd the state of the kingdom with much application, and restored so perfect an order and tranquillity, that he attracted both the hearts and admiration of the people. But he knew well that something more remarkable and extraordinary was requir'd to preserve this esteem, and employ the unquiet spirits of the nation.

After the reigns of *Clovis IV.* and his brother *Sigbert*, several tributary nations had shaken off the yoke of *France*. Such as the *Saxons*, the *Suevi*, the *Frisons*, the *Alemanni*, the *Bavarians*, the *Bretons*, and above all the *Gascons*, who had made themselves masters of a part of *Aquitain*.

Pepin, when he was only Duke of *Austrasia*, had already subdued the *Saxons*, the *Bavarians*, and the *Suevi*: but he had not yet been able to compass the rest of this frontier. However he set about repairing all these breaches in the *French Empire*, as soon as he was in a fit condition for such an undertaking.

He left a man with *Thierry*, of whose fidelity he was well assured, named *Norbert*, to whom he committed the whole authority, and carried almost all the money, which he found in the treasury, with him into *Austrasia*. His first expedition was against *Radbode* Duke of the *Frisons*, in which he defeated him, obliged him to ask quarter, to submit again to a tribute, and to give hostages for the security of his promise. This is all that was done in this campaign. After which he caused a council to be called for regulating the affairs of the church, in which many good orders were established for the support of the poor, and the protection of pupils, widows and orphans. About this time *Thierry* died. His death had no influence upon affairs, nor was of any greater consequence than that of a private man. *Pepin* proclaimed his eldest son *Clovis* King

Pepin's wife
government.

Gesta Reg.
Francorum
cap. 48.

Annal. Me-
tenses ad an.
692.

Ibid. ad an.
693.
Thierry's
death.

in

An. 581. in his room. But this Prince dying at the expiration of five years, was succeeded by *Childebert* the youngest.

CLOVIS III. and after him CHILDEBERT II.
and after him DAGOBERT II. Kings of
Neustria and Burgundy.

PEPIN, Duke of Austrasia.

Annal. Metenses.

Pepin continues subduing the nations that were tributary to France.

IN the reigns of *Clovis* III. and *Childebert* II. *Pepin* continued to chastise the nations that had formerly revolted, or were yet from time to time revolting from *France*. He subdued a second time the Duke of *Frise*, and defeated him at *Doroſtat*, now *Battembourg* in *Geldria*. He beat, and thrice subdued the *Alemanni*. There was hardly a year paſſed that was not remarkable for ſome victory gain'd by him; and becauſe he made no expedition in an. 713. hiſtory thereby diſtinguiſhes that year from the reſt, as the *Roman* hiſtory diſtinguiſh'd the year in which the temple of *Jannus* was ſhut up, for a ſign of univerſal peace. But after the death of *Clovis* III. he thought more than ever of eſtabliſhing his own family.

He gives the duchy of Burgundy to his ſons.

He had then two ſons, the eldeſt named *Drogon*, and the other *Grimoald*. He made the eldeſt Duke of *Burgundy*, and the youngeſt Mayor of *Childebert* II.'s palace. But he had the miſfortune to ſee them both die before him. The eldeſt died firſt. *Grimoald* ſucceeded him in his principality of *Burgundy*, to uſe the language of the author of the annals of *Metz*, who intimates plainly enough that this duchy, with regard to *Pepin*'s two ſons, was not a bare government, like the other duchies of that time.

The death of *Childebert* II. Annal. Metenses ad an. 711.

Childebert died alſo, after he had reigned ſixteen or ſeventeen years, and was buried at *Choifi* upon the river *Aifne*, and *Dagobert* II. his ſon aſcended the throne to make the ſame figure upon it with his predeceſſors.

So

So that the history of those times, down to the end of the first race, is not so much a history of the Kings of *France*, as of the Mayors of the palace: and all that we find related of these Princes may be reduced to two points, their elevation to the throne of the kingdom, and their death. An. 713.

The authority *Pepin* had acquired over the whole kingdom, and the bold usurpations they saw him make upon the royal family, gave great distaste to several persons of the first rank in the kingdom. He fell ill of a distemper at *Jopil*, a country house near *Liege* over against *Heristal*, which endangered his life. For his recovery being despaired of, a conspiracy was formed against his son *Grimoald*, Duke of *Burgundy*, to the intent that the death of the son, happening at the same time with that of the father, the usurpation might be at an end, and the government return into its old channel. *Grimoald* was killed at *Liege* in *St. Lambert's* church. But *Pepin* recovering put the conspirators to death, and made *Theodald*, his grandson, who was but an infant, Mayor of *Dagobert's* palace; which was another extraordinary attempt to give an infant, by way of inheritance an office, which till then was conferred only by the election of the Lords, and to which was long since annexed the government of the state during the minority of the orphan Kings.

But to conclude, his Life was not long enough to give the finishing stroke to all his great projects. He relapsed some months after, and died at *Jopil* on the seventh of *December*, an. 714. after he had reigned twenty seven years and seven months; a man of an extravagant ambition, but such as was equally happy and stinted, which went as far as it cou'd go, and yet never arrived at its ends; of an enterprising and daring genius, but always upon a sure bottom. He was serviceable to the *French* empire, in which he established order, justice and tranquillity, but at the expence of the Prince whose rights he entirely destroy'd; He had always his sword in hand, and his mind taken up with military designs, but yet he found time to attend the most minute concerns of the state, and to promote the interest of religion, which he took care to have preach'd to the *Frisons*, and to some o-

Annal. Meten-
ses ad
an. 714.
Warnesfred
de Epif.
Metensis
Eccl. idem.
l. 6.
Pepin's de-
bts and charac-
ter.

An. 714. ther people upon the frontiers, who were converted by his means.

The odd state of the government at that time.

The French had at first so great a regard for his memory, that they continued *Theodald* in the office of Mayor of the palace, under the direction of *Plectrude* his grandmother; and perhaps there never was a more extraordinary scene than this in *France*, a King kept at a house of pleasure under the guardianship of an infant, and a woman that was neither his mother nor Queen, nor had the title of Regent of the kingdom. This woman, who wou'd suffer no body to divide the power and estate of the late Duke her husband with her grandson *Theodald*, caused *Charles*, who was afterwards named *Charles Martel*, to be taken up and imprisoned. He was *Pepin's* son by another wife, or, as some say, by a mistress named *Alpiade*. Thus *Theodald* was, without any competitor, not only Mayor of the palace of *Burgundy* and *Neustria*, but also Duke of *Austrasia*. But this was of no long continuance; for there broke out a rebellion in *Neustria*; and *Plectrude*, to maintain her ground there, was obliged to send for an army from *Austrasia*, which the *Neustrians* engaged and defeated in the forest of *Cuise*. *Theodald* escaped in the defeat, but died soon after.

Annal. Metenses ad an. 714.

Ibid. ad an. 716.

Charles, called afterwards Martel, gets possession of the government.

The *Neustrians* chose *Rainfroy* Mayor of the palace, who carried the war into *Austrasia*, ravaged all the country as far as the *Meuse*, and persuaded the Duke of *Frise* to make another rising. The *Saxons* did the same at his instances, and carried their incursions as far as the country of the *Hattuarians*, which was a part of the present duchy of *Geldre*.

Ibid.

Charles signifies himself as the head of the Austrasians.

During these troubles, *Charles* found means to escape out of prison, and was received by the *Austrasians* with almost as much joy, says our ancient historian, as if he had been *Pepin* himself returned from the dead to defend them against their enemies.

And indeed *Charles* did very much resemble him in the best of his actions. He was acknowledged Duke of *Austrasia*, an. 716, twelve years after *Pepin's* death.

Ibid. ad an. 716.

Charles found the affairs of this duchy in a very bad condition; but the death of King *Dagobert*, which happen'd

happen'd about that time, after he had reigned five years, gave him time to recover himself, by putting a stop to the efforts of Mayor *Rainfroy*, who was in a capacity to oppress him. It was necessary to make a new King of *Neustria* and *Burgundy*; and they fetch'd him from a monastery, where he was found in the habit of a clergyman. His name was *Daniel*, son of *Childeric* II. He had fled from the fury of the assassins of his father, as I have already observed in my account of the unhappy death of this unfortunate Prince. He was preferred before *Dagobert's* son *Thierry*, who was yet in the cradle, and upon that account, or at least under that pretence excluded, from the succession of his father in favour of the branch of *Childeric*.

An. 716;



Chilperic II.
King of
Neustria and
Burgundy.

CHILPERIC II. King of Neustria and Burgundy.

CHARLES Duke of Austrasia.

THE *French* Lords made *Daniel* take the name of *Chilperic* at his ascending the throne, and obliged *Rainfroy*, the Mayor of the palace, to put him at their head in their armies. It is a mistake in our historians to reckon this Prince among the list of those Kings, who were commonly called *slothful Kings*, for he always behaved himself like a brave and active Prince, till his misfortune and the violence of his enemy depriv'd him of the liberty of acting.

Annal. Metenses ad an. 716.

Rainfroy in the mean time kept the Duke of *Frise* constantly in his interest. *Frise* had then extended it self as far as the mouth of the *Escaut* along the sea. This Duke attack'd *Charles* there, and advanc'd by the *Rhine*; almost as far as *Cologne*, while *Chilperic* was preparing to enter *Austrasia* by the forest of *Ardennes*. There was fought a tough battle between *Charles* and the *Frison*s. Some say that *Charles* was defeated; others, that much blood was spilt on both

Eginart. l. 4. c. 19.

Gesta Reg. Franc. c. 51.
Annal. Metenses chron.
Fontanelli.

An. 716. fides, and that the night put an end to the battle, and left the victory uncertain.

Chilperic and the Duke of *Frise* being join'd, proceeded to ravage the country as far as *Cologne*. *Plectrude* was mistress of this town, where till now she had stood her ground against both parties: but fearing a siege, she capitulated with *Chilperic* for the payment of a large sum of money; and this Prince not being able to subsist any longer in this country which he had ruined, withdrew to *Neustria*, and return'd by the forest of *Ardennes*.

Charles, after the battle I have been speaking of, made no farther attempts, excepting with some small flying squadrons, to harass the enemy in his retreat. He fixed himself at *Amblef*, a palace near the abby of *Stavelo*, whither *Chilperic* came to encamp at the foot of a mountain. This Prince, who was not aware of *Charles's* being so near him, lay very quiet there, and the *garde du camp* was very negligently observed.

Charles made his advantage of this; and having ordered on a sudden the charge to be sounded on all sides, fell hastily upon several parts of the camp. The enemy were so surpriz'd and dismay'd that they took an handful of men for an intire army, and fled on all sides without stopping, till they had got out of the forest of *Ardennes*; and *Charles's* soldiers enriched themselves with the spoils of the camp.

This victory got him a great deal of reputation, and recovered the courage of the *Austrasians*, who flock'd together in great numbers to increase his army, so that he found himself in a condition to carry the war into *Chilperic's* kingdom at the beginning of the following campaign.

He advanced as far as *Cambray*, where *Chilperic* came to meet him. They encamped very near each other at a place called *Vincy*, which is probably the village now named *Inchy*, three leagues from *Cambray*, between *Arras* and this town. *Charles* sent an herald to *Chilperic* to propose an accommodation: but his proposals were rejected with contempt.

They join'd battle on a Sunday in Lent being the nineteenth of *March*. The fight was very obstinate and bloody; but *Charles* got the victory, who after a

great slaughter of the enemy march'd up to *Paris*, ravaging as he went: From whence returning by the same way, he march'd directly to *Cologne* to besiege *Plectrude*. The danger she found her self expos'd to, determin'd her to treat with *Charles*. But during the negotiation, he seiz'd the town by means of a sedition that arose there, and made himself master of all the treasures that the late Duke *Pepin* had amass'd together.

Charles being in all likelihood acquainted with the inclination of the *Austrasian* Lords, and to procure time for securing his authority; of his own accord propos'd to them the making a King of *Austrasia*, and set a Prince of the *Merovingian* family upon the throne, whose father is not mention'd in the antient historians, nor how nearly he was related to the last Kings of *Austrasia*. His name was *Clotaire*. This new establishment was made after an *interregnum* of thirty seven years, reckoning from the death of *Dagobert*, whom we have seen reign in *Austrasia* some time after his return from *Scotland* or *Ireland*.

The victories of *Charles* had removed the Duke of *Frise* from *Chilperic*'s interests. This Prince had thoughts of raising up another enemy against him, who till then had been one of the most dangerous that the monarchy of *France* cou'd have to do with.

The *Gascons* were then headed by a Duke named *Eudes*, whom some will have to be a *Frenchman* and others a *Spaniard*. His name seems to speak him a *Frenchman*. Of what nation soever he came, he was a man of great ability, that cou'd so far turn the civil wars of *France* to his advantage as to make himself not only absolute and independent Duke of the *Gascons*, but also Duke of *Aquitain*, that is, of the greatest part of the country, on the other side the *Loire*. He was at first possess'd of the towns situate between the sea, the *Garonne*, and the *Pyrenees*. This country was before called *Novempopulonia*, and it seems to have been not till about this time that the *Gascons* gave it their name. *Eudes* pushed his conquests as far as *Berry*, and made himself master of *Bourges*. He possess'd *Poitou*, *Xaintonge*, *Limousin*, *Albigeois*, *Auvergne*; and excepting *Tours*, he left the *French* very little on the other side the *Loire*.

An. 7 7.

Gesta Reg.
Franc. c. 53.
Charles Martel gains the
battle of Vin-
cy against
Chilperic.
He takes
Cologne.

He makes a
King of Au-
strasia,

Annal. Me-
tenses ad an-
718.
Lib. Mirac.
S. Austregar-
sil.

An. 718.



Vita S. Ri-
gobert.

It was with this usurper of the patrimony of the Kings of *France*, that *Chilperic* made a league against *Charles*, by giving him up the countries he had taken. As soon as *Eudes* had join'd *Chilperic* they march'd together towards *Austrasia*. *Charles* saved them a great part of the way; and they were surpriz'd to hear that he had pitch'd his camp between *Rheims* and *Soissons*. This news dismay'd their army; and *Charles* was hardly come in fight with his forces, when they disbanded without a stroke. He did not fail to manage this opportunity of their fright to his own advantage, and pursued them as far as the *Seine*. *Chilperic* not thinking himself secure at *Paris*, departed thence with as much of his treasures as he cou'd carry with him, and fled to *Eudes* on the other side the *Loire*.

He obliges the
Duke of
Aquitain to
deliver up
Chilperic to
him.

An. 719.
Gesta Reg.
Franc. c. 57.

Charles passed the *Seine* without any opposition and advanced as far as *Orleans*. From thence he sent a messenger to Duke *Eudes* to let him know that if he did not deliver up the King into his hands, he wou'd go to *Aquitain* and *Gascogne* in search of him, and put every thing to fire and sword. These menaces had their effect after some delays and negotiations. *Eudes* surrendered *Chilperic* into the hands of *Charles* with all the riches this Prince had brought from *Paris*, and at this price purchased the peace which was granted him.

He makes
himself master
of the royal
power.

By this means *Charles* found himself in very near the state and power of Duke *Pepin* his father, at his highest and most advanced condition. *Rainfroy* the Mayor of the palace had not wanted a considerable party of adherents for these four or five years: but *Charles* having at length besieged him in *Angers* obliged him to capitulate, and to content himself with the county of *Anjou*, which he left him for the rest of his life.

Chilperic's
death.

As these things were transacting, *Clotaire*, the titular King of *Austrasia* died, and *Chilperic* also dying sometime after at *Noyon*, *Charles* placed in their room a Prince of the royal family called *Thierry* of *Chelles*, because he had been brought up at that place. A record of the abby of *S. Bertin* makes him son of *Dagobert* II. He was yet in the cradle when his father died, and consequently cou'd not be above seven or eight years old at *Chilperic's* death, who reigned but five or six years.

THIERRY

THIERRY II. *King.*

CHARLES *Duke of Aufrasia.*

Charles, being now master of all *France*, applied himself chiefly to two things, herein following the conduct of Duke *Pepin* his father. The first was, to reduce the *German* nations that had shaken off the yoke of *France*. And secondly, to send missionaries to instruct the same people, and the other nations that had been subdued by this Empire, and had not yet embraced the christian religion.

He attack'd the *Saxons*, impos'd the tribute upon them anew, and reconquer'd all the country as far as the *Veser*. Some years after he chastiz'd the *Alemanni*, and carried his arms as far as the other side the *Danube*. The following years he made several expeditions into the same quarters, and always with the same success.

Annal. Metenses, ad an. 719, 720, 725.

Charles pursues the same steps with his father *Pepin*.

As for his religious behaviour, he protected and assisted Bishop *Boniface* whom Pope *Gregory II.* sent to preach the Gospel in *Germany*. He did the same with regard to *Villebrod*, who undertook the Instruction of the *Frisons* by order of *S. Hubert* Bishop of *Mastric*, who compass'd the conversion of the Pagans, of which there was a great number in *Ardennes*, *Brabant*, and the country now called *Campine*. He entirely abolished the worship of idols there, and all the other pagan superstitions.

Thus Duke *Charles* at the same time extended the bounds of the state and propagated Christianity, when about an. 731. *Eudes* Duke of *Aquitain* bethought himself of breaking the peace he had made with *France* twelve or thirteen years before.

Annal. Metenses, ad an. 731.

This gave *Charles* a new opportunity of distinguishing himself. He defeated *Eudes* in two battles on the other side the *Loire*, and constrain'd him to have recourse to his clemency. But during these affected appearances of submission, he contrived a conspiracy against *France* whereby to revenge himself,

L 4 which

An. 731. which had like to have destroyed it, and to have involved himself also in the ruin of this kingdom.

Rodericus
31.

He treated with the *Saracens*, who were come from *Africa*, and had made themselves masters of the greatest part of *Spain*; having first driven the *Visigoths* out of it. *Languedoc* and the other *Gaulish* towns at that time dependent upon *Spain*, received the conquerors. According to one of the most ancient and most judicious *Spanish* historians, this revolution happen'd in the year 714. that is, in the same year that *Pepin Charles's* father died: but the *Saracens* in all probability did not enter *Gaul* till the year after.

Eudes Duke of *Aquitain*, whose state border'd upon *Spain*, kept as good measures as he cou'd with these dangerous neighbours: but at length they attack'd him, and after several little skirmishes, the *Emir Zama* sat down before *Toulouse*. *Eudes* came to its succour, and defeated the *Emir* with a great slaughter. He killed the *Emir* himself also, and the siege was rais'd. The *Saracens* after this defeat, by the *Calif's* order, chose *Abderame* for their commander, a soldier of great reputation, who concluded a peace. He was governor general of all the *Saracen Spain*.

Eudes, to maintain this peace, gave his daughter in marriage to the *Saracen* governor of *Cerdagne* named *Mugnos*; and relying upon this support, he broke with *France*. It was after this rupture that he had the misfortune, as I said, to get himself twice successively beaten by *Charles* on the other side the *Loire*, and that he called in the assistance of the *Saracens*, who only wanted such an opportunity to invade *France*, as they had done *Spain*. But these measures were broken by *Mugnos's* death, who rebelling against *Abderame*, perished in the revolt, and his wife the daughter of *Eudes* was sent to *Damas* to the *Calif's* seraglio.

Roder. &c.
Hist. Arab.
6. 13.

Abderame afterwards invaded *Eudes* to punish him for the correspondence he had held with *Mugnos*, passed the *Garonne* and the *Dordogne*, and found *Eudes* encamped upon the side of this river. They join'd battle, and the victory did not long remain in suspense. *Eudes's* army being very much inferior to that of the *Saracens* in number, was cut in pieces. Hardly any but himself escaped, and he, notwithstanding the hatred he bore to *Charles*, came and threw himself into his arms.

Charles,

Charles, who had learnt by the ruin of *Spain*, and the desolation of *Aquitain*, what danger the *French* Empire was in, had already made preparations for putting a stop to this torrent, which had made its way thro' all opposition. He had drawn together an army composed both of the forces on this side the *Rhine*, and also of those of *Germany*, and had march'd to the *Loire* to defend the passage of that river. The Duke of *Aquitain* with the remainder of his forces, of which he made a flying squadron, was to act in concert with him against the *Saracens*.

An. 731.
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*Abderame*, who had rallied all his forces, taking the advantage of this consternation of the people, continued his march thro' *Xaintonge* and *Perigord*, where every thing fell before him. He took *Poitiers*, pillaged and burnt several little towns, and made himself master of most of those upon the *Rhone* and the *Saone*. He marched up to *Sens*, which he besieged but cou'd not take it: from thence he bent his course to *Tours* with an intention to conquer it. It was between this town and *Poitiers* that *Charles* came up with him, and that famous battle was fought, in which, if we may believe *Paul* the deacon, three hundred and seventy five thousand *Saracens* perished. *Eudes* contributed very much to the victory, by attacking the camp of the infidels during the battle. The *French* lost 1500 men, and enrich'd themselves with the booty they took from their enemies. It is said that the surname of *Martel* was upon this occasion given to *Charles*, because he had like a hammer squash'd the *Saracens*.

Eginard in  
vita Caroli  
magni.

Paulus Longobard. l. 6.  
c. 46.

An. 732.  
*Charles* gains  
a great victory  
over the  
*Saracens*.

It is easy to imagine how much this victory augmented *Charles's* glory and reputation, and at the same time his authority in the state, which owed the safety and preservation of its being to him, and had more need of him than ever to secure it from such formidable enemies.

This great victory did not prevent the rising of some commotions soon after in some provinces, which *Charles Martel* suppressed with his usual promptitude and success. He went to chastise some seditious spirits in *Burgundy*; and being recalled from thence into *Frisland* by a new revolt, he posted thither, defeated the rebels, many of whom he put to the sword, and obliged the *Frisons* to give him hostages.

Annal. Metenses ad an.  
733.

An. 734.

*Eudes*

An. 734. *Eudes* dying the year after, *Charles* did not let slip this opportunity of recovering what had been taken from the *French* Empire on that side. He passed the *Loire* with an army, took *Bordeaux* and *Blaye*, and in general all that country which was then called the duchy of *Aquitain*, the extent of which it is hard to ascertain.

*Eudes* left a son named *Hunauld* behind him, to whom *Charles* was readily disposed to grant the greatest part of his father's kingdom, but upon condition that he shou'd hold it in vassalage, and take an oath of fidelity not only to him, but also to *Pepin* and *Carloman* his two sons after him: for *Charles* at that time thought himself at liberty to do every thing he pleased, and began to pursue the views of his father and ancestors, to make the kingdom slide insensibly into his family.

An interregnum after the death of King *Thierry*.

He did more than this, for *Thierry II.* of whom there was no mention made in the oath of fidelity, dying after this expedition into *Aquitain*, when he had bore the name of King for 17 years, *Charles* took no care to fill the vacant throne, not even with the shadow of a King, but continued to govern all the kingdom as formerly with the title of Duke of the *French*, signaling himself always as *Pepin* had done by some memorable expeditions.

Anhal. Metenses ad an. 736.

This year was famous for a new victory gain'd over the *Frisons*, whom *Popon* their Duke had caused to revolt again. *Charles* went by sea to attack them into the very heart of the country. The battle was fought upon the banks of the river *Burdion*, where the Duke of *Frise* was killed, and his army intirely defeated. From that time it had no more Dukes of the nation: but *French* Dukes who governed it, and whom *Charles* continued in their government, or recalled as he thought proper.

*Charles* after this victory came with his usual expedition into the kingdom of *Burgundy*, where the *Saracens* corresponding with some male-contented, who were headed by a Lord of the country named *Moronte*, had made themselves masters of *Lyons*.

He retook this town, and marching on, made himself master of *Arles* and *Marseille*, and dissipated the faction, who recovering themselves, kept him employed for three years, but at last he put the finishing hand to their ruin.

As



As this presumption of the rebels had been infused into them by the *Saracens*, or caused by an expectation of support from them, *Charles* thought proper to carry the war into the country of the infidels, and laid siege to *Narbonne*. An. 736.

*Athime*, who commanded a numerous garrison there, made a vigorous defence, and gave time for succours to arrive by sea. *Charles* went to meet them, and fell upon them immediately after the descent. And having cut the *Saracen* army in pieces, returned to the siege. *Athime*, notwithstanding the defeat of his succours, held out obstinately, and so *Charles* left a part of his forces to continue the siege, and went with the rest to take *Nimes*, *Befiers*, *Agde*, and other places in the country. But the ancient historians have left us in suspence about the success of the siege of *Narbonne*. However it seems certain, that if some places of *Languedoc* continued in the hands of the *Saracens*, it was only such as adjoined to the *Pyrenees*. Continuat.  
Fredeg. c.  
109.  
An. 737.

The *Saxons* laid hold of *Charles's* absence to revolt; but he was soon with them, routed them, and imposed upon them the tribute, which *Dagobert I.* had discharged, and obliged them to find hostages. Annal. Me-  
tenses ad an.  
738.

All these several wars ended an. 740. and *Charles* enjoy'd at that time the fruit of so many victories. But the following year there came an embassy to him from Pope *Gregory III.* which open'd a new and ample career for him to signalize his valour. An. 740.  
& 741.

This *Pontif* is the first Pope that directly and above board concern'd himself with the interests of Princes, and the Emperors of *Constantinople* were the occasion of it.

The Emperor *Leo Isaurius* being not only become an heretick, but an heresiarch, the author of the heresy of the *Iconoclasts* or *Image-breakers*, published an edict, by which he commanded the images to be taken out of the churches, and to be broken to pieces as idols. This edict startled the christian world, caused great disorders at *Constantinople* and risings in *Italy*. The news of it arriving in *France*, they threw down and broke the images of the Emperor, which were set up in some places, to revenge upon his figure the injuries he had done to those of the saints. The army of *Italy* revolted; and *Luitprand* King of the *Lombards* took oc-  
casion

An. 741. cation from this combustion to seize *Ravenna*, and had thoughts of making himself master of *Rome* also.

Charles is  
desired by the  
Pope to pro-  
tect him a-  
gainst the  
Lombards.

The Pope abandoned by the Emperor, and attack'd by the King of the *Lombards*, had no other refuge to fly to but that of *Martel*, whom he solicited to come to his assistance.

*Charles* had entred into a very strict alliance with *Luithprand*, and had received a very large succour from him for the siege of *Narbonne*, and he was apprehensive, if he shou'd declare against him, he would undertake the defense of the male-contents of the province: so he gave the Pope's envoys good words, but enter'd into no engagement with them.

Sub regulo.  
epist. Greg.  
III. ad Caro-  
lum.

The Pope upon this refusal, wrote him another more pressing letter, inscribed *To my Lord and most excellent son Charles, viceroy*.—We learn by this letter that the Pope was making all the efforts he cou'd, to draw *Charles Martel* over to his side, at the same time that the King of the *Lombards* was using all possible instances to persuade him to continue neuter.

An. 741.  
Continuat.  
Fredeg. c.  
110.

*Charles Martel's* second answer was not more favourable than the first; however the Pope was not discouraged. He perceived that he was not to be work'd upon without some other motives besides the protection of the holy see. So he determined an. 741. to send him an embassy in form. (A thing, say two of our ancient historians, never heard of before in *France*.) The ambassadors in the name of the Pope and the *Roman* Lords made him an offer the best calculated to gratify his ambition. It was this, that provided he wou'd assure them of his protection and of immediate and effectual succour, they wou'd proclaim him consul of *Rome*, and openly renounce the authority of the Emperor of *Constantinople*, who was a notorious heretick and a persecutor of the catholicks.

Annal. Me-  
tenses ad an.  
741.

*Charles* hearkned to these proposals with pleasure, dismiss'd the ambassadors with magnificent presents and great expectations, and promised to send agents to *Rome* with all speed to negotiate this treaty. Accordingly he sent them soon after; but this great project was stifled by the death of the three persons concern'd in it, viz. the Pope, the Emperor, and *Charles Martel*, who died all three the same year.

*Charles*

*Charles* died of a violent fever the twenty second of *October*, in about the fiftieth year of his age, at his pleasure-house of \* *Quierfi* upon *Oise*, from whence his body was carried to *S. Denys*. An. 741.

*He dies.*

An. 741.

\* *Carifiaco.*

*His character.*

If we take a view of this hero's life, we shall find few that are comparable to him; imprison'd immediately after his father's death; defeated in the first battle he fought after the recovery of his liberty, he struggled with his bad fortune, and afterwards got so much the better of it, that he was never conquer'd, but on the contrary his victories exceeded the years of his government, which yet was a very long one. All this was owing to his conduct, activity and fore-sight, to his intrepidity and skill in military affairs, in which he excelled.

He inured the *French* not only to the absolute power he had acquir'd over them, but also to the want of a King, and even of that phantom of a King, which till then had served at least to keep up the notion of their having submitted to no other power but that of *Clovis's* descendants; and he accomplish'd all this without any murders, assassinations, or banishments. At least nothing of this kind is laid to his charge in history.

In all publick instruments he us'd no other stile than that of Mayor of the palace and the epithet of illustrious, a title which our Kings of the first race ordinarily annex'd to that of King. He permitted foreign Princes to call him Viceroy or Lord Lieutenant of the kingdom. Historians sometimes give him the name of Duke of *France*, sometimes that of Prince of *France*, Consul of *France* and Patrician. His epitaph stiles him King, but he never took that title upon himself. This was a very cheap piece of modesty, and such as he judg'd necessary for him in point of policy. Some base children that he left behind him, shew that with the virtues of a hero he had also the vice that is but too common with them. Most of these passages, which we find particularly specified in the ancient historians, describe *Charles Martel* as in all respects a great man, a great Prince, a great soldier and a great statesman; but few of them represent him as a very religious Prince, excepting that he protected the missionaries, who went in his time to preach the faith to several tributary nations of *France*.

*Vir illustris.*

*Subregulus.*

His

An. 741.

His death wou'd naturally have produced a great alteration in the affairs of *France*, and had without all doubt done so, had not *Charles's* family, which was always fruitful in great men, afforded him successors of high merit to the great prejudice of the royal family. He was twice married, and had by his first wife named *Crotrude* two sons, *Carloman* and *Pepin*, and by his second called *Sonnechilde* niece of *Odilon* Duke of *Bavaria*, a third, who is sometimes called *Grippon* in history, and sometimes *Grifon*. Some time before his death, he called a meeting of the Lords at *Verberies*, a house of pleasure near *Compiègne*, where with their consent he divided the state he had governed with so much glory, between *Carloman* and *Pepin*. To *Carloman* the eldest he gave *Austrasia* and *Francia Germanica*, with all the nations depending thereupon, and to *Pepin* *Neustria*, *Burgundy* and *Provence*. *Grippon* son of *Sonnechilde* was excluded the succession, for what reason it is hard to guess; but *Sonnechilde* managed the matter so well in the absence of *Carloman* and *Pepin*, who were gone to take possession of their governments before *Charles's* death, that she persuaded him to dismember some towns and territories of *Austrasia*, *Neustria* and *Burgundy*, to make a petty state for *Grippon*.

The monarchy divided between Pepin and Carloman sons of Charles Martel.

This produced a war; for *Charles* was no sooner dead, than the two brothers, pretending that this dismemberment was made without the consent of the great men of the kingdom, disputed the possession of it with *Grippon*. So they entred the field with their armies.

*Sonnechilde* and her son, being unable to make any resistance, betook themselves to *Laon*, where they were immediately besieged, and taken within a few days. Their lives were granted them; but *Sonnechilde* was confin'd in the monastery of *Chelles*, and her son in a castle of *Ardennes* called to this day *Neuchateau*.

The *Alemanni*, *Bavarians* and *Gascons*, did not fail according to custom to revolt upon the change of the government. The *Gascons* began under the command of *Hunaud* or *Hunnalde* Duke of *Aquitain*.

*Carloman*



*Carloman* and *Pepin*, who had perfectly foreseen these commotions, thought themselves bound in policy, and for the sake of their own preservation, to live in a good correspondence, and to act always in concert; and indeed they never did otherwise. They passed the *Loire* together, defeated the militia of *Berry*, burnt the suburbs of *Bourges*, took the castle of *Loches* and levell'd it to the ground; and pursuing the Duke of *Aquitain*, who continually retreated before them, they obliged him about the end of summer to sue for peace, and to submit to the ancient homage he owed to *France*.

The two brothers repass'd the *Loire*. *Carloman* march'd without stopping with his forces to the other side the *Rhine*. The *Alemanni*, who did not expect him so soon, ask'd quarter also, gave hostages, and swore obedience to him.

After these expeditions *Pepin*, either of his own accord, out of policy, or at the desire of the *French* Lords, who were still much addicted to the royal family, put an end to the interregnum, which had lasted ever since the death of *Thierry II.* and rais'd *Childeric* to the throne, who was the third of that name since the father of *Clovis*. Some make him son of *Thierry II.* others of *Chilperic II.* and others again of that *Clo-taire* whom *Charles Martel* made King of *Austrasia*. It is certain he was one of the royal family. And this is all we can be sure of concerning him.

Ah. 741.

Annal. Metenses ad an. 742.  
Continuat. Fredeg. c. 110.

Pepin places Childeric upon the throne.

CHILDERIC

An. 741.

## CHILDERIC II. King of Neustria and Burgundy.

### CARLOMAN Duke of Austrasia.

**C**hilderic was made King, not of the whole French empire, but only of that part which *Pepin* governed; viz. of *Neustria*, *Burgundy* and *Provence*, but in no wise of *Austrasia*, which, as formerly in the time of *Pepin*, father of *Charles Martel*, was a distinct principality from the rest of the French empire.

In the mean time a new war broke out in *Germany*. Most of the revolts of these *German* nations were owing to their natural restlessness, which upon the least occasion set them all in arms, without taking any other measures. To quell which disturbances the French Princes had for the most part no other trouble than that of passing the *Rhine* with an army to chastise them: but now they had laid their designs very deep, and the consequence of this rebellion had been most fatal, if the two Dukes had not acted with the utmost dispatch, and provided an immediate remedy for that which threatened the greatest danger.

*Sonnechilde*, before the death of *Charles Martel*, or immediately after, foreseeing what would happen, with regard to the exclusion of her son from the succession, had enter'd into a private confederacy with *Odilon*, Duke of *Bavaria*, her uncle, who had made a league with the Duke of *Aquitain*, with *Theobald*, Duke of the *Almans*, *Theodoric*, Duke of the *Saxons*, and with the *Slavonians*. But *Sonnechilde* and her son being taken, and *Hunalde*, Duke of *Aquitain*, with the Duke of the *Almans*, meeting with bad success in their attempt, put off for some time the effect of this dangerous confederacy. The Dukes however, notwithstanding their late oaths, united in a fresh conspiracy, and the Duke of *Bavaria* set up his standard in token of a revolt.

*Carloman*

*Carloman* and *Pepin* seeing themselves beset with so many enemies, gathered the most numerous army they were able, pass'd the *Rhine* and advanc'd as far as *Lech*. They found the Duke of *Bavaria* encamp'd on the other side, and all the bridges and shallow passes thereabouts well guarded.

An. 741.

They continued encamp'd for fifteen days in sight of each other. During which time the *French* Dukes founded the river in all parts, and at last found two fords at a great distance, the one above and the other below the two camps. Upon this they march'd off secretly in the night; and after a long and difficult journey pass'd the river.

Annal. Metenses ad an. 743.

Being arrived near the enemy's camp, they charg'd them at day-break on all sides. The surprize was soon followed with fear and faint-heartedness. The confederates made no resistance, excepting the Duke of *Bavaria*, who lost most of his men, and was oblig'd to fly as the rest had done. The conquerors overran and ravaged all *Bavaria*, and continued there fifty two days. *Carloman* afterwards entred *Saxony* with a part of the army, besieged a town called *Hocsiburg*, where Duke *Theodoric*, who had secured himself there, surrendred. But he forgave him, and restored him his duchy, requiring only a new oath of him.

Pepin and Carloman's politick victory.

While *Carloman* was thus subduing the *Saxons*, *Pepin* had repass'd the *Rhine* to march against the Duke of *Aquitain*, who having forced the passages of the *Loire*, had advanced as far as *Chartres*, which he took and burnt. But as soon as he got notice of the approach of the *French* army, he repass'd the *Loire*; and *Pepin* seeing his army extremely fatigued, did not think it adviseable to pursue him. But the spring following he chastised him, and forced him to demand quarter, by the waste he made in his country. This year and the two following were taken up by the two brothers in suppressing new revolts, but especially those of the people of *Germany*.

Annal. Metenses ad an. 744.

*Carloman* in the run of so many victories enter'd upon a design which surpriz'd all *France*. It was to renounce his governments, and embrace a monastick life. This he executed by retiring to mount *Soracte*, now called mount *Oreste*, or the Mount of *S. Sylvester*,

An. 745. &amp; 746. Eginard in Annal. Carloman enters monk.

An. 746. *ster*, where he built a monastery. Afterwards he went to mount *Cassin*, where he distinguished himself as much by his sanctity in private, as he had done in publick by his conduct and valour.


*Pepin* being now by his brother's retreat become master of the whole *French* empire, and sovereign Duke of *Austrasia*, saw himself nearer than ever to the throne to which he aspir'd, and apply'd himself more than he had yet done to procure the affections of the people. He assembled a council at *Duren*, between *Aix-la-Chapelle* and *Cologne*, where he procured some excellent orders to be passed in favour of the church, the poor, widows and orphans, and set his brother *Gripon* at liberty, who till then had been kept prisoner at *Neuschateau*. He brought him to court, gave him a lodging in the palace, treated him in a very honourable manner, and gave him several earldoms, and other lands, which brought him in a considerable revenue. But this restless young man cou'd not content himself with a private life, but escaped from court, made sure of a shelter in *Saxony*, and pretended to nothing less than to make himself Duke of *Austrasia*, as well by the assistance of the Duke of *Saxony*, as by the help of a party he had form'd in *France*, which he hoped great things from: but the expedition with which *Pepin* passed the *Rhine* broke all his measures.

The Duke of *Saxony* was defeated by an army of *Sclavonian Vinides*, which *Pepin* had raised up against him, and was a third time taken in the fortress of *Hocsibourg*, which in all likelihood cost him his life, for we meet with no mention of him after that time.

*Gripon*, having lost this support, repair'd to *Bavaria* with some *French* troops, who for the most part consisted of male-contents against the government. *Odilon*, Duke of *Bavaria*, dying at this juncture, *Gripon* made use of his *French* soldiers, and a recruit brought him by the Duke of the *Almans*, to possess himself of *Bavaria*, and having seiz'd the Duchess *Hiltrude* and her son *Tassillon*, who was then very young, he caused himself to be proclaim'd Duke of *Bavaria*.

*Hiltrude* was *Pepin's* sister, but he hated her not much less than he did *Gripon*, because upon his first



revolt she was in the plot with him, and had fled to *An. 746.*  
*Bavaria* to marry Duke *Odilon* against *Pepin's* will,   
 for fear of being made an abbess in some monastery:  
 for it was not uncommon at that time to dispose of  
 our Kings and Dukes daughters in this manner.

For this reason, if *Pepin* cou'd have expected as  
 much submission from his brother as from the young  
 Duke *Tassillon* his nephew, he might possibly have  
 left him in possession of what he had taken, and pat-  
 don'd him the manner in which he had done it; but  
 knowing his humour, that he could not depend upon  
 him, he resolv'd to drive him out of *Bavaria*. *Grip-  
 pon* expected him, and made preparations for his de-  
 fence: but at the same time he had recourse to other  
 means for keeping possession of his new estate; that  
 was the Pope's mediation, who indeed us'd his inter-  
 est for him, and wrote also to the *French* Bishops, ex-  
 horting them to do all that lay in their power to pro-  
 cure a peace between the two brothers. *Carloman*  
 too wrote to *Pepin* from his monastery upon this  
 occasion, but they were not able to prevail with  
 him.

T. 1. concil:  
 Galliz, p.  
 575.

*Pepin* however was in no great haste, but spent the *An. 747.*  
 winter season of the year 747, and the beginning of & 748.

748. in making proper provision against the correspon-  
 dence *Grippon* maintain'd within the kingdom: but in  
 the spring he entred *Bavaria*, and charged *Grippon* so  
 briskly, that he took him together with most of the  
 male-contents that had followed him; and having re-  
 stored the young Duke *Tassillon*, whom he left under  
 the care of his mother, he returned to *France*. *Grip-  
 pon* he brought back with him, and endeavoured a se-  
 cond time to win him by a mild deportment: for he  
 not only gave him his liberty, but also the town of  
*Mans*, and twelve counties of the kingdom of *Neu-  
 stria* in apennage, of which he made him governor,  
 with the title of Duke. But with all these advantages  
 this man, who was perpetually discontented, saw him-  
 self *Pepin's* subject, which was a circumstance he  
 could not submit to. His resentment moved him yet  
 once more to quit *France*, and throw himself under  
 the protection of the Duke of *Aquitain*. *Pepin* was  
 not much concern'd at his departure; every thing  
 was quiet both at home and abroad; his victories had  
 made

Analect.  
 Ratispont. T.  
 4. Analect.  
 Annal. Me-  
 tentes ad an.  
 749.

An. 748. made him formidable to all his enemies; the lenity of his government had gain'd him the hearts of the people; the great ones lov'd and fear'd him; and in a word, he look'd upon himself as in a condition to effect what neither his father with all his power and formidable authority, nor any of his ancestors, excepting his uncle *Grimoald*, who fail'd of success, durst attempt, how much soever they desired it: that was to take the title of King, and ascend the throne in the room of the idol that possess'd it. This he compass'd by his cunning and policy, with much more ease than could have been expected from the difficulty of the undertaking. The particulars I shall relate in the history of the second race of our Kings, which was begun by *Pepin's* taking possession of the crown.

*Pepin thinks  
of taking the  
title of King.*

*The End of the Kings of the first Race.*

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T H E

# ABRIDGMENT

O F T H E

## History of FRANCE.

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### The Second Race. P E P I N.

**T**HE contempt into which the *Merovingian* An. 750. Kings were fallen encreas'd daily in *France*, as well as the esteem of the family of Mayors of the palace, who governed, and in which for a century we have seen nothing but a continual succession of great men and heroes, equally capacitated for government and war. The abominable comparison, which the historians of the reign of *Pepin*, and his first successors, do upon all occasions make between the latter descendants of *Clevis*, and the latter Mayors of the palace, has been ever since repeated publicly and without scruple. It was look'd upon as a piece of justice due to virtue and merit, rather than flattery, or a contrivance to gain favour. In a word, it was openly affirm'd that *Pepin* deserved to be a King, and was so in effect, tho' another possess'd the title, and it was always esteem'd a crime to deprive him of it.

An. 750.



*Pepin* to remove this obstacle, which had stood in the way of all his predecessors, and to facilitate the nation's compliance with proceedings they had always hitherto refused to be engaged in, thought the interposition of the Pope might be serviceable to him. The business was not only to purchase a right to the crown, which descended by birth, but to make a way to it without any embarrassment; not only to obtain the votes of the people by reason, but to diminish their scruples, to overreach and impose upon them, and, in fine, to dazzle their eyes and deceive them. *Pepin* had contracted a close friendship with *Zachary*, who was at that time in the chair of St. Peter. He consulted him upon all important points of ecclesiastical discipline, with regard to the Bishops, Priests, Monks, and Nuns. He caused his answers to be read in council, which were always followed with respect and submission.

T. 1. Conc.  
Gall.

The Pope just ready to be overwhelm'd by the *Lombards*, and hated by the Emperor *Constantius Copronymus*, as great an Iconoclast as *Leo Isaurius*, his father, had no other dependance but upon *France*, whither he turn'd his views as his predecessors had done. *Pepin* was not ignorant of this, but laid hold of the opportunity, and resolv'd to discover to him the design he had formed of causing himself to be declared King of *France*, and moreover that he depended upon him to facilitate the execution of it. He persuaded *S. Boniface*, Bishop of *Mayence*, to lay the proposal before the Pope. This holy Prelate was still labouring with great zeal in the conversion of the people of *Germany*, and *Pepin* cou'd not send the Pope a message of this nature by a properer man to succeed in it.

All these great affairs have ever two faces, and we have always seen the Saints take different sides even in the schisms of the church, according to the different light in which they have appear'd to them. The danger which *Rome* was in of sinking under the power of the *Lombards*; the Emperor of *Constantinople's* outrage against the Catholick religion; the *Saracens* being masters of *Spain*, and upon the frontiers of *France*, where *Charles Martel* had put a stop to their further progress; the *German* churches being on all sides ex-

posed



posed to the incursions of the neighbouring nations, which were still idolaters; the power and reputation of *Pepin*, who alone was able to dispel or prevent so many evils with which the church was threatened; the fatal consequences of his resentment, and the many advantages which would afterwards result from a good understanding between him and the holy see; the little injury would thereby be done to a King, who was not worthy that title, and to a family which for near a hundred years had possess'd nothing but the name: all this being laid before the holy Prelate in that cogent and persuasive manner which *Pepin* was master of, whenever he pleased to display his talent, moved the Pope, and brought him over to his party. He hoped from all these reasons that the affair would tend to the good of the church and state, and to the great glory of God.

He sent a Priest named *Lulle* to negotiate this affair with the Pope. The turn which it took shew'd plainly that the Pope's answer was agreeable to *Pepin*'s intentions, who as soon as he received it, ordered *Burcarde*, Bishop of *Virsbourg*, and *Fulrade*, Abbat of *S. Denys*, to set out for *Rome*. They were commissioned to propose to the Pope, as a case of conscience, whether, considering the present situation of *Europe*, it was proper for the title of King to be separated from the royal power in the empire of *France*, which alone was in a condition to protect religion in particular? Whether this power, having been in *Pepin*'s family for an hundred years, ought to be reunited to the name of King, in a subject so incapable of governing as was *Childeric*? or whether the title of King ought to be reunited to the royal power in the person of *Pepin*, who was so capable of supporting it, and rendring it useful to the state? The case being examin'd, the Pope gave his opinion, that in regard to the state of affairs, he who possess'd the authority might join the name of King to it.

The embassadors being return'd with such a decision of the case as was wish'd for, *Pepin*, who had already made sure of most of the Lords, called an assembly at *Soissons*; where they confirmed all these reasons in favour of *Pepin*, and added besides that such was the opinion of the Pope. The affair was

An. 751.

Epist. Bonifacii ad Zachariam.  
Anastasius.  
Eginardus.  
A case of conscience propos'd by *Pepin* to the Pope, decided in his favour.

Ibid. Conc. Domini Papæ Zachariæ, vita Caroli magni, per Monach. Engolismensem.

An. 751. concluded without any opposition. *Pepin* was immediately proclaimed King, and placed upon the throne with his wife *Bertrade*.

An. 751. *Childeric*, the only party concern'd, had no body to stand by him, and in all likelihood he knew nothing of what had pass'd till they came to signify his deposition to him. They told him that he must suffer himself to be shaved; and after this degradation they carried him to the monastery of *Sithieu*, in the diocese of *Teroüenne*, which is now the abbey of *S. Bertin* at *S. Omer*. There he was admitted monk by the Abbat *Nantaire*, where he died three or four years after. He had a son who was also shaved. Thus ended the illustrious race of *Clovis* and *Merovee*, after they had reigned above two hundred and sixty years in *Gaul*.

Pepin's consecration.

In the mean time *Pepin* omitted nothing that his policy could suggest to him to give weight and authority to his election. He wou'd be consecrated, and that by the holy Bishop *Boniface*, who was afterwards a martyr. This was none of the least of *Pepin's* shrewd contrivances to render his person more august and venerable to the whole nation, and it was to this holy unction that he ascrib'd all the victories he gain'd after his coronation. The civil war, which his brother *Gripon* thought to have renew'd, was terminated by his death at a battle in *Savoie*, where he was kill'd, when he was endeavouring with some forces to gain *Italy*, to shelter himself under the protection of *Astolphus*, King of *Lombardy*.

*Pepin* received this news at *Bonne* upon the *Rhine*, at his return from *Saxony*, where he had just defeated the *Saxons* that had revolted. He chastised the *Bretons* also, who had made some irruptions into the territories of *France*. He took the castle of *Vannes*, and obliged the Count of *Britanny* to surrender.

About the same time he extended the borders of the *French* empire at the expence of the *Pyrenean Saracens*: but he had yet much greater success on the other side the *Alps*.

Pope *Zacharias* did not long outlive *Pepin's* coronation, and was succeeded by *Stephen III.* in the pontifical see. *Astolphus*, King of the *Lombards*, had for some time threatned *Rome*. He had taken *Ravenna*

from the Exarch *Eutychius*, which put an end to this form of government called the Exarchat, about a hundred and eighty five years after it had been instituted. An. 752.

As the authority of the Exarchs of *Ravenna* had always extended over the city of *Rome*, *Astolphus* pretended, that being master of *Ravenna*, *Rome* also ought to be subject to him, and acknowledge him for King. The Pope gave the Emperor *Constantius Copronymus* notice of it, and many were the negotiations upon this occasion, either between the Pope and the Emperor, or the Pope and the King of *Lombardy*. In fine, when the Pope saw there was no hopes of succour against the *Lombards*, nor any prospect of an accommodation, he resolved to follow the example of his predecessors, and have recourse to the King of *France*; upon which he came for sanctuary to *Pepin's* court, in spite of all the efforts which *Astolphus* made to prevent him. *The Pope takes shelter in France.*  
Eginard. in Annal. ad an. 753.

*Pepin* went to meet him from *Thionville* to *Pont-Ton*, a royal palace, and received him with the greatest respect. From thence they came together to *Paris*, and the Pope went to lodge at the abbey of *St. Denis*. He persuaded *Pepin* to wage war with the King of *Lombardy*, by declaring himself the defender and protector of the church of *Rome* against the usurpations of this Prince. The King told him that he accepted these titles with joy, and wou'd endeavour to maintain them with dignity. An. 753.  
Continuat.  
Fredeg. c. 119.

In the mean time, *Astolphus*, foreseeing the aim and intention of the Pope's journey, endeavoured earnestly to divert this storm, and obliged *Carloman*, who, as was before observed, had turned a monk of mount *Cassin*, to go to *France* with his abbat to prevent the Pope's designs from taking effect, and to use his interest with the King his brother, that the peace which had lasted for so long time between the *French* and the *Lombards* might not be interrupted. An. 754.

*Carloman* was obliged to obey, but his remonstrances were to no purpose. Some time after he return'd for *Italy*, but died in the way before he was got out of *France*. *The death of Carloman, Brother of Pepin.*

*Pepin* however, before he would declare war, sent three different times to the King of *Lombardy* to propose

An. 754. pose an accommodation: but as he made the restitution of *Ravenna* and the rest of the exarchate a necessary condition of the peace, together with the liberty and independence of *Rome*, his proposals were not accepted.

Both sides therefore made preparations for the war: but while *France* was getting ready, *Pepin*, who made the best of every thing, was of opinion that some advantage might be drawn from the influence of the Pope's presence upon the minds of the *French*. He had been consecrated King by *S. Boniface* Bishop of *Mayence*, but was desirous to have that ceremony perform'd anew by the hands of the Pope, who readily consented to it. Queen *Bertrade* and the two Princes *Charles* and *Carloman* received also the royal unction from the hands of the Pope, who, as he was giving his benediction to the *French* Lords, conjur'd and requir'd them in the name of *S. Peter* to maintain the crown in *Pepin's* family. *Pepin* on his part made a solemn promise to the Pope, as did also the two Princes his sons to protect the holy see. The Pope conferr'd upon them all three the title of *Roman* Senators. And *Pepin* some time after march'd at the head of his army to the *Alps*, and was ready to pass them by the month of *September*.

*Astolphus* was waiting for them at *Suze*, where a bloody battle was fought, in which the *Lombards* were entirely defeated, and *Astolphus* was forc'd to retire to *Pavia*, whither *Pepin* soon followed and besieged it. After the siege had lasted some days, at the Pope's intreaty he made the same proposals to *Astolphus* which he had so often offer'd already. This Prince too happy to escape at such a rate, signed every thing he was desired, promised with an oath to restore *Ravenna* with all speed, gave forty hostages for security, and consented that the Pope shou'd from that time take possession of the town of *Narni*.

*Pepin* went farther, for as it was to him and not to the Emperor that the cession of *Ravenna* was made, and as the exarchate by that means became his conquest, which he pretended to have a right to dispose of, he made a grant of it in form and in writing to the Pope and the *Roman* church. After which he order'd the Abbat *Fulrade* to conduct the Pope to *Rome*, with

Eginard.  
Anastatius.  
Pepin gets  
himself fresh  
consecrated  
by the Pope.

Anastatius  
contin. Fred.  
Epist. Steph.  
ad Pepin.  
He makes war  
upon the King  
of Lombardy  
in favour of  
the Pope.  
Peace granted  
to the King  
of Lombardy  
by the treaty  
of Pavia.

Epist. Steph.  
ad Pepin.  
He gives his  
conquests to  
the holy see.



with a large company of soldiers under the command of *Jerome* base son of *Charles Martel*, and then returned to *France*. An. 755.

*Astolphus* having escaped the danger to which he was exposed, began to think his liberty too dearly purchased; and after many affected delays, came with an army to besiege *Rome*. The *Romans*, encouraged by the example of the *French* soldiers, whom the Abbat *Fulrade* had left with them, defended themselves with much bravery, and gave *Pepin* time to pass the *Alps* again.

In the mean time the Emperor of *Constantinople's* ambassadors arrived in *Italy*. One of them named *Gregory*, having got the start of the rest, came to the King who was already within reach of *Pavia*. He paid his respects to him and return'd thanks in the Emperor's name for the part he had taken in favour of the Empire, and requested him, in case he shou'd be able to force the King of *Lombardy* to yield up *Ravenna* and the rest of the exarchate, to allow them to return to the obedience of the Emperor their ancient and lawful master. He added to this request many presents from the Emperor.

The King answered that he was very much concerned for being under an indispensible engagement to the contrary, and that he wish'd he cou'd have comply'd with their inclinations; that the Emperor had never made any proposal to him of making war against the King of *Lombardy*; that he had undertaken it upon no interested or ambitious view, nor upon any other human motive whatsoever; that he had had no prospect in doing of it, but the benefit and honour of the *Roman* church; that this war was the war of *S. Peter*; that he had undertaken it for the glory of this Saint, who had himself the honour of it, and the Popes his successors all the benefit; that he had bound himself to this engagement by an oath, which nothing shou'd induce him to break; and in a word, that it was not the Emperor he had taken *Ravenna* from, but the King of *Lombardy*.

*The Emperor's negotiation with Pepin to no purpose.*

The Emperor's ambassador return'd with this disagreeable answer, and the King, whom *Astolphus* imagined was gone to *Rome*, came a second time to set down before *Pavia*. This diversion entirely answer'd *Pepin's* expectation.

**An. 755.** expectation. *Astolphus* raised the siege of *Rome*, and demanded peace, which was granted him upon condition of executing the treaty of *Pavia*, adding *Commachio* to the other towns that were to be given up, paying a large sum of money for the expence of the war, and the annual tribute of twelve thousand *sols d'Or*, which the *Lombards* had formerly paid *France*, and redeemed in *Clotaire II.*'s time.

Monachus  
S. Galli. l. 2.  
c. 23.  
Annal. Ful-  
denses &  
Metenses ad  
an. 750.

The donation of all these places we are speaking of, was a second time committed to writing; and so the peace being signed, the King went to pay his devotions at *Rome*; where he staid but a very short time, for fear of increasing the jealousy of the *Greeks*, and returned to *France*. But to provide against *Astolphus*'s relapsing into his usual treachery, he thought it necessary to have the treaty executed before he left *Italy*, and sent the Abbat *Fulrade* attended with the King of *Lombardy*'s officers to take possession of *Ravenna*, and part of the other places comprehended in the cession. This Abbat took hostages of all the towns, made the most considerable of the inhabitants follow him to *Rome*, and deposited the keys of all these places upon the tomb of *S. Peter*, to put him, as it were, and all his successors in possession of them. This is, properly speaking, the original of the temporal power of the Popes, which was a great advantage to their pontificate.

Anastasius.

*The death of Astolphus*, notwithstanding his new oaths, endeavoured some time after *Pepin*'s departure, to recover the treaty of *Pavia*, and the loss he had sustain'd in signing it. He had not yet delivered up *Faenza* and *Ferrara*, and continually occasion'd new incidents to retard the restitution of them, but his death put an end to his projects. He fell from his horse in hunting, and died of the fall a few days after without leaving any children to succeed him.

Annal. Me-  
tenses ad an.  
756.

Eginard.  
in Annal.

Epist. Steph.  
ad Pepin.  
Didier chosen  
King of  
Lombardy.

His death had like to have caused a civil war among the *Lombards*. But *Didier*, one of *Astolphus*'s generals, being at the head of an army in *Tuscany*, and being secure of the Pope and the King of *France*'s assistance, by the assurance he gave them of faithfully finishing the execution of the treaty of *Pavia*, and also of adding *Bologna* to the cession; he agreed with the *Lombards* to acknowledge him for their King. Immediately after his election,

election, the Pope entred into possession of *Faenza* and all the duchy of *Ferrara*. The towns of *Spoletto* and *Beneventum*, which had always belong'd to the kingdom of *Lombardy*, took this opportunity to revolt, and put themselves under the protection of *France* and the *Roman* church, *Didier* making no opposition.

An. 755.

While affairs were thus carried on in *Italy*, the Emperor's embassadors were at the court of *France*, and continued their instances with the King to persuade him to have some regard to the interests of their Master, who was deprived of his patrimony, under pretence of taking it from the *Lombards*, who were only usurpers of it. But the consequence of these affairs, and the turn they began to take, shew'd plainly that the Pope was more regarded than the Emperor.

Thus *Pepin* in the middle of *France* govern'd the affairs of *Italy*, till Pope *Stephen* died. His death made no alteration. *Paul*, deacon of the *Romish* church, was raised to the chair of *S. Peter*, and was the first Pope of that name. The repose of the Pope depended upon that of *France*: and he might be assured that the Emperor and the King of *Lombardy* wou'd lose no opportunity of disturbing it, that they cou'd lay hold of; and it was not long before such a one offer'd.

An. 757.

The *Saxons* made a general revolt the following year. *Pepin* was obliged to lead a great army against them, to fight several battles in the country, and to force the towns there. At length he defeated them, and as a punishment for their revolt imposed a new tribute upon them of three hundred horses, which they were obliged to bring him every year, when he held the general assembly on the *champ de May*. Upon this occasion also the King of the *Sclavi* submitted to him and became his tributary.

Eginard. in  
Annal. ad an.  
758.

The Saxons  
defeated.

The *Lombards* had no sooner got notice that *Pepin* was employ'd on that side, than they took the advantage of it. *Didier*, who had promised every thing to the Pope, to get himself made King, thought he ceased to be so, if for the sake of keeping his word he shou'd give up the remainder of what they demanded. Far from that, he began to commit hostilities, ravaged *Pentapolis*, and surpriz'd *Spoletto* and *Beneventum*. *Abin* Duke of *Spoletto* was put to the sword, and the

Didier vi-  
lates the trea-  
ty of Pavia.

Duke

An. 757. Duke of *Beneventum* forced to fly to *Otranto*. *Didier* came to a conference with the Pope near *Rome*, where, notwithstanding all that had passed, he protested to him, that he had nothing more at heart than peace. But he complain'd that he was too hardly used; and that notwithstanding he had already restored several places, yet they retain'd his hostages in *France*.

All this passed in *Italy* without *Pepin's* knowing any thing of it, so exactly did the *Lombards* keep the passages of the *Alps*, to prevent the Pope from having any correspondence with *France*; and in the mean time *Didier's* ambassadors made continual complaints of the Pope, as a man who abused the protection *France* afforded him, who perplexed and cavil'd at every thing, and refused to give the King of *Lombardy* time to reconcile the minds of his subjects, to whom all these dismemberments of their state were exceedingly disagreeable.

Epist. 2.  
Pauli Papæ  
ad Pepin. in  
Cod. Caroli-  
lino.

The Pope perceiving that most of his letters to *France* were intercepted, took occasion from the complaint the King of *Lombardy* had made to him concerning the hostages, to lay before him the state of affairs. He offer'd *Didier* to solicit the restitution of the hostages, and made him read the letters which he had written to the King of *France* upon this occasion. But he gave the bearer other private letters to the contrary, and charged him to inform the King of the infringements *Didier* had made upon the treaty of *Pavia*, and of his intrigues at the *Constantinopolitan* court.

Epist. 16. &  
7. in Codice  
Carolino.

The King being informed of these particulars by the Pope, assured him of his protection, and some time after sent *Remigius* Bishop of *Rouen* with the Duke of *Antcaire* to declare in his name to the King of *Lombardy*, that if he did not do the Pope justice, he shou'd soon see him with an army in *Italy*. These menaces had some effect. *Didier* restored a part of the patrimony of *S. Peter*, which he had usurped, delivered up into the hands of the Pope some lands resign'd by the treaty of *Pavia*, and promised to yield up all the rest by the end of *April* this year 760. But having received an account that the Emperor had agreed to the league that was proposed to him; and this Prince having promised him a fleet of three hundred sail, which were immediately to land in *Italy*, he began his hostilities anew,

Epist. 21. in  
Cod. Carolin.  
An. 760.

Epist. 24. in  
Cod. Carolin.



anew, and refused to finish the execution of the treaty of *Pavia*. However this fleet did not appear, and *Didier* was in danger of seeing the whole force of *France* at once pour in upon him, had it not been prevented by a diversion in all appearance managed by himself or the Emperor, which for some years layd hard upon *Pepin's* shoulders; but was succeeded by such times as equally tended to advance the happiness of *France*, and the glory of this Prince.

*Vaisar* Duke of *Aquitain*, son of *Hunalde*, who was turned monk, revolted. *Pepin* immediately passed the *Loire* with an army, and did not fail to oblige this Duke to surrender. He gave hostages, and *Pepin* returned with content. But the year after, the Duke took up arms a second time, which cost him the castle of *Bourbon*, *Chantelle*, *Clermont* in *Auvergne*, and the desolation of this province, most of the strong towns of which *Pepin* ruin'd, having cut in pieces a very considerable body of the rebels.

The following year he took *Bourges* and *Thonars* upon the confines of *Poitou*, and he and his generals defeated several squadrons which the Duke of *Aquitain* had sent to ravage the *French* territories. The Duke of *Aquitain* was ruin'd, and one more such campaign as the two preceding ones wou'd have deprived him of the rest of his states. *Pepin* made preparations for it, and had already passed the *Loire* an. 763. But either the Duke's good fortune, or perhaps his intrigues, raised *Pepin* a new and unexpected enemy.

It was the young *Tassillon* Duke of *Bavaria* his nephew, who having some time before done homage to him for his duchy, in a general assembly at *Compiègne*, had resided at the court of *France*, and followed him afterwards in most of his expeditions. He was present also at this; but feigning himself sick, he quitted the camp in great haste, and was no sooner come to *Bavaria*, than he pulled off the mask, and declared that he wou'd never after appear before his uncle to do him homage for his states. *Tassillon*, according to the history of *Bavaria*, had about that time married *Luitberge* daughter of the King of *Lombardy*, and this alliance affords us room to conjecture that he was secretly in league with that King and the Duke of *Aquitain*.

An. 760.

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Eginard. in
Annal. ad an.
760.
Continuat.
Fredeg. c. 25.
An. 761.
The revolt of
the Duke of
Aquitain.

An. 762.
Ibid. c. 127.

Eginard. ad
an. 763.

This

An. 762. This incident obliged *Pepin* to march back his forces on this side the *Loire*. He thought his presence necessary in the kingdom at this conjuncture ; and having given proper orders to preserve the places he had taken from the Duke of *Aquitain*, he called the *Assemblée de May* at *Wormes* upon the banks of the *Rhine* to watch the steps of the Duke of *Bavaria*. He kept these two Dukes after this manner at a bay during the whole campaign, without their venturing upon any attempt. He acted in the same manner and for the same reasons the following year ; but the year after he began a new war in *Aquitain*.

An. 764. & 765. This he managed in such manner as to baffle the Duke. We may see by the course of the history, when our Kings went to chastise their rebellious vassals, it was their custom to ravage the country ; and if they took any towns, to level them. *Pepin* had already begun to act in another manner with regard to the Duke : For having taken *Bourges* and *Clermont* in *Auvergne*, he preserved them and placed garrisons in them, which made irruptions on all sides, and also harra's'd the country during the winter season. The Duke of *Aquitain*, to prevent this inconvenience for the rest of his governments, resolved to defend himself in the fortresses and castles situate upon the rocks, and in such places as were difficult of access, and demolished the walls of *Argenton* in *Berry*, of *Poitiers*, *Limoges*, *Xaintes*, *Perigueux*, *Angouleme*, and several other towns, that the enemy might not be able to quarter there in the winter.

An. 766. *Pepin* let him alone ; but as soon as he had executed this design, he march'd to take possession of all those places, and spent almost this whole campaign of the year 766. in rebuilding the walls and towers. This was a great conquest which cost him nothing but money. The Duke of *Aquitain* was extremely vexed at it, and to repair this loss undertook what he had never dared to undertake from the beginning of the war. He march'd with a numerous army to offer battle to *Pepin*, who accepted it, and entirely defeated him. The Duke had like to have been taken, and this wou'd have ended the war ; but he escaped under the cover of the night. After this great defeat, he demanded peace, but it was refused him. And the Duke of *Bavaria* intimi-

timidated by the rigorous usage of the Duke of *Aquitain*, submitted to the King, and was reconcil'd to him by the mediation of the Pope. An. 766.

In the two following campaigns *Pepin* finished the conquest of *Aquitain*. During the winter he laid siege to *Toulouse*, and took it, made himself master of the country of *Albi* and *Givaudan*, and took several towns and castles in *Auvergne* and *Limousin*. At length the people of *Aquitain* surrendered themselves to *Pepin*. *Vaisar*, thus abandoned, fled with a very few men to *Xaintonge*; and was kill'd by his own soldiers. Thus perished this froward restless Prince, a sworn enemy to the *French*, and with him ended the principality of *Aquitain*, which was reunited by *Pepin* to the crown of *France*, between forty and fifty years after it had been dismembered from it by *Eudes* grandfather of the last Duke. Epist. 2. in Cod. Carolin. Eginard. ad an. 767. Pepin makes a conquest of the duchy of Aquitain. An. 767.

This glorious expedition was the last of this Prince's reign. He was taken ill of a fever at *Xaintes*, and, after he had lain some days, caused himself to be carried to *Tours* to the tomb of *S. Martin*, and from thence to *S. Denys*, where he died of a dropsy at the age of fifty four, the twenty third day of *September*, an. 768. the seventeenth of his reign, and the twentieth of his government. His death. An. 768. Eginard. in vita Caroli magni. His character.

None of *Pepin's* predecessors on the throne of *France* were equal to him in courage, prudence, and success, and all the great qualities which concurr'd to form him an accomplish'd Prince. The talent of making himself esteem'd, respected, beloved and feared, which supposes all civil and military virtues, was to a sovereign degree in him. He wanted nothing but to be born a Prince of the Royal Family; and this he supplied by his cunning and ambition. Of all the ways that serve to raise a man to the throne, whose birth has not placed him there, he made choice of the least odious. He shed no blood either to ascend to it, or maintain himself in it. And he established his authority at first upon such a bottom, that during his whole reign there is not the least mention of a revolt in *France*. This was owing to an extraordinary prudence, which was his reigning virtue. So great was the idea the world had of it, that it became a proverb; and when

An. 768. they wou'd commend any one in this respect, *He is,* say they, *as prudent as Pepin.*

His low and burly stature, which drew upon him the surnames of short and fat, diminished nothing of the respect which his great merit procured him, and with this low bulk he had a certain air and stateliness, which he made at pleasure to supply the majesty of presence and stature. History reproaches him with very few faults. Only we are informed that he had some base children, and that he endeavoured to divorce *Bertrade*, to make room for another person he was in love with. But Pope *Stephen III.* having made some paternal remonstrances to him upon that occasion, prevail'd upon his passion to give way to the fear of scandal. In a word, *Pepin* having exceeded the merit of all his predecessors, had no equal in the whole royal line, of which he was the founder, unless we should except his son *Charlemagne*, whose glorious reign is the subject of the following history we are entring upon.

CHARLEMAGNE

AND

CARLOMAN.

THE kingdom of *France* arrived at the highest pitch of power it ever was at; a great part of *Spain*, and almost all *Italy* conquered, the *Saracens* defeated, the bounds of the *French* empire, and those of Christendom, extended far beyond the *Danube* and the *Teisse*; *Dacia*, *Dalmatia*, and *Istria* subdued; the barbarous nations as far as the *Vistula* made tributary; the empire of the west, with all its prerogatives, transferred to the house of *France*; a kingdom of this extent governed with application and authority, and with the best laws, both civil and ecclesiastical: in a word,

word, a continued succession of victories and conquests for the space of six and forty years: This is the scene which the glorious reign of *Charlemagne* opens to us.

An. 768.



The division of the *French* empire between this Prince and his younger brother *Carloman* is related by our historians in a very confus'd and different manner. We learn by the course of the history that it did always subsist according to its first settlement; that *Charlemagne* had *Neustria*, *Burgundy*, and *Aquitain*, and a part of the kingdom of *Austrasia* that lay towards the *Meuse*, and that *Carloman* had the rest, with all beyond the *Rhine*.

An. 768.

The division of the French empire between Charlemagne and Carloman.

This division, which weakened the power of the *French* empire, and the misunderstanding which arose between the two Kings, awakened the enemies of this great dominion. *Hunalde*, father of the last Duke of *Aquitain*, had resigned his duchy to his son above twenty years before, to take upon himself the habit of a monk. Seeing him dead, and his government made a prey to the *French*, he gave way to the hopes of recovering the throne; so true is it, that how difficult a step soever it be to quit a kingdom, yet it is possibly much easier to do this than to bear it when done. *Hunalde*, then having left his monastery, and put himself at the head of some forces, stir'd up the country, and rais'd insurrections in several places.

Charles march'd against him, and was at first join'd by his brother *Carloman*; but this Prince being discontented at the change that had been made in the division of the *French* empire, deserted him almost immediately. *Charles* however did not give over pursuing *Hunalde*, but took him and imprison'd him. This expedition meeting with such success and dispatch convinced *Didier*, King of *Lombardy*, and *Tassillon*, Duke of *Bavaria*, that *Pepin's* son was not much less formidable than his father had been, which determin'd the Duke to lie quiet at home, and the King of *Lombardy* to use all his endeavours to gain the friendship of this young King, by waiting for an opportunity to bring him off, if he cou'd, from the interests of the Pope.

Eginard. in vita Caroli magni.

An. 769.

The King of *Lombardy*, besides his daughter *Luitberge*, whom he had married to the Duke of *Bavaria*,

An. 769. *ria*, had also a son, and another daughter. His son he proposed to marry to *Giselle*, sister of *Charlemagne*, and his daughter to this Prince or his brother *Carloman*. There does not appear to have been any difficulty in the marriage of *Giselle* with the Prince of *Lombardy*: However it came to nothing. Such was the fate of that Princess, who had already been demanded in vain by the Emperor *Constantin* for his son. She was neither Empress nor Queen, but a Nun.

As for the marriage of the King of *Lombardy's* daughter with *Charlemagne* or his brother, there was a great obstacle in the way of it. These two Princes were married, which however did not hinder them from hearkning to the proposal. The Queen-mother *Bertrade* look'd upon this marriage, to which she meant to persuade *Charlemagne*, as a means to restore a good understanding between *France*, the King of *Lombardy*, and the Duke of *Bavaria*, and to prevent *Carloman* from making use of these two Princes's assistance to raise a civil war in *France*, which she was always afraid of, from his restless and jealous disposition.

Pope *Stephen IV.* who succeeded Pope *Paul* about the conclusion of the last reign, was apprehensive that this marriage might be of dangerous consequence to the holy See, and did all he could to hinder it, but to no purpose. For the Queen-mother herself took a journey to *Italy* and *Bavaria* to negotiate this affair, and the matter was concluded: but to make the Pope easy, she persuaded *Didier* to restore the holy See several places that he had made himself master of. She brought the King of *Lombardy's* daughter into *France*, whom *Charlemagne* married as soon as she arrived. To make way for this marriage, *Charlemagne* was obliged to repudiate his wife *Himiltrude*, daughter of a *French* Lord, which he did accordingly. This method of divorcing was a very great irregularity, and but too common in that age. Some years before a council was held at *Verberies*, a royal palace in *Compiègne*, where some cases of conscience of this nature were decided in a very surprizing manner by the Bishops there assembled, which gave a great stroke to the indissolubility of marriage, and were a very loose morality upon so important a subject. But notwithstanding the Queen-mother's care and precaution, *Carloman's*

Concilium
Vermeriense.
T. I. con-
cil. Gallie.

An. 771.

loman's restless spirit, urged by the incessant instances of persons of the same disposition, had not suffered the peace to last long in *France*, if he had lived, but he died within a year of *Charlemagne's* marriage. An. 771.

Carloman reigned but three years, and left two sons minors behind him at his death. The Queen Dowager surprized at the unexpected death of her husband, and apprehensive lest *Charlemagne* should seize her person and her children to have them shaved and confined in a monastery, fled with them, and all she was able to carry off, to the King of *Lombardy*. Carloman's death.

Charlemagne receiving this news at *Valenciennes*, where he had held a diet, either out of good nature or policy, shew'd a great deal of concern and resentment at the Queen's flight, having not deserved, as he said, to be fear'd in this manner. However he march'd up to the frontiers of his brother's kingdom, where several Bishops and Lords came and surrendered themselves to him, and offer'd him the deserted kingdom, which he accepted and took possession of without any resistance.

This Prince being under no farther apprehensions of a civil war, and seeing all things quiet and in perfect subjection at home, thought of subduing the *Saxons*, who were the most troublesome neighbours of the *French* empire. Ibid.
Charlemagne
sole King of
France.

He propos'd to himself a double end in this war. First, to weaken them in such sort, that it should be entirely out of their power to raise any disturbance; and secondly, which was the best way to make them tractable, to root out idolatry, and establish Christianity in their country. He cou'd not bring it about in less than three and thirty years of war without interruption; a war, says the author of this Prince's life, which was the most severe and fatiguing that *France* had ever experienced. An. 772.

The occasion of the war he at that time took in hand against this nation, were the irruptions they made into the *French* territories. He pass'd the *Rhine* at *Wormes*, and entered *Saxony*, carrying ravage and terror wherever he went. Of the several forts this people had built upon the passages, as well of the rivers as of the woods and lanes, to put a stop to the course of the *French*, the most considerable was Eginard. in
vita Caroli
magni.

N 3 . called

An: 772. called *Eresbourg* by *Paderbourn*. It was in this fort that the idol *Irminful* was worshipped in a very rich temple built in honour of him. They look'd upon this idol as the tutelary deity of the nation.

Monachus
Engolismeus
in vita Ca-
roli magni.
Annales
Francorum
ad an. 772.

Charlemagne laid siege to the fort, took it and carried off all the gold and silver of the temple, and spent three days in razing it intirely to the ground. From *Eresbourg* he advanced to *Vefer*, where the *Saxons* came to implore his compassion. He pardon'd them, took twelve hostages for the security of their promise, and prohibited them from rebuilding *Eresbourg*. They thought themselves very happy in saving the rest of their country upon these conditions; which they observed no longer than till they saw *Charlemagne* removed at a great distance from them by the exigency of affairs in *Italy*, which were of greater importance than those in *Saxony*.

Stephen IV. who succeeded *Paul*, and was but indifferently qualified for government, suffered himself to be amused by *Didier*, King of *Lombardy*. This Prince brought matters so about, as to set the Pope and *France* together by the ears; and having deprived him of this resort, was in good hopes of repairing the breaches which the treaty of *Pavia* had made in the kingdom of *Lombardy*. But the death of this Pope, and the character of his successor broke his measures.

Anastasi-
us in Adriano.

It was *Adrian I.* that came in his room, a man of prudence, and constancy equal to his virtue, who, resuming the maxims of his other predecessors, was no sooner elected than he set himself seriously to act in concert with *France*, and put himself upon his guard against the artifices of the King of *Lombardy*.

After many negotiations which he had gladly entred upon with that Prince, to give the *French* time to come into *Italy*, if need so required, he made an open declaration that he would conclude nothing with him till he saw the treaty of *Pavia*, and every thing that had been settled by *Pepin*, in his last journey to *Italy*, compleatly executed. *Charlemagne*, having notice of all that pass'd, put himself in readiness to repass the *Alps*, and then entred upon his march.

He arrived at the passes which the *Lombards* guarded at the entrance of the plains of *Piedmont*, where they were strongly entrench'd; but he forced their fortifications. *Didier* fled to *Pavia*, whither *Charlemagne* went to besiege him. The siege lasted six months, at the end of which the King of *Lombardy* was compelled by the garrison and citizens to capitulate; but he could obtain no terms but those of his life. He surrendered; and this surrendry served for a signal to all the other towns which still held out for him, to submit to the discretion of the conqueror. For during the siege of *Pavia* several detachments of *Charlemagne's* army had made themselves masters of the greatest part of it. Prince *Adalgise*, *Didier's* son, fled by sea to *Constantinople*, where the Emperor *Constantine* bestow'd upon him the title of Patrician, which he enjoyed to his death. Thus ended the reign of the Princes of *Lombardy* in *Italy*, two hundred and six years after the famous conqueror *Alboin* had begun it.

An. 772.

Charlemagne enters Italy.

Eginard. ad an. 774.

The advantage *Charlemagne* got by this march to the other side the *Alps*, was the conquest of near two thirds of *Italy*; for the remainder beyond *Rome* still belong'd to the *Greek* Emperor as well as *Sicily*.

Charlemagne placed *French* governors in *Toscany* and at *Pavia*, but at several other places he left the *Lombard* Dukes or Governors in possession, because they had made a ready surrender of themselves, on condition that their governments should still continue in their own hands. It is certain that the dethroned King was carried into *France*, tho' no contemporary author tells us what became of him. According to some others, who wrote long after that time, he was banished to *Liege*, and died afterwards in the monastery of *Corbie*.

Anselmus Leodienfis. Sigebertus.

From this time *Charlemagne* added the title of King of *Lombardy* to that of *France*. The Popes gave it him in their letters to him. He assumed it in the publick acts, and we find it upon some of his coins. During the siege of *Pavia* he made a journey to *Rome*, where he was receiv'd in a kind of triumph, spent his *Easter* there, and confirm'd the grant which *Pepin* had made to the holy See.

In cod. Cas. & apud Gratianum.

An. 774.

This Prince having settled the affairs of *Italy*, and firmly established the *French* dominion there, departed in the month of *August*. That which hastened his return was a new revolt of the *Saxons*.

Charlemagne march'd with such expedition, that he arriv'd at *Ingelheim* upon the *Rhine* before the *Saxons* had any notice of it, and entred the country with his forces, who surpriz'd and cut them in pieces.

Eginard. ad
an. 775.

At the beginning of the campaign, this Prince, having pass'd the *Rhine*, took the castle of *Sigebourg*, and rebuilt that of *Eresbourg*, which the *Saxons* had retaken and demolished the year before. He approach'd the *Veser*, which he passed in spite of the resistance of the *Saxons*, of whom he made a great slaughter: but they got the better of a detachment of the army, which they surprized upon the banks of the *Veser*.

The Saxons
defeated.

The *Saxons*, seeing their country laid waste, and much blood spilt, came according to their usual custom to implore his clemency. The King knew by former experience that these forced submissions were a mere pretence to get rid of him; but the news he received from *Italy*, where he foresaw his presence wou'd soon be necessary, determin'd him to accept their submissions and hostages.

The truth is, *Adalgise*, son of the dethroned King, was no sooner arriv'd at *Constantinople*, than he engaged the Emperor in his interests; and this Prince promised him a fleet and an army, provided that he could find means to raise himself a party in *Italy*, which he immediately set about.

Eginard in
Annal. ad
an. 776.
Annal. Me-
tenses. Chr.
Verduense.

For this purpose he apply'd himself to *Rotgaude*, Duke of *Frioul*. He knew him to be well affected to his family, and that he had submitted to *France* only because he was not able to resist it. His attempt therefore met with no great difficulty in the success; *Aragise*, Duke of *Beneventum*, who had married a daughter of *Didier*, and *Hildebrand*, Duke of *Spoleto*, and some others join'd in the conspiracy.

The Pope, having some suspicion of it, gave *Charlemagne* notice. One of the qualities of this great Prince, which did not a little contribute to his victories, was the readiness of his judgment, which made him resolve out of hand, and execute his resolutions with

wonderful

wonderful dispatch. He had no sooner received this news than he repass'd the *Alps* with only a select body of his troops. He surprized Duke *Frioul*, and beheaded him. The Dukes of *Beneventum* and *Spoleto* had not yet declared themselves, and the protestations they made of their fidelity and innocence met with sufficient credit. *Trevisa*, and some other towns that had revolted, surrendred, and the King placed *French* governors in them. He returned with the same expedition to the frontiers of *Germany*, where the *Saxons* had again taken the field. They had recovered the fort of *Eresbourg*, had been beaten before that of *Sigebourg*, and pursued by the *French* to the source of the river *Lipe*. In this place *Charlemagne*, who had not spent above four months in his expedition into *Italy* and his return to *Wormes*, came to surprize them. They could hardly believe it was him; but when they were sure of it, the camp was fill'd with consternation, and they sued for pardon, and demanded baptism.

An. 776.

A revolt in Italy punished.

This also was but a mere pretence, but it was agreeable to *Charlemagne's* wishes, who for a long time had waited an opportunity to soften the savage manners of this nation by Christianity. Upon this he caus'd several of them to be baptiz'd, took fresh hostages, rebuilt the fort of *Eresbourg*, and rais'd another upon the *Lipe*.

The Saxons subdued.

In one of his expeditions against the *Saxons* he had made himself master of *Paderborn* in *Westphalia*, and he made choice of this town in the spring to hold the diet or assembly of the *French* Lords there, to consult about measures for preventing these continual revolts of the *Saxons*.

Before the meeting of the assembly he penetrated a great way into *Saxony* with a numerous army, and constrain'd the most considerable of the heads of the *Saxons* to come thither to oblige themselves by a more authentick oath to be faithful to him. Most of them came excepting *Vitikingde*, one of the most famous of the *Saxon* commanders, who repair'd to the King of *Denmark*. The other commanders took the oath in the name of the whole nation before the assembly; and were oblig'd to add this clause to it, that if they shou'd ever violate it, they consented to be reduc'd to slavery,

An. 777.

An. 777. slavery, and driven out of their country. Several also, to carry the cheat on the better, embraced Christianity, and were baptiz'd.

Charlemagne, to shew the *Saxons* how far the reputation of his name and arms extended, wou'd at this diet receive the homage of an *Emir* of the *Saracens* of *Spain* named *Ibinalarabi*, who came to surrender himself to him, with all the towns under his government.

The *Emir*, at his submission to the *French* power, demanded of *Charlemagne* the restitution of *Saragossa*, and the other towns that had been taken from him, which this Prince promised and performed.

Ibid.

An. 778. In the spring of the year following he passed the *Pyrenees* thro' *Gascogne* to *Navarre*. *Pampeluna* was the first town he besieged, and it surrendered upon articles. From thence he marched to *Saragossa*, which did not hold out long, where he re-established the *Emir Ibinalarabi*. Another *Emir* put also *Huesca* and *Jaca*, and some other towns of his government under the protection of *France*. *Barcellona* and *Gironne* renewed their homages and the oath of fidelity, which they had taken several years since to the late King *Pepin*. There *Charlemagne* put an end to his conquests, and prepared to repass the mountains.

Charlemagne's expeditions into Spain.

His return was attended with disadvantage. The *Gascon* mountaineers getting together, and suffering the greatest part of the army to repass, fell upon the rear, defeated it utterly, pillaged the baggage that was placed there, and destroy'd several of the *French* Lords.

A new revolt of the *Saxons* wou'd not suffer *Charlemagne* to take any rest after so fatiguing an expedition. *Vitikingde*, knowing this Prince was at the other extremity of his states, returns from *Denmark* into *Saxony*, and putting himself at the head of the most mutinous part of his nation, march'd as far as the *Rhine*, ravaging as he went, and put every thing to fire and sword from *Duitz* overagainst *Cologne* to *Coblents*. He pillaged also the town of *Verde*, and utterly demolish'd it. The *Saxons* were pursued in their retreat, and attack'd at the passage of the river *Eider*, where they were defeated in such a manner that very few escaped.

Ep. Sancti Ludgeri ad Nifridum.

The Saxons defeated.
Ann. Franc.
ad. an. 778.

This

This defeat kept them quiet for the following year ; An. 779. and hearing that *Charlemagne* had passed the *Rhine*, they came to sue for pardon, which was granted them ; but, among other conditions, he required them to hold a diet of the whole nation upon the river *Onacre* the year after, at which he himself would be present. This they performed, and a great number of *Saxons* were baptized there. From thence *Charlemagne* with his army advanced as far as the river *Elbe*, to hold an assembly of the *Sclavonian* nation there. He left Bishops, Priests and Abbats in *Saxony* and *Sclavonia*, who converted and baptized several Pagans. About the end of this same year he made a journey to *Italy*, at the pressing instances of the Pope, upon account of some differences that had arisen between him and the governor of *Naples*, and the intrigues of *Arigise*, Duke of *Beneventum*, who was always a caballing in favour of Prince *Adalgise*. *Charlemagne's* presence re-establish'd peace, and disappointed the male-contents.

An. 780.

Chron. Mef.
fiacense.

Epist. 64.
Adriani in
cod. Carolin.

He brought along with him Queen *Hildegarde*, who was already mother of three Princes, the eldest named *Charles*, the second *Carloman*, and the third *Loüis*. The little Prince *Carloman*, whose baptism had been designedly put off, was baptized there on *Easter Day* by the Pope, who changed his name at the font for that of *Pepin*, notwithstanding *Charlemagne's* eldest son by his first wife already bore that name.

Eginard ad
an. 781.

There was another affair of much greater importance transacted in this country. He declared after the baptism of this young Prince, that he would make him King of *Lombardy*, and *Loüis*, his youngest son, King of *Aquitain*; and the Pope gave them both the royal unction. *Pepin* immediately took possession of his kingdom, and *Loüis* did the same after his return to *France*. *Charlemagne* gave them sage and judicious ministers to govern their states, for both of them were as yet but minors.

Charlemagne
makes his son
Pepin King
of *Lombardy*,
and
Loüis, his
youngest son,
King of *A-*
quitain.

Charlemagne seeing every thing quiet, turn'd his views upon the *Saxons*. He look'd upon it as one of the best methods to keep them in submission, to shew himself to them from time to time, to appear every year in their country at the head of an army, and frequently to assemble their Dukes to treat with them upon the affairs of their nation.

As

An. 781.

Eginard. ad
an. 782.

As soon as he had forage enough in the field, he passed the *Rhine*, advanc'd with his army as far as the head of the *Lipe*, and held an assembly of the *Saxons* there. The Princes of the North sent ambassadors to compliment him, particularly *Sigefroy*, King of the *Danes*, otherwise called *Normans*, and the Kings of the *Huns* or *Avars*. They demanded peace and his friendship; which he promised them on condition of their offering no injury to his subjects.

But he was no sooner return'd to *France* than he receiv'd the news of a fresh revolt of the *Saxons*, headed by *Vitikingde*, and sent an army thither; but soon after they brought him word, that thro' the misunderstanding of his generals a great part of it had been defeated by the *Saxons* at the foot of the mountain *Sontal* near the *Veser*.

This Prince, who had not been us'd to such news as this, was very much chagrin'd at it: but, without losing time, he march'd at the head of a fresh body, and entred *Saxony*, where the sole noise of his approach dissipated this whole victorious army.

He sent orders to the most considerable of the *Saxons* to appear before him, who came trembling and begging his patience, laying the fault upon *Vitikingde*, whom they all accused of having raised the sedition. The King required them to deliver him up to him; but they answered that he had fled to *Denmark*. *He is fled*, said the King, *but the accessories in his crime are still here, and I will make an example of them, which I have too long forbore to do.*

The Saxons
severely pun-
ished.

Upon this he gave the signal to his soldiers to invest this multitude of *Saxons*, caused them to be disarmed, ordered them to number out four thousand five hundred of those that had assisted at the battle of *Sontal*, and having commanded them to be carried to *Verde* upon the river *Alte*, beheaded them there.

After this terrible punishment in open field, where the number of dead bodies rather represented a bloody defeat, than the execution of the sentence of a Prince pronounced upon the guilty, *Charles* departed to keep his winter at *Thionville*, where he lost Queen *Hildegarde*, a Princess equally belov'd by the King her husband, and by the nation.

The first effect which this dreadful slaughter produced was a general consternation, but such a one as soon changed into rage by the arrival of *Vitikingde*, and another Duke named *Albion*: and *Charlemagne* soon heard of the general revolt of the whole nation.

An. 782.

The *Saxons* succeeded no better in this effort than in the rest. For two years that this general revolt lasted, *Charlemagne* defeated them in three bloody battles, and carried the ravage as far as the river *Elbe*; and to leave them no time to breathe, he resolved to pass the winter of an. 785. in the fort of *Eresbourg*. Thither he brought his two eldest sons, and Queen *Eastrade*, daughter of a *French* Count, whom he had married some months after the death of Queen *Hildegarde*. He made war continually upon the *Saxons* during this season, in which they used to recover the losses they had suffered in the summer, and the whole winter was taken up in the incursions of the *French* into *Saxony*, in fire and ravage.

An. 783,
784, 785.


In the mean time the King being weary of this war which had cost him much blood, fatigue and expence, had a mind to put an end to it, and so well managed the matter, that he persuaded *Vitikingde* and *Albion* to come to him at *Attigni*, upon the river *Aisne*, who were so charmed with his goodness, generosity, and other great qualities, that they suffered themselves to be intirely won, and also embraced Christianity. So that upon their return to their countries they lived in the faithful observance of their promises to the Christian Religion, and kept the people in submission, at least for some years.

Vitikingde,
their head
turns christi-
an.
Ann. Poeta
Saxonici l.
2. ad an.
785.

Peace being settled in *Saxony*, the King suppressed without much difficulty some other emotions, which cou'd hardly fail to arise from time to time in so vast an empire composed of so many different nations. He punished the *Bretons*, who had made some difficulty to pay him the tribute. He made a fourth journey to *Italy*, whete he curb'd the restless disposition of *Arigise*, Duke of *Beneventum*, who was one while quarrelling with the Pope and another with the *Greek* governors, and obliged him to deliver up his two sons for hostages, the eldest of whom he nevertheless restored him soon after.

An. 786.

The

An. 787.  The Duke of *Bavaria* by his ill conduct obliged him to enter his principality with a numerous army, but was forced to submit and sue for pardon. He was excused for that time: but the King having discovered the following year, that he was dealing with the Duke of *Beneventum*, with *Constantine* the Emperor of the East, or rather with *Irene* his mother, Regent of the empire during his minority, and with the *Huns*, to form a league against *France*, he invited him to the diet at *Ingelheim*. The Duke, who did not imagine his intrigues were discovered, came thither without any mistrust, but he was no sooner arrived than he was seized, and told, that it was in order to his trial.

Eginard. ad an. 788. &c. in vita Car. M. Tassillon, Duke of *Bavaria* sent to a monastery.

When he came before the assembly, he was greatly surpris'd to see some of his own subjects among his accusers. He was found guilty of felony, and condemned to be beheaded: but the King commuted his punishment, and contented himself with confining him and his two sons in different monasteries. He was sent to that of *St. Goar*, upon the banks of the *Rhine*, over against *Rhinsfeld*. So *Bavaria* ceas'd to be a separate state from the kingdom of *Charlemagne*, and was governed, like the other provinces, by Counts he sent thither.

In the mean time the Duke of *Bavaria*'s punishment did not hinder the effect of his intrigues from breaking out into two great wars, which *Charlemagne* saw himself upon a sudden engag'd in.

The *Huns* or *Avars*, according to their agreement with the Duke, invaded *France* with two numerous armies at the same time. The one entred *Frioul* and the other *Bavaria*: both of them were totally defeated by the *French* generals. Another more numerous than the former came pouring in upon *Bavaria*, and met with the same fate, and this last defeat finished the troubles on that side. But those which the *Greeks* created *Charlemagne* in *Italy*, took up no less of his application. It was another consequence of the Duke of *Bavaria*'s league.

Charlemagne's victory over the Avars.

Aragise, Duke of *Beneventum*, managed under hand a general revolt of the *Lombards* in *Italy*, and the Regent *Irene* had promised to send him *Adalgise* with a fleet and an army to restore him to the throne of the

the late King of *Lombardy* his father. The Pope was inform'd of all the contrivance, and gave the King notice of it. The death of the Duke of *Beneventum* and his eldest son, who died both within a month of each other, did not discourage the *Greeks* from making use of the great forces they had rais'd, and which were arriv'd with *Adalgise* under the command of general *John*. A battle ensued, and the *Greeks* were defeated. An. 788.

After this defeat, *Adalgise* repair'd to *Constantinople*, and never appear'd after in *Italy*.

This was one of the most successful years of *Charlemagne's* reign. Four battles gain'd by his generals, viz. three against the *Avars*, and this against the *Greeks*. His power more confirm'd than ever in *Italy*, and his Empire augmented with all the duchy of *Bavaria* were the successes that signaliz'd it. *The French army in Italy defeats that of the Greeks.*

The following year he completed the conquest of *Germany*, penetrated victoriously into *Sclavonia*, defeated the *Vilfes* in battle, and oblig'd them, as well as several petty Kings or Dukes of the *Sclavi*, to do him homage for their lands, and acknowledge him for their sovereign. An. 789.

Two years before, upon the *Huns* or *Avars* disagreeing with him about their Limits, he conquer'd their country, and his soldiers brought off an infinite deal of booty. These *Avars* were settled upon both sides of the *Danube*, and possess'd a great part of the country now called *Austria* and *Hungary*. At length he pushed his conquests as far as the fall of the *Raab* into the *Danube*. *Eginard. ad an. 791.*

The joy of such happy success was temper'd by occasions of sorrow which Princes can no more avoid than other men. *Pepin*, son of *Himiltrude*, *Charlemagne's* first wife, jealous of seeing his brothers already upon the throne, without any thing yet done for himself, carried his jealousy to such a length as to conspire against the life of his own father. The conspiracy was discovered, the Prince's accomplices punish'd with death, and himself imprison'd in the monastery of *Prüm* in *Ardennes*. *Ibid. ad an. 792.*

In the mean time the *Avars*, after the retreat of the *French*, had repossessed themselves of their towns and castles, and had rebuilt the walls, being resolved, if they came

An. 793. came again to attack them, to make a better defence than ever. It was indeed *Charlemagne's* design to have returned with all speed: but he was prevented as well by some revolts that happen'd in *Italy* in the duchy of *Beneventum*, as by the commotions of the *Saracens* in *Spain*, and a new revolt of the *Saxons*.

The troubles of the duchy of *Beneventum* were soon suppressed by the arrival of *Pepin* King of *Italy*: those of *Spain* were of a longer continuance: for the *Saracens* surpriz'd *Barcelona*, spread their ravage as far as the suburbs of *Narbonne*, and burnt them. But that which chiefly broke the design of the expedition against the *Avars*, were the *Saxons*, whose revolt was general. It began by a piece of treachery to *Theuderic* one of the *French* generals in those quarters. For when there was not the least appearance of any dissatisfaction among them, they made an attack upon him at *Rustringen* near the *Veser*, and cut his men in pieces.

Eginard. ad
an. 793.

Charlemagne did not think it proper to take any enterprize in hand at this juncture. He sent some companies to the *Pyrenees* to oppose the *Saracens* if they shou'd make any new attempts, and placed himself upon the frontiers of *Francia Germanica* to prevent the irruptions of the *Saracens*, waiting till he was in a better condition to go and punish them in their own country.

Rodericus
Toletanus.

He was disengaged of the troubles in *Spain* by the great victory which *Alphonfus*, surnamed *le Chaste*, gain'd over the *Saracens*, in which seventy thousand of these infidels fell upon the place: which made the King of *Cordova* lay aside his design of invading *Languedoc*. So *Charlemagne* made preparations at leisure for the *Saxon* war; and in the mean time caused the council of *Frankfort* to be held, which was so called from the place where it was assembled, and which at that time was no more than a royal palace.

Eginard. ad
an. 794.

The council of
Frankfort.

The heresy of *Nestorius*, which *Felix* Bishop of *Urgel*, and *Elipandus* Bishop of *Toledo*, had revived in other terms, was anathematiz'd there. But the second council of *Nice*, in which the Empress *Irene* had caused the error of the *Image-breakers* to be condemned, met with a rough reception here, because they formed their opinion of this council upon the forged acts of it, that had been brought from *Constantinople* to *France* by

by the *Iconoclasts*. Besides that this council was not then looked upon as a general council in *France*, and moreover the *French* were very much incensed against the Empress upon account of the troubles she had raised in *Italy*. An. 794.

Tassillon formerly Duke of *Bavaria* was brought before the council of *Francfort*, and obliged to ask pardon for his revolts and infidelity to *Pepin* and *Charlemagne*, and to make a renunciation in form of all the right which he or his children might claim to *Bavaria*. Afterwards he was sent to the monastery of *Jumiege* near *Roan* with his sons, where they passed the rest of their lives. Tom. 2.
Conc. Gal.

About this time died Queen *Fastrade*, a proud and haughty Princess, hated by the *French*, and was the cause of the conspiracy I have been speaking of against the King her husband. Eginard. ad
an. 794.

During the sitting of the council, *Charlemagne* made preparations for the invasion of *Saxony*. As soon as he came thither, his presence alone made the *Saxons* lay down their arms, and send a petition for pardon. He received their delegates at *Eresbourg*, to whom he made answer that he wou'd grant his pardon upon two conditions. First, that they shou'd again receive the christian priests they had driven out of their country. And secondly, that their army being ranged in battle, he shou'd choose out a third part of it, and those whom he knew to be most seditious, in order to transport them out of a country where they cou'd not live quietly. This condition, hard as it was, was accepted, together with the former, and afterwards executed. This is not the last time we find *Charlemagne* punishing the *Saxons* in this manner. Chronec.
Mossiacense,
Annal. Ful-
denses.
A great num-
ber of the Sax-
ons trans-
planted by
Charlemagne.

What passed at the council of *Francfort*, gave Pope *Adrian* a great deal of uneasiness and disquiet, who had need of all his wisdom to adjust matters with *Charlemagne* and the Empress *Irene* at the same time, and to maintain the authority of the council of *Nice*. He died about two years after that of *Francfort*, and was not only lamented by *Charlemagne* as a great Pope, but also bewail'd as a friend for whom he had a very sensible affection.

He was succeeded by *Leo III.* who for the reputation of his virtue was chosen with one voice, and this Eginard. ad
an. 796.

An. 796. universal consent seemed to presage a much happier pontificate than it proved to be in the event.

Peace being re-established in *Saxony*, where there were very few revolts of any moment, gave *Charlemagne* an opportunity of resuming his former design of a new expedition against the *Avars*: but as he was determined to be always upon his guard with respect to the *Saxons*, he contented himself with sending two armies into the country of the *Avars*, the one commanded by *Hervi* Duke of *Frioul*, and the other by his son *Pepin* King of *Italy*. The success answer'd his wishes. The *Avars* were totally defeated, their Kam or Prince killed, the remains of their army driven as far as the *Teisse*, all their towns taken, and the capital named *Ringa* demolished. This victory seems to have put an end to the war of the *Avars*. From that time they submitted to the yoke of *France*, and made but a few revolts afterwards, which were easily suppressed. We may also look upon it as the end of that nation, which was almost utterly exterminated.

Annal. Ful-
denfes.

Charle-
magne's
conquest of
the country of
the Avars.

Ibid. ad an.
797.

At the end of this campaign *Charlemagne* went to *Aix-la-Chappelle* with Queen *Lutgarde*, his fifth wife, whom he had lately married. There he received homage of a Prince of the *Avars* named *Theudon*, who had submitted to him before the second war with the *Avars*. A *Saracen* Emir named *Zata*, who had made himself master of *Barcelona* and all that territory, came also to acknowledge him for his sovereign. *Abdalla* uncle of *Albaca*, the new King of *Cordova*, came some time after to demand succour of *Charlemagne* against this Prince, who had deprived him of part of the succession of the late King, which he pretended belonged to him. The King of *Aquitain* had orders to conduct him into *Spain*, and do him right there.

Charlemagne received also ambassadors from *Alphon-
sus* the chaste, King of the *Asturias*, who came to acquaint him with the new advantages, which this Prince, with whom he had always a great intercourse and familiarity, had gained over the *Saracens*. Thus as the general arbiter of the affairs of Europe, he was applied to by almost all Princes as well christians as infidels, every where both respected and feared. The *Saxons*

alone, who had so often experienced one while his clemency, and another his wrath, cou'd not come in- to the sentiments of the other nations, but he punish'd them the following year with great severity for a sedition in which some of his officers had been killed. After which he returned to *Aix-la-Chappelle* where he gave audience to the Empress *Irene's* ambassadors, who were come to anticipate him, and to justify this Princess in an affair which wou'd hardly admit of an apology.

An. 798.

Eginard. ad
an. 798.

She had put out the eyes of her son *Constantine*, who died after this cruel execution: afterwards she had caused herself to be proclaimed Empress, and recognized mistress of the Empire, which now first admitted of a female head in her person; for she reigned then and many years after in her own name, and no more as regent.

The ambassadors, to abate the horror of this amazing crime, blacken'd the life and conduct of the young Emperor with a thousand calumnies; and requested the King to maintain Peace with the Empress. But there is a great deal of reason to believe, that, to prevent this Princess taking advantage of the troubles of the Empire, and having any thoughts of conquering the rest of *Italy* by means of these disorders, she at that time made an overture of a design that she had, or at least pretended afterwards to have, of marrying him with an intent to make him Emperor. It is certain that these ambassadors were well received, and obtain'd several favours of the King.

Eginard. ad
an. 798.Ann. Fuld.
Zonaras.

The affair of *Felix* Bishop of *Urgel* was also one of those, with which *Charlemagne* was taken up, during his winter-quarters at *Aix-la-Chappelle*. This Bishop, who had retracted his errors at *Rome*, had taught the same afterwards, and was again condemned in a council by Pope *Leo*; and when they signified his condemnation to him, he desired them to conduct him to the King, of whom he got leave to explain his doctrine anew in presence of several Bishops; resolved, as he said, to submit, if they were not satisfied with the reasons he shou'd produce in support of his opinion. Upon this he made a second retraction, both by word of mouth and in writing; but the consequence shew'd that he was either very inconstant in his sentiments, or

Alcuin. in
Præf. Agob.
in lib. contra
Felicem.
Ado. in Chr.

An. 798. very knavish in his behaviour with relation to them. He returned to his errors, was deposed from his Bishoprick, and died in exile at *Lyons*, obstinately disobedient to the church and his King. This is the usual end of these pretended saints of heresiarchs.

Elipandus Bishop of *Toledo* did not long survive him: Some make him die a convert. The heresy of these two prelates was soon extinguished by the care of *Charlemagne*, and peace restored in the churches of *France* and *Spain*. But that of *Rome* was disquieted with great troubles some time after Pope *Leo* had held a council against *Felix*, which gave *Charlemagne* much uneasiness.

Eginard, ad
an. 799.

Two nephews of the late Pope, the one named *Pascal*, and the other *Campule*, conspired against *Leo*, carried him off during the procession on *S. Mark's* day, and caused his eyes and tongue to be pluck'd out. As it is certain that he had afterwards the use of his speech and sight, *Anastasius Bibliothecarius* says they were restored to him by a miracle. But *Theophanes* a contemporary author tells us that he drew compassion from his very enemies, and that they executed but half their wicked design.

Be that as it will, he fled to *France* for shelter, from whence the King sent him back to *Rome*, and took proper measures for his security. The year after he went thither himself, having before defeated the *Bretons* who had revolted, gained some advantages over the *Saracens* in the *Mediterranean*, received homage of the *Emir* of the town of *Huesca* in *Spain*, who submitted to his authority, and given orders on the coasts of all his vast Empire, as well to prevent the descents of the *Saracens*, as the *Normans*, who began from that time to infest these seas.

Being arrived at *Ancona*, he sent his son *Pepin* King of *Italy* with a detachment of his army into the duchy of *Beneventum*, where Duke *Grimoald*, having altered his conduct with regard to *France*, was become suspected by him. *Pepin* entred this duchy without any resistance, *Grimoald* either submitting, or repairing to the territories of the *Greeks*.

The King being arrived at *Rome*, spent seven days in informing himself of the state of the town, of the situation of the affairs of *Italy*, and in examining the infor-

informations which had been given concerning the attempt committed upon the person of the Pope. *Campule* and *Pascal* the two ringleaders of the conspiracy had been seized, and had no other way to defend themselves than by laying most horrible crimes to the Pope's charge. The Pope, as he had agreed with the King, made publick oath of his innocence of the calumnies with which they endeavoured to blacken him. But that which gave the greatest satisfaction to all the people, was his desiring favour of the King for his two mortal enemies, by whom he had been so barbarously treated. Their life was granted them, but they were sent into banishment together with their accomplices.

Charlemagne's reputation was so great not only in *Europe*, but also in *Asia*, that the King of *Persia* *Aaron Rasijd* was ambitious to let him know how much he esteemed him. This Prince was in the *East* what *Charlemagne* was in the *West*: A great soldier, a mighty conqueror, and a good statesman, governing his people with authority; a lover of letters and learned men, and zealous for his religion, as *Charlemagne* was for his. He was at that time master of *Jerusalem*, and made a grant of it to *Charlemagne*. A priest named *Zacharias* returning from *Jerusalem*, brought in his name a banner to this Prince, and the keys of the city as a mark of the possession he had taken of it in his name; and it is this banner and these keys which have given occasion to the story of *Charlemagne's* march to the holy land, of his conquest of *Jerusalem* from the *Saracens*, and some other accounts of this nature, with which the world have pleased themselves in adorning the life of a Prince, of whom it was believed nothing cou'd either be thought or said too great.

Some time after he had received this present of the King of *Persia* there happen'd an affair at *Rome*, which made a very great noise upon account of the interest that the *East* and *France*, the two greatest states of the christian world, had in it.

Charlemagne going to *S. Peter's* on *Christmas* day to assist at mass; as he was upon his knees before the altar, the Pope approach'd him and placed a crown upon his head. Immediately all the people began to cry out, *God bless Charles Augustus, crown'd by the hand of God, life and victory to the grand and pacifick Em-*

El. Macin.
Hist. Saraz.
l. 6. c. 6.
The King of
Persia sends
embassadors
to Charle-
magne, and
makes him a
present of the
holy land.

Charlemagne
crown'd Em-
peror of the
West.

An. 800. *peror of the Romans.* During these acclamations this Prince being seated upon a kind of throne, the Pope came to perform his respects and make those reverences to him which the supreme Pontiffs used to pay to the Emperors when they saluted them at *Rome* by this character. He presented him the imperial habit, which he put on, and returned with it from church to his palace.

Eginard. ad
an. 801.

Eginard, *Charlemagne's* secretary, tells us that this Prince knew nothing of the Pope's design, when he came to church; and that he protested he wou'd not have come, if he had foreseen what wou'd happen, notwithstanding the solemnity of the day. If this protestation was sincere, it was the effect and mark of a great modesty; but *Charlemagne* loved glory, and was very politick: and if the titles of Emperor and *Augustus* were given him against his will, he appeared afterwards to retain them with great satisfaction. The Emperor at his return from *Rome* received the King of *Persia's* ambassadors, and those of an *Emir* of *Africa*, who made him presents in the name of their masters, in his camp between *Verceil* and *Ivrée*.

Being arriv'd in *France*, whither he was followed by these ambassadors, they brought him the governor of *Rieti* and the *Emir* of *Barcelona*. The first had revolted and been taken by the King of *Italy*, who had reduced the town to ashes to keep the other towns that were in the neighbourhood of the *Greeks*, and were always ready to revolt, in their duty by this example. The *Emir* of *Barcelona*, who some time before had submitted to *France* to procure succour against the King of *Cordova*, had refused to admit the King of *Aquitain* into his town, when he had been to besiege *Lerida* of which this Prince made himself master. The *Emir* was surprized without the town, which was obliged to surrender after a long siege. *Charlemagne* condemned these two governors to banishment.

While the *Persian* ambassadors continued with the Emperor at *Aix-la-Chappelle*, the time was spent in nothing but feasting, diversion, and shews, in which this Prince spared no charge to give these strangers a grand idea of his magnificence, and of the politeness of his Court. At their departure he made them rich presents as well for themselves as the King of *Persia*,
and

and made his own ambassadors, whom he sent to this Prince, attend them in their return. An. 800.

Charlemagne being now Emperor of the *West*, thought of conquering the rest of *Italy*, which had always belonged to those who bore this august title. He did not want other opportunities of declaring war against *Irene*, because *Grimoald* Duke of *Beneventum* renewed his revolts upon every occasion, and maintain'd himself in them only by the succours of the *Greeks*. The Emperor's design was to begin with attacking *Sicily*, both because the magazines and fleet of the *Greek* Empire were there, and also because the commanding general of that part of *Italy*, which remained to the *Greeks*, had his residence there.

Theophan.
in Chron.

The Empress *Irene* had notice of it, and used her utmost endeavours to allay the tempest. It was then that she proposed a marriage with *Charlemagne* to make him Emperor of the *East*, and sent the captain of her guard to *France* upon this message. This Prince found the offer an advantageous one, and sent *Jesse* Bishop of *Amiens* and Count *Helingaude* back with the ambassador. They had orders to conduct this affair, to endeavour to find out the true intention of *Irene*, and to get perfect information of the situation of that court. The Pope, to whom the Emperor imparted this negotiation, came readily into it, and joined to the *French* ambassadors an apocrisiarius, whom we now call a nuncio, to help to bring the business to a successful conclusion. But the great Lords of the *Constantinopolitan* court did not relish the affair; and for fear of seeing themselves in subjection to a strange Prince, and upon some other motives besides, they proclaim'd *Nicephorus* the patrician Emperor, and dethroned *Irene*, who was banished into the isle of *Lesbos* now called the isle of *Metelin*, where she died the year following.

The Empress
Irene makes
a proposal to
Charlemagne
to marry him.
Eginard. ad
an. 802.

The ambassadors of *France* were spectators of this revolution. *Nicephorus* treated them with a great deal of courtesy, assured them that he was resolved to maintain a most sincere friendship with their master, and nominated ambassadors to go with them to the court of *France*. *Charlemagne* received them with his usual magnificence, and peace was concluded between the two Empires.

An. 803.

An. 803.

Hist. de conversione Bo-
jorum.Eginard. ad
an. 804.A new trans-
plantation of
the Saxons.In vita Lu-
dovici Pij.Eginard. ad
an. 805.Charlemagne
divides his
Empire a-
mong his
three sons.

Tranquillity being restored in *Italy* by this peace, and by an adjustment of the limits then settled between the two Emperors, *Charlemagne* turned his arms towards *Germany* and *Pannonia*. He repeopled the country of the *Avars* by colonies drawn from *Bavaria* and the neighbouring provinces. He ordered *Arnon* Bishop of *Salzbourg* to preach the faith there, and that he might at last deliver himself from the trouble, which the *Saxons* had for so many years given him, and still daily continued to give him, he march'd to the other side of the *Elbe* with a great army, forced ten thousand families of the northern *Saxons* to leave their country, dispersed them on this side the *Rhine* in several parts of his dominions, and placed in their room the *Abodrites*, a neighbouring people, who had been always very faithful to him. That part of the *Saxon* nation which was suffered to remain in their country obtain'd this favour upon a very hard condition, that the children at the death of their parents shou'd have no right to the succession, and that it shou'd be disposed of at the will of the Emperor. Afterwards he granted these inheritances to none but the children of such as had been loyal and dutiful to him. This kept the whole nation in great dependance, and was an effectual tho' a violent remedy. From that time there were no more revolts in *Saxony*, and the christian religion was soon settled there without any resistance.

During this expedition *Charlemagne* gave Kings to the *Sclavi*, received the homages of all the nations about the *Elbe*, and treated with *Godefroy* King of the *Danes*, who had advanced with a numerous cavalry, attended by a great fleet, when he saw *Charlemagne* approach so near his states. After this the Emperor repass'd the *Rhine*, and came to *Rheims* to receive the Pope, who had ask'd leave of him to come into *France* to have the satisfaction of seeing him: At least we meet with no other motives for this journey.

The year after, a *Sclavonian* Prince named *Lechus*, having made irruptions into the country of the *Avars*, *Charlemagne* sent his eldest son *Charles* against him, who defeated him in a battle, in which *Lechus* himself perished.

Charlemagne was in his sixty sixth year, but of a constitution equal to his prosperity. Having oftentimes reflected

reflected that he was but a man, and might be surprized by death, he resolved to make a publick will, and have it approved by his subjects themselves, to prevent as much as possible all the misfortunes which his death might otherwise have caused in his family and in all Europe. Upon this account he called a general diet at *Thionville*, where he divided his Empire between his three sons, *Charles*, *Pepin* and *Lewis*, reserving nevertheless the sovereign authority throughout the whole Empire to himself for his life.

An. 803.

Eginard. ad
an. 805.
Charta Divi-
sionis Imp.
Franc.

All the Lords applauded his disposal; but this cautionary prudence proved of no use; for he had the misfortune to see *Charles* and *Pepin* die before him, and *Lewis* the youngest was sole master of the *French* Empire, excepting what was given to one of *Pepin's* sons, which he did not keep long, as you will see in the history of the reign of *Lewis*.

After this great affair was settled, *Pepin* King of *Italy* and *Lewis* King of *Aquitain*, who assisted at the diet as well as *Charles* their eldest brother, ask'd leave of the Emperor to return to their governments where there presence was necessary. The *Saracens* had made a descent upon the isle of *Corfica*, and *Pepin* man'd out a fleet to go in chase of them: but they did not stay for his coming, and reembark'd before he was able to reach them.

This year also afforded a very happy expedition against the *Sorabi*, in which Prince *Charles* defeated them in battle; the King of *Aquitain* also signaliz'd himself on the other side the *Pyrenees* against the *Saracens*, who had put themselves in arms to invade the territories of *France*. He surpriz'd them, made a great slaughter of them, and finish'd his campaign with the taking of *Pampeluna*.

Eginard. ad
an. 806.

The Emperor according to his usual custom retiring to *Aix-la-Chappelle* for the winter-season, received there a new embassy from *Aaron* King of *Persia* with magnificent presents. The only view which these two Princes propos'd in these mutual embassades was to carry on a friendly correspondence between each other. The *Saracens* were again defeated in the island of *Sardinia*, in *Corfica* and in *Spain*. Nevertheless *Ingobert* general of the King of *Aquitain* was oblig'd to raise the siege of *Tortosa* which he had attempted. But this

Ibid. ad an.
807.

Prince

An. 808. Prince besieged it in person the following year, took it by capitulation after an assault of forty days, and sent the keys of it to the Emperor his father then taken up with a new war in the *North*.

Conquerors in pushing their conquests and subduing their enemies, always make themselves new work. *Godefroy* King of the *Danes* or *Normans*, whom I have spoken of before upon account of the transmigration of the *Saxons*, was uneasy at seeing the *French* so near his kingdom. He was a very potent Prince, had a populous country and a vast navy, which constantly alarmed all the coasts of *Germany*, *France*, *England* and *Scotland*. Besides he was a valiant Prince, and firmly resolved not to suffer the *French* to get any footing in his kingdom. And to keep them at a farther distance from him, he invaded the country of the *Abodrites*, and made himself master of a great part of *Charlemagne's* conquests on the other side the *Elbe*.

This Prince being apprehensive of *Godefroy's* passing that river, sent Prince *Charles* with an army, who recovered almost all the country that the *Danes* had seized. Upon this *Godefroy* acted defensively; and withdrawing to *Jutland*, he walled in the cape of the country which bears this name, and fortified it with strong towers. *Charles* seeing the field clear, returned, having first built two forts upon the *Elbe* to prevent the inroads of the *Normans* and *Vilsi*, who joined them in this war.

An. 809. The following campaign did not meet with an equal share of success. The *Saracens* taking advantage of the King of *Italy's* rupture with the *Greeks*, which however was of no great consequence, made a descent upon the Island of *Corfica*, surprized the town of *Aleria* upon holy *Saturday*, and carried off almost all the inhabitants for slaves. The *French* also having suffered themselves to be surpriz'd in *Tortosa*, the King of *Aquitain* endeavour'd to recover it, but without success. On the other hand Count *Heribert* having laid siege to *Huesca*, a town frequently taken and as frequently lost by the *French*, was likewise forced to break up.

The King of *Denmark* refusing to make satisfaction for the hostilities of the preceding year, *Traficon* Duke of the *Abodrites* recovered the rest of the country, which this Prince had taken from the *French*, and gain'd

gain'd some advantages over the *Danes*; but he was killed by treachery, and this haughty Prince having made a resolution to carry the war far into *Germany*, had the boldness to say that they shou'd in a short time see him at the head of his *Normans* defeat the famous King of *France* in battle before *Aix-la-Chappelle*. An. 809.

Charlemagne, who had never yet met with so bold an enemy as this, thought him formidable enough to make some extraordinary preparations against him. He got the start of him, and sending a numerous army under the command of Count *Egbert* to the other side of the *Elbe*, as if he had design'd it shou'd invade *Denmark*, he ordered this general to make sure of certain passes to prevent the *Danes* from coming near the *Elbe*, and to employ his soldiers during the whole campaign in building a town upon the river *Sturic* in a place called *Essefelt*, which was in a condition to endure a siege by the *March* following. This precaution made the King of the *Normans* lay aside all thoughts of passing the *Elbe* to enter *Saxony*, and turn his designs another way, as I shall quickly observe.

The *Greeks* and *Saracens* obliged *Pepin* King of *Italy*, and *Louis* King of *Aquitain* to take up arms again the following year. The affair of the *Saracens* in *Spain* was soon terminated by a treaty of peace, which the King of *Cordova* made with *Charlemagne*. The King of *Aquitain* employed the forces he had then in pay to punish the *Gascons*, who had revolted, and ransack'd their country. But the *Saracens* of *Africa* made a descent upon the island of *Sardinia*; and having committed some waste there, march'd to the island of *Corfica*, which they almost intirely subdued.

That which determined them to this expedition, was, because *Pepin* King of *Italy* had drawn off most of the forces that guarded these islands to employ them against the *Greeks* in the country of *Venice*. This country was partly under the dominion of the Emperor of the *West*, and partly under that of the Emperor of the *East*, but with very little dependance especially upon the *Eastern* Empire. Till that time the inhabitants had been more inclined to the *French* than the *Greeks*; but at length the interest of the latter prevailed. *Pepin* attack'd the *Venetians* by sea and land, beat them every where, and obliged their *Dukes* to ask quarter and submit.

*Eginard. ad
an. 810. &c
in vita Lu-
dovici Pij.*

An. 809. mit. This war also ended this same year by a treaty of peace concluded at *Aix-la-Chappelle*, whither the Emperor *Nicephorus* had sent embassadors to *Charlemagne*. By this treaty *Venice* was restored to the Emperor of the *East*. But *Charlemagne* had another enemy at the same time, that gave him more trouble.

This was *Godefroy* the King of the *Normans* whom I have already spoken of. This Prince had taken the field; and having no hopes of being able to force the pass of the river *Elbe*, upon which the *French* had encamped, he mann'd a large navy with a numerous army, struck sail for *Frisia*, made himself master of the isles adjoining to it, and taking advantage of the consternation with which this unexpected attack had seized the people, he passed to the continent. The *French* and *Frisons* drawing up a regiment in haste, went to meet the *Normans*, but were defeated, and several towns surrendered and submitted to the tribute, which they obliged them to pay, for the first time. The *Vilsi* always in league with this King, made an assault on the other hand upon the fort of *Hobbuchi* upon the *Elbe*, thought by some to be *Hambourg*, which was defended by the *Eastern Saxons* under the command of Count *Odon*, and took it.

This bad news obliged the Emperor to hasten the advancing of his navy and land forces. Himself went to a place called *Lippenheim* to wait the arrival of the latter. As soon as they were met, he advanced towards the enemy, and pitch'd at the confluence of the river *Alre* and the *Veser*, expecting the arrival of the *Norman* King, who had boasted that he wou'd use his utmost endeavour to engage *Charlemagne* in person.

But the Emperor was not a little surpriz'd to find that the enemy's army was reimbark'd, and the fleet sail'd for *Denmark*. The cause of this sudden retreat was the assassination of the King of *Denmark* by one of his guards. His Death put an end to the war: for *Homming*, this Prince's son, succeeding him, desired above all things to make peace with the Emperor, and concluded it without pretending to any of the new conquests his father had made.

The joy which this peace afforded *Charlemagne*, was followed with grief, caused by the death of his daughter *Rotrude*, and his son *Pepin* King of *Italy*, who died

died at the age of thirty three years and some months. The death of these two children afflicted him to so great a degree as wou'd have abated the idea, which the world had conceived of his great constancy and strength of mind, if the goodness of his nature and disposition had not in some measure served to excuse it. *Pepin* was a Prince accused of no vice in history, but commended for his great respect and attachment to the Emperor his father, a Prince of much courage and ability in war. He left six children behind him, five daughters and one son named *Bernard*. *Charlemagne* made this young Prince King of *Italy*. The five daughters were carried into *France*, where he had them educated with great care at his court.

An. 810.

Charlemagne loses two of his children.

The ambassadors whom *Charlemagne* had sent to *Constantinople* to ratify the peace between the two Empires, were some time after their arrival informed of the death of the Emperor *Nicephorus*, killed in the war against the *Bulgarians*. *Stauracius* his son was immediately proclaimed Emperor; but soon after deposed by *Michel*, surnamed *Rangabe*, who ratified the treaty of Peace made with *France*, and sent ambassadors to *Charlemagne* to confirm it. They arrived an. 812.

An. 811.

Eginard. ad an. 812.

This same year *Charlemagne* lost his eldest son *Charles*, whom he loved no less than *Pepin*, because he was no ways inferior to him in all good qualities. He had now none of his sons left whom he design'd to reign, but only *Louis* King of *Aquitain*, a Prince whose wisdom and conduct was still matter of great consolation to him, but at the same time an equal cause of concern, as it was attended with the fear of losing him, as he had done the rest. He sent his grandson *Bernard* to reign in *Italy*, and gave him Count *Valon* or *Vala*, related to this young Prince by his mother's side, for a minister. And this he did, upon notice that a fleet of the *Saracens* of *Africa*, join'd to those of *Spain*, who by this means broke the treaty of peace concluded two years before with *France*, was ready to put to sea in order to make a descent upon *Sardinia* and the island of *Corfica*. The *Saracen* forces that invaded *Sardinia* were totally defeated, which prevented the design of the others upon the island of *Corfica*, where they plainly saw they were expected, and was followed by a new treaty of peace with these *Babarians*.

He makes Bernard his grandson King of Italy.

Grimvald

An. 812. *Grimoald* Duke of *Beneventum*, who also had revolted after the death of *Pepin*, was forced by Count *Vala* to sue for peace, and obtain'd it, but upon condition of paying a tribute of twenty six thousand *sois d'Or*, which made near two hundred thousand livres of our money, at the present value. In fine this same year the *Vilsi* on the other side the *Elbe* were subdued, and the two Kings of *Denmark*, who had succeeded their kinsman *Homming* that died after one year's reign, sent also to demand of the Emperor the confirmation of the treaty of peace made with their predecessor, so that all things were quiet in the *French* Empire.

He associates
his son Lewis
in the Em-
pire.

Theganus de
gestis Lud.
Pij. c. 6.
Chronic.
Mossiacense
ad an. 813.

In the mean time *Charlemagne's* great age, and the infirmities which daily increased upon him, made him resolve to associate his son *Lewis* in the Empire, and to add the title of Emperor to that of King, which he had long since conferr'd upon him. He executed this design with the consent of the great Lords of his kingdom; and having sent for this Prince to *Aix-la-Chapelle*, the ceremony of his coronation was performed in *September* with as much magnificence as piety.

Charlemagne applied himself afterwards more than ever to promote religion and ecclesiastical discipline in his kingdom, and to that end caused several councils to be held in diverse places. But the *Saracens* having again taken arms, he was obliged to resume the care of a war. These infidels made great havock in the isle of *Corfica*. Count *Hormengaud* governor of *Lampourdan* was then at sea. But at their return he surpriz'd them, took eight of their ships, and set five hundred christians at liberty, whom they had taken for slaves. This defeat did not put an end to their pyracies. They surpriz'd *Civita-Vecchia*, and afterwards *Nice*, pillaged both of them, and from thence march'd to *Sardinia*, where the inhabitants suffering them to make a descent were surprized and cut in pieces.

Eginard. ad
an. 813.

During these transactions *Michel* the Emperor of the *East* was dethroned by *Leo* called the *Armenian*, whom the embassadors *Charlemagne* had sent to *Constantinople* treated with, following the instructions they had received for this court. *Leo* at dismissing them, sent fresh embassadors to attend them to *Charlemagne*. But these embassadors at their arrival found that the Empire of the *West* had also changed its master. *Char-*

Charlemagne about the end of *January* an. 814. was seized with a fever as he came out of the bath, and afterwards fell ill of a pleurisy which carried him off in eight days. His piety rekindled in this last sickness, and he expired in the liveliest sentiments of compunction, the twenty eighth of the same month, in the seventy first year of his age, the forty seventh of his reign, forty three years after the conquest of *Italy*, and fourteen after his being crowned Emperor.

Eginard. ad an. 814. Theganus c. 7. Charlemagne's death and character.

All the qualities necessary to form a great man centred in this Prince. A distinguishing nobleness of mind and disposition, with a graceful mien, and all other accomplishments requisite to set off the merit of so excellent and rich a treasure; and all this exercised by a constant application to the government of so vast an Empire, as that which he had formed by his prodigious conquests. Notwithstanding all his wars, he made piety and learning to flourish, as much as if he had enjoyed the most profound peace; descending to the management and inspection of the particulars of all affairs; always upon the march and in expeditions, while his age and health would permit, equally wonderful at the head of an army, a council, and a society of the learned. He had his faults as well as other men; but we may venture to say that they were owing even to his good qualities, and especially to the tenderness of his heart. A little too much indulgence for his children gave occasion to many scandalous discourses, touching their conduct, which were not wholly without foundation. The incontinence, which some modern authors have reproach'd him with, is not sufficiently proved, to tarnish the reputation of this great Prince, and we nowhere find in history that he had two wives at a time. It is well known that the term concubine did not always signify a mistress at that time as it does now, but often a real and true wife without a portion, to whom the inequality of her condition with regard to her husband, did not according to the custom of those times allow the name of wife. *Charlemagne* had several of this kind, but one after the other: At least we have no sufficient proof to the contrary. Upon his Tomb was engraved this epitaph, as it is related by *Eginard*.

In vita Caroli Magni.

Here

An. 814.



Here lies the body of Charles the Great, and Catholick Emperor, who with much glory extended the bounds of the kingdom of France, and governed it happily for forty seven years. He died at the age of seventy, in the year of our Lord, 814, the seventh Indiction, the twenty eighth of January.

LEWIS the GODLY,

Emperor and King of FRANCE.

Eginard. in
Annal. ad
an. 814.

LEWIS was in *Aquitain* at *Charlemagne's* death. But as soon as he heard the news of it, he immediately dissolved the general meeting of the Lords of his kingdom, which he then held at *Doñe*, upon the confines of *Anjou* and *Poitou*, and went to *Aix-la-Chappelle*. There he was again acknowledged unanimously for Emperor and King of all the *French* nation.

Theg. c. 19.

This Prince, then at the age of thirty six years, had already in all his conduct given proof of several good qualities worthy the rank to which his birth had raised him. Much valour, prudence, moderation, goodness and piety; with this he had an agreeable countenance and deportment, and in his stature, however moderate, but well proportion'd, an extraordinary strength of body, and a wonderful dexterity in handling of arms. He executed the Emperor his father's will in all points, liberally supplied certain articles in favour of his sisters, whose portions he thought too small. But at the same time he gave them to understand, that he was resolved not to suffer the scandal, which some of them till that time had given, and assigned them several monasteries for their abode.

Nithard, l. 1.

There were seven of them in number, and three boys besides, whom *Charlemagne* had by his last wives, who had not born the title of Queen. They were named *Drogon*, *Hugues* and *Thierry*, and were as yet minors. *Lewis* kept them at his own palace

palace, educated them according to their quality, and made them eat at his table. An. 814.

These domestick regulations took up the first days of his new reign. Afterwards he gave audience to the embassadors of *Leo Armenius*, with whom he renewed the ancient treaties. He sent for King *Bernard* his nephew from *Italy*, who did homage to him for his kingdom, and took an oath of fidelity to him. He confirmed the treaty made by *Charlemagne* with the Duke of *Beneventum* for the homage that Duke was to render him, and the tribute he was to pay him, which was reduced to 7000 *sols d'or*, instead of 25000 which he pay'd before.

Theg. c. 10.
Vita Lud.
Pii.

While these affairs were transacting, *Heriolte*, one of the pretenders to the kingdom of *Denmark*, arrived at court. The Emperor promised him his protection. It was his interest to keep up these civil wars of the *Danes* or *Normans*, who were already become formidable by their descents upon the coasts of *France*.

The Emperor
foments the
civil war in
Denmark.

The Emperor being just upon his march, sent orders to the *Saxons* and *Abodrites* to be in a readiness for this expedition upon the first notice. To encourage the *Saxons* to behave themselves well, he granted both them and the *Frisons* a grace which they had with the utmost earnestness requested of him at his coming to the empire, viz. to restore them the right of succeeding to their parents, which *Charlemagne* had deprived them of by way of punishment for their frequent revolts. This concession was approved by many, and blam'd by more. The one commended the Emperor's goodness in doing it, the others charg'd him with imprudence in removing so sure a means of keeping these unquiet nations in their duty, and the only one which *Charlemagne* had found effectual for this purpose.

Vita Lud.
Pii.

Heriolte, with the *Saxons* and *Abodrites*, commanded by Duke *Baudri*, advanced in *May* as far as the frontiers of *Denmark*. But as the two other *Norman* Kings could not be persuaded to join battle, they contented themselves with pillaging and ravaging all this frontier, and bringing away with them a great number of hostages. After this campaign *Heriolte* waited upon the Emperor at *Paderborn*, who held a diet there;

An. 815.

An. 815. where he received the homages of the *Sclavi*, and the other tributary nations to *France*, whose envoys came also to see what they had to fear or expect from the new government.

An. 816. Pope *Stephen V.* made the *Romans* take an oath of fidelity to the Emperor, and came some time after into *France*, to crown him and the Empress *Hermingarde* with his own hand, and to treat with him concerning the affairs of the church and the government of *Rome*. The *French* empire enjoyed then a perfect tranquillity, and, excepting some risings of the *Gascons* and *Sclavonian Sorabes*, who were soon suppress'd by the punishments inflicted on them, there was not the least appearance of a new war kindling, saving in *Spain*. But *Abular*, King of the *Saracens*, who had committed some hostilities, sent ambassadors to *Aix-la-Chappelle*, who were detain'd there a long time without any answer, but at last their excuses were admitted. They were dismissed with menaces, that if they did not exactly observe the treaties, war should be declared against them.

Eginard. ad
an. 816.

The ambassadors of the *Norman* Kings had not such good success in their negotiation: they cou'd not persuade the Emperor to abandon the protection of *Heriolte* their kinsman and competitor; and it was resolv'd in the Emperor's council to foment this war, which weakned a dangerous enemy, and delivered the coasts of *France* from their outrages.

An. 817.

The Emperor's imprudence in the division of his kingdom between his three sons.

In the mean time the Emperor enter'd upon an important design which he declared in the diet of *Aix-la-Chappelle*, an. 817. viz. to associate one of his sons in the empire; and to give each of the two others a kingdom. It was *Lothaire* his eldest son, whom he associated; *Pepin*, his second son, he made King of *Aquitain*, and *Lewis* his youngest, King of *Bavaria*. This choice was approved, and the instrument of it sent to the Pope. The ceremony of the coronation of the three Princes was perform'd with much solemnity, and the two Kings departed immediately to go and receive the acknowledgment of their respective subjects.

The Emperor made this division in imitation of his father *Charlemagne*, but at a very different juncture. He was in the flower of his age, and might still have more sons, whom also he wou'd be obliged to give a share

a share in his kingdoms. But besides, to do nothing An. 817.
 unadvisedly in this affair, he ought to have been very
 sure of preserving over these subaltern Sovereigns, if
 I may be allowed to use that term, as much authority
 as *Charlemagne* was able to retain over those he
 made in his life-time; and this was what he could
 not answer for, and what indeed did never happen.
 So this rash step had in time strange consequences.

He was very fortunate in providing a remedy for
 the evil it produced at first. *Bernard*, King of *Italy*,
 represented *Pepin*, his father, eldest brother to the Em-
 peror; and as he was master of *Italy*, the natural
 seat, if I may so say, of the western empire, seemed
 to have a particular right of pretension to the title of
 Emperor. When he heard the news of the associa-
 tion of *Lothaire*, he did not dissemble his resentment,
 and it served to hasten the revolt he had in his mind.
 He depended much upon a party he had in *France*,
 composed of several male-contents, for the most part
 courtiers of the last reign, whose credit was very
 much sunk under the present government, and some of
 whom had been disgraced. So he took off the masque,
 and came with an army to seize the passes of the
Alps.

*The revolt of
 Bernard,
 King of Italy*

The Emperor had no sooner notice of this revolt
 than he raised an army, and march'd with all expedi-
 tion to *Chalons* upon *Saone*. This dispatch had its ef-
 fect, and partly thro' the fear which it spread a-
 mong the enemies, partly by the promises which the
 Emperor made privately to the officers of *Bernard's*
 army, they deserted in such a manner, that this Prince
 in a few days found himself left almost alone.

In the despair this desertion had cast him; he
 thought the surest refuge was to have recourse to the
 goodness of him he had offended. He passed the *Alps*;
 attended with the heads of his army, and came toge-
 ther with them to ask pardon of the Emperor, by
 throwing down his arms at his feet.

The Emperor receiv'd him with a stern air and
 countenance; and, reproaching him for his treachery,
 told him, that before they spoke of pardoning a crime
 which deserved the cruelest death, he wou'd first
 know who were the accomplices in it. *Bernard* did
 not need to be press'd upon this article: he named

An. 817. them all immediately, and they were for the most part seized.

Vita Lud.
Pii.

The death of
Bernard,
King of Ita-
ly.

The Emperor soon after called a diet at *Aix-la-Chappelle*, before whom he tried the guilty, who were all condemned to death, but this Prince commuted the punishment. *Bernard*, and all his lay-accomplices had their eyes bored out, which was become a common punishment in *France*, after they began their commerce with the *Greeks*, among whom it was very much in use. *Bernard* died three days after, either out of grief, or thro' the injury he received by the boring out of his eyes. As for the Bishops concerned in this revolt, after they had been deposed by a council, according to the Canons, they were sent, some into banishment, and others to monasteries to do penance there. Thus this revolt was dissipated, and by that means the kingdom of *Italy* was reunited to the crown of *France*.

To prevent the like factions, the Emperor ordered his three younger brothers, *Drogon*, *Hugues* and *Thierry* to be shaved, put each of them into a monastery, and made them take orders.

The King of *Italy's* revolt awakened several of the tributary people of *France*, the most part of whom were always ready to shake off the yoke: but they were all subdued, and forced to submit.

The Emperor went in person to punish the *Bretons*, and at his return lost the Empress *Hermingarde* at *Angers*, who died there two days after his arrival.

An. 819. Thus *Lewis* victorious, or at least obeyed on all sides, spent his winter, as *Charlemagne* had done, in holding diets for maintaining order in the empire, and confirming the disciplinary regulations, which he had sent the foregoing years to the churches and monasteries.

Vita Lud.
Pii.

Theg. &c.

The Emperor
espouses Ju-
dith in a se-
cond marri-
age.

Having lost the Empress *Hermingarde*, they pressed him to marry again, and the Lords, who had daughters qualified for this marriage, omitted nothing that might bias his inclinations in favour of their families. Duke *Guelfe* had the honour of the preference for his daughter *Judith*. The Emperor in this marriage had as much regard to the dignity and birth of the wife he made choice of, as to her beauty. She was by the father's side descended of the most noble family of the

the kingdom of *Bavaria*, and by her mother of the *An. 819.*
 most illustrious blood of all *Saxony*. But notwithstanding all these advantages it was her fate to be afterwards either the cause or occasion of very great troubles in *France*.

'Till that time all the revolts which had happened against *Lewis*, either beyond the *Alps*, or at the *Pyrenees*, or on this side the *Rhine*, or beyond the *Elbe*, had served only to confirm his power by a speedy defeat, and to render him more formidable. But this year there started up a new rebel, worthy to be look'd upon by the *French* as a dangerous enemy, upon account of his bravery and ability in war, of his cunning and intrigues. This was *Linduvit*, Duke of *Pannonia inferior*. He revolted and engaged in his undertaking the *Sclavi* between the *Save*, the *Drave*, and the *Carinthie*. He defeated or destroyed some *French* armies that were sent against him, being seldom beat and never broken. But at length being forced to abandon his country, rather than surrender, he was kill'd treacherously by a *Dalmatian* Lord, with whom he had taken shelter, in hopes by that means of making his peace with the Emperor.

During this war the *Gascons* and *Bretons*, who had revolted, were again subdued, and the army penetrated as far as the other side the *Segre*, into the territories of the *Saracens*, who had surprized *Barcelona*: but this place surrendred to them. They constantly supported *Heriolte* against the *Norman* Kings, and this they did so strenuously, that those Kings were forced to come to an agreement, and yield up one part of *Denmark* to him.

The Emperor calling a diet at *Nimeguen* caused *An. 821.*
 the act by which he had associated his son *Lothaire* in the empire, and made a cession of the kingdoms of *Aquitain* and *Bavaria* to the two others, to be read over, and made the Lords subscribe to what he had done, and confirm it with an oath. There he received the ambassadors of Pope *Pascal*, who succeeded *Stephen*, and confirmed the grant of the cities and territories which his predecessors had made to the *Roman* church, adding some others also to them.

In *October* the Emperor held a meeting at *Thionville*, where he married his eldest son *Lothaire* to *Ir-*

An. 821. *mingarde* daughter of Count *Hugues*. The Lords and Bishops, who had assisted in the conspiracy of *Bernard* King of *Italy*, came to petition the Emperor for pardon; and for this purpose applied themselves to the Abbat *Adelard*, who having been first disgraced was afterwards recalled to court, and at that time was in as much credit as he had been before in the reign of *Charlemagne*.

Radbertus in
vita Adhe-
lardi.

This Abbat being a person of great merit, of the royal family, and second cousin to the Emperor, not only obtain'd a revocation of their banishment, but also a restitution of all their estates, which had been confiscated. Nay the matter went farther yet, and the Emperor by the persuasion of his new minister gave an example of piety and christian humility which was of infinite benefit to the church, but without doubt contrary both to policy and prudence.

Vita Lud.
Pij.

Theganus.

This Prince, who had an extreme sensible and tender conscience, suffer'd himself to be persuaded that he had been guilty of a great sin in the punishment of *Bernard* King of *Italy*; so that at the palace of *Attigni* upon the river *Aisne*, in the presence of a great assembly, he accused and publickly condemned his own conduct in this respect, and made an open confession of it as of a crime infinitely scandalous, and that required such a reparation. But what was more remarkable, in this publick confession, he mentioned the faults he had committed against the new established minister, as well as the disgrace of the Abbat *Vala*. This piece of penance was greatly commended, in so much that they did not scruple to compare him to the Emperor *Theodosius*, tho' there was a great deal of difference between the two cases. In that of *Theodosius* every thing was improving, and the Prince's authority in the government of the kingdom was no ways impair'd.

In the same assembly at *Attigni*, *Lewis* made another confession, which had nothing in it but what was praiseworthy, viz. that contrary to the last will of the late Emperor his father, he had caused his three younger brothers to be shaved and confin'd to monasteries: which was an infringement upon the canons, that forbid the forcing any person to retire to a monastery, especially if he has committed no crime worthy such a penance.

nance. He sent to ask their pardon, and left it to their free choice either to continue as they were, or to return to court. But these three Princes continued in that state by option and virtue, which had at first been imposed upon them by force, and preferr'd their retirement to all the hopes the world cou'd flatter them with.

An. 822.

Eginard. ad
an. 822.
Radbert. in
vita Adhel.

In the mean time the young Emperor *Lothaire*, whom his father *Lewis* had sent into *Italy* to settle the affairs of that kingdom, was crown'd Emperor at *Rome* by Pope *Pascal*, who had assur'd him of his wishes to have the satisfaction of placing the imperial crown upon his head with his own hands.

Pascal died the year after, and was succeeded by *Eugenius II.* who was no sooner chosen than *Lothaire*

Eginard. ad
an. 824.

went to *Rome*, where he had a strenuous discourse with the new Pope upon the irregularities that had passed towards the conclusion of the last pontificate. He caused justice to be performed and restitution to be made to several persons, who had been deprived of their possessions and unjustly oppressed, and restored the ancient custom which the Emperors had formerly observed of sending a sort of intendants to *Rome* to see that justice was well administred, to hear the complaints of the people, and to finish some important suits themselves upon particular order from the Prince.

Commissa-
ries whom the
Emperors sent
to Rome.

The Emperor was well pleased with his son's conduct upon this occasion, and at the same time had farther reasons for satisfaction from the success of the *Britany* expedition, whither he march'd in person with a resolution to punish the *Bretons* in a manner that shou'd take from them all thoughts of rising for a considerable time.

He march'd at the head of a numerous army, and pitch'd his camp under the walls of *Rennes*. There he divided his forces into three bodies, gave one of them to *Pepin* King of *Aquitain*, another to *Lewis* King of *Bavaria*, and commanded the third himself. Thus they entred the country at three different places. *Viomarque*, who headed the rebels, durst not face such a prodigious force; so they yielded every where and surrendred at discretion. The country was deserted by the soldiery. The army continued ravaging there four days. The Emperor upon his return took ho-

The Bretons
defeated.

An. 824. stages, and ordered the Lords of the country to attend him at *Aix-la-Chappelle* the next year at a time appointed. They did not fail to obey his commands, and were received more favourably than they expected; but as soon as they were got home, they made a new revolt. But the death of *Viomarque* their leader, who was surprized by Count *Lambert*, restored the peace in *Britany*; but it lasted no longer than while *France* was in tranquillity, and able to awe the *Bretons* into submission.

An. 825. The Emperor, after his expedition into *Britany*, march'd to *Rouen*, where the Empress *Judith*, who had brought a son into the world some months before, waited his arrival. This son was named *Charles*, and is known in history by the name of *Charles the Bald*.

At *Rouen* he found the ambassadors of *Michal* surnamed the *Stammerer*, Emperor of the *East*, successor to *Leo* the *Armenian*, and as great an *Iconoclast* as himself. The arrival of these ambassadors, and the orders they had received for the court of *France*, revived the old dispute concerning the worship of images.

Having demanded a confirmation of the ancient treaties made with *France*, they desired the Emperor to use all his authority for the re-union of the *Eastern* and *Western* churches in the same sentiment upon the article concerning images, and to permit them to go to *Rome* upon this affair, and make an offering to the church of *S. Peter* in the name of their master. The Emperor consented to all they desired. But the project of reuniting the two churches in the point in question came to nothing, what attempts soever were made in *France* to farther the success of it. In the mean time a revolt, which happened soon after at the *Pyrenees*, gave the Emperor a great deal of disturbance.

Abderame II. reigned at *Cordova*, and in his time the *Saracens* and *French* were sometimes at peace, sometimes in war, and always jealous of each other as they used to be. *Barcelona* had been surpriz'd five or six years before; and Count *Bera*, the governor, had been afterwards accused of delivering it up to the *Saracens* for bribery. Upon this suspicion he was banished to *Rouen*. This affair gave occasion to a new rupture between the *French* and *Saracens*; and according

ing to the *Spanish* history, *Tarragona*, *Lerida*, and *Tortosa*, which *Lewis* had conquer'd in the reign of *Charlemagne*, were retaken by the *Saracens*. These losses revived *Bera's* faction, whom the exile of this Count had exasperated, but not intirely dissipated.

Aïson a *Gothick* Lord (that is to say, a *Catalan*, because at that time they still observed the *Gothick* laws in *Catalonia*) was concerned in this faction. He made his escape from *Aix-la-Chappelle*, where he had been detain'd; and marching with great expedition, arrived at *Catalonia*. There he put himself at the head of a party, which waited only his arrival to declare themselves, seized *Aufona* (now *Vic*) and *Rosa*, and sent to *Abderame* for succour, who furnished him with men and money. All this happen'd about the end of an. 826.

Eginard. 2d
an. 826.

The Emperor was at *Seltz*, a palace upon the *Rhine*, when this bad news arrived, and immediately dispatch'd *Helisacar* Abbat of *S. Riquier*, and the Counts *Hildebrand* and *Donat*, who at their arrival found matters in a very bad state: *Aïson*, with the forces *Abderame* had sent him, having dissipated all those of the Counts of the frontier, and taken many towns.

An. 827.

Villemonde son of Count *Bera* came to join *Aïson* with a large company of his friends, and all such as had been disgusted at his father's disgrace. Afterwards being seconded by the *Saracens*, he put all *Cerdagne* and the adjacent country to fire and sword. However the presence of the Abbat *Helisacar* and the Counts sent from court restored their courage in some measure, and the orders they gave put a stop to the progress of the rebels. *Bernard* Count of *Barcelona*, which had been retaken from the *Saracens* some time before, kept the people of his government in their fidelity; but *Aïson* forced him soon after to shut himself up in this town. *Abumarvan*, one of *Abderame's* generals, having spread his army thro' the counties of *Barcelona* and *Girona*, wasted all this country in such sort, that *Pepin* King of *Aquitain*, who came with great succours, but too little expedition, was not able to subsist his troops there, but was forced to return to *France* without doing any thing.

The ill success
of the French
in Spain.

The Emperor being greatly provok'd at this bad success, order'd the commanders of the *French* army to be tried, who out of the little regard they had for the

An. 828.

King

An. 828. King of *Aquitain* had been the cause of delaying the march, and deprived them of their posts. He served *Baudri* Duke of *Frioul* in the same manner, who had suffer'd himself to be surprized by the *Bulgarians*, who after their victory sack'd all *Pannonia superior*, and drove all the *French* Dukes out of the country of the *Sclavi*.

And in Pannonia.

There was another piece of bad news happen'd at the same time, viz. the defeat of *Heriolte*, one of the Kings of *Denmark*, whom till then the Emperor had supported against the other Kings of this state, and that with so much more warmth and inclination, because this Prince was become a christian. In the mean time the other Kings sent ambassadors to the Emperor to excuse them in this particular, protesting that *Heriolte* had broken the peace. The Emperor, who was much incumbred about the affairs of *Spain*, admitted their plea, and advised *Heriolte* to repair to the county of *Rinistri* which he had given him in *Frisia*, promising to resettle him in *Denmark* as soon as the state of his affairs wou'd permit.

In the mean time the young Emperor *Lothaire*, and his brother *Pepin*, were at the head of an army design'd for *Spain*. It was rais'd at *Lyons*, where these two Princes then were. They had orders to stand upon the defensive, and to protect only those countries which were subject to *France*. The disadvantages of the preceding year, and the frontiers being threatned on all sides, made it requisite for them to observe this conduct. For this reason *Lothaire*, who had the chief command, wou'd not fatigue his soldiers with passing the mountains till he was sure of the enemy's designs. By the advice he received, he understood that they haulted, either for fear of the army which they knew to be near them, or for some other reason. So the whole campaign was spent in making provision against each other, without any attempt of action.

The Saracens make themselves masters of Sicily.

A new accident put all *Italy* into a consternation. The *Saracens* of *Africa*, by the treachery of an officer of the *Eastern* Emperor's army, made themselves masters of *Sicily*. As this conquest of the *Saracens* was little less dangerous in its consequences to the *Western* than to the *Eastern* Empire, the *Neapolitans*, who had no hopes of assistance from *Constantinople*, applied to

Lewis

Lewis for that purpose. At another time this Prince might have taken advantage of this offer to make himself master of the rest of *Italy*, and particularly of *Naples*; but he had then too much business upon his hands. All that he was able to do, was to put a fleet to sea under the command of Count *Boniface* governor of the isle of *Corfica*, who having levied forces in this isle and in *Toscany*, went to make a descent upon *Africa*, between *Utica* and *Carthage*. There he defeated an army of the *Saracens*; but seeing himself unable to go one step into the country without meeting with fresh armies, the very defeat of which would itself ruin him, he reembarked. This expedition filled *Africa* with the dread of the *French* army, but not so as to make the *Saracens* abandon the attempt of *Sicily*.

The descent of the French upon Africa. Their useless victory.


The Emperor was forced to leave the affairs of *Spain* in the same state he found them. *Aïson* continued under the protection of *Abderame* in possession of *Ausona*, *Rosa*, *Maureza*, *Cardono*, *Solfone*, and all the other neighbouring territories of which he had made himself master. Some domestick troubles, the seeds of which had been long sown, began to break out, and gave the Emperor too much embarrassment to neglect the time and means of repairing these losses, and preparing a more effectual succour for *Italy*. I shall go a little higher in describing the source of affairs, to make the consequences of these fatal intrigues the better comprehended, which we may look upon as the first spring of the decay of the *French* Empire.

The Empress *Judith* having brought Prince *Charles* into the world an. 829. caused thereby much joy to the Emperor, but, at the same time, drew a great deal of trouble upon him; for her first care was to think of the fortune and security of her son, and to make the Emperor sensible of the condition to which this infant and herself would be reduced, if he should have the misfortune to die before he had made provision for him. He then perceived how imprudently he had acted in that over-forward division he had made of his kingdoms.

The Birth of Charles, surnamed afterwards le Chauve, is the cause of civil wars.

The trouble this birth causes the Emperor.

Lothaire was the most concerned in this affair of all the Emperor's sons by the first venter. *Pepin* had been made King of *Aquitain*, and *Lewis* King of *Bavaria*. These two inconsiderable kingdoms, in comparison

An. 828.  parison of the rest of the *French* Empire, had their limits assigned, and the Emperor had no thoughts of taking any considerable detachment from them. *Lothaire* had been associated in the Empire, appointed successor to the rest of his father's kingdoms, and also to his sovereignty over his other brothers: and it was in his division that *Charles* was to share.

Theganus
num. 21.

The Emperor, soon after the birth of this young Prince, had laid before his three sons the resolution he had taken of giving him a part and share with them, and found them very backward in consenting to it. But at length he and the Empress having applied themselves to gain *Lothaire*, prevailed with him to agree to what they desired of him. The Empress had the cunning when *Charles* was baptized to get that Prince to stand godfather. This was at that time esteemed in *France* one of the most sacred ties to bind a Prince to the protection of him, whose surety he was. It was also thought proper to persuade him to take upon himself the care and tuition of him, and to promise upon oath that he wou'd defend him upon all occasions and against all opposers, and secure him the possession of that which the Emperor was disposed to assign him for his part in the succession. But it was not long before this Prince repented of the engagement he had made, which might be the more prejudicial to him, the more general terms it was couch'd in; for there was nothing particularly specified, and it was in the Emperor's power to give *Charles* as great a share as he thought proper.

Nithard. l. 1.

Ibid.

Lothaire however dissembled his thoughts, but Princes are too nearly inspected, and by too many observers, to conceal their inclinations. They easily guess'd at his sentiments by their natural conformity with his interests, and from that time certain turbulent spirits conceived great hopes of seeing a change in the government. Of this number were Count *Matfride*, a great officer, and who till then had held the first rank among the ministers of the Emperor, and Count *Hugues*, whose daughter *Lothaire* had married. Both of them were extremely incensed against the Emperor, because they, among others, had been deprived of the military command upon account of the ill success of the late *Spanish* war. They omitted nothing that cou'd contribute

Vita Lud.
Pij.

contribute to poison this Prince's mind, to persuade him to retract the promise he had made touching the division, and to make this agreement void in an assembly of the Lords of the kingdom. From that time all the male-contents began to act in concert, to solicit the nobility and clergy to demand of the Emperor a reform of the government, and to cabal on all sides in favour of *Lothaire*, to maintain the division of the Empire as it had been made and approved in the assembly of *an. 817*.

As the Emperor was a Prince of great piety and a tender conscience, they pressed him with religious topicks, and persuaded him, for the discharging his conscience, to send a sort of commissaries to several parts of the Empire with the character of the Prince's envoys, and with orders to make strict inquiry into the disorders that then reigned in the state.

Vala was one of these envoys, he, who formerly bore the title of Count, and had been given by *Charlemagne* for minister of state to his grandson *Bernard*, when he made him King of *Italy*. Having been disgraced after the death of *Charlemagne*, he turned Monk of *Corbie*, and was become Abbat of this monastery. *Adelard* had afterwards restored him to the good graces of the Emperor, and he was then in great esteem. He was a man of an excellent and solid understanding, able in the conduct of affairs, and in great reputation for his virtue.

Having executed his commission, he gave an account of it in a general assembly of the Bishops and Lords at *Aix-la-Chappelle*. There he very much exaggerated the depravation of manners which reigned in all parts of the kingdom, and address'd himself several times to the Emperor, telling him, that he was responsible to God for all these irregularities, and the most culpable of any body in this matter.

This boldness of a man, who had the reputation of a saint, and whose invectives upon this occasion were very capable of rendring the government odious, was vastly agreeable to several seditious persons of whom the assembly was full.


The Emperor, far from appearing to take offence at the Abbat *Vala*'s liberty, commended his advice, or rather his reproofs; and acting always by the measures

Ann. 828.

Agobardi
Ep. ad Ma-
tafridum.
Nithard. l. 3.

Missi Domi-
nici.

Vita Vale
Abb. in se-
cul. 4. Bened.
l. 2.

An. 828.  fures of piety and an ill governed humility, he voluntarily submitted his past conduct to the judgment of new censors, as if he had been resolved to ruin his authority. He assembled diverse councils to examine, not only what was necessary to be reformed among the clergy and the other orders of the state, but also in his own person and that of the Princes his children. This is the substance of the circular letter he sent into all his provinces to notify to the whole world his intentions in this affair.

T. 2. Concil.
Gall.

Vita Lud.
Pij.

Nithard. l. 1.

The councils were held according to his orders. We have only the acts of that of *Paris*, and from them it appears that these councils treated the Emperor in a far more decent manner than the Abbat *Vala* had done. In the mean time the Empress made this Prince sensible, by the manner of their speaking in the assembly at *Aix-la-Chappelle*, that there was some intrigue in hand, and some ill design upon the anvil against him. She had been inform'd that the Counts *Matfride* and *Hugues*, *Lothaire's* father-in-law, continued to make all their efforts to set this Prince and the Emperor his father at variance, that he gave ear to them, and treated in private with the principal Lords to prevent the suffering a new partition to be made in favour of Prince *Charles*.

Vita Lud.
Pij.


Paschasius
Radbert in
vita Vala.

The Emperor
makes a new
division in fa-
vour of
Charles.

Upon these discoveries, the Emperor resolved first to send *Lothaire* away, and obliged him to go for *Italy*, under pretence that his presence was required there, to defend it against the attempts of the *Saracens*; and secondly, beginning to mistrust the Abbat *Vala* and his other ministers, he sent for *Bernard* Duke of *Languedoc* and governor of *Barcelonā* to come to him, that he might make use of him as his adviser and counsellor. He was the Abbat *Vala's* brother-in-law, who had formerly married his sister, before he became a monk of *Corbie*, and besides he was the Emperor's godson and relation. He was a man of resolution, a good soldier, an able and good counsellor; but a wicked man, if we may believe the author of the Abbat *Vala's* life, who seems very partial in the account he gives of the court-intrigues at that time.

As soon as the Count was come to the Emperor, his presence alone baffled the faction which was just upon the point of breaking out; and this Prince at his

his

his persuasion immediately declared the new division. An. 828.
 He published an edict at *Wormes*, by which he gave 
 Prince *Charles*, first, the country of the *Alemanni*, viz. Theganus
num. 35.
 what lies between the *Rhine*, the *Moëin*, the *Necre*
 and the *Danube*: secondly, *Rhetia*, now called the
 country of the *Grisons*, and lastly a part of the king-
 dom of *Burgundy*, namely *Burgundia Transjurana* on
 the other side mount *Jura*, now the country of the
Switzers and *Geneva*. The edict was no sooner pub-
 lished than they inveighed with great severity against the
 new minister.

While these things were transacting, *Lothaire* had
 already returned from *Italy*, where he made as short a
 stay as possible, and appeared at court with his brother
Lewis King of *Bavaria* at the time of the publication
 of the edict. They were very much disturbed at it,
 and several Lords and Bishops murmured openly a-
 gainst it, for which some of them were put out of
 their places, and others dismiss'd the court, and the
 partisans of the Empress placed in their room.

The number of the male-contents was greatly in- Vita Valz,
 creased upon this occasion; and they railed bitterly in
 all places against the new minister: the exiles, and others
 that had retired voluntarily to their estates, spoke of
 nothing but his tyranny, and violent proceedings, and
 of the difference he had made in the royal family.
 Nay they carried the matter farther yet, and spread a
 report throughout the empire, that the great correspon-
 dence which was seen between the Empress and Count
Bernard, had some other principle beside their ambi-
 tion, and they did not scruple to set abroad that there
 was a dishonourable familiarity between them.

The male-contents look'd upon it as a principal
 point, to gain the Abbat *Vala* to declare for them.
 He refused for some time, but at last consented, upon
 their assuring him that Count *Bernard* had himself con-
 spired against the Emperor, and designed to destroy him,
 with his three sons, to place the Empress's son upon
 the throne.

This is one of the crimes laid to Count *Bernard*'s
 charge by the adherents, and them alone, of the Abbat
Vala, and which seems to be sufficiently confuted by
 the silence of other historians, and the Emperor's future
 conduct towards him.

An. 828. The Abbat *Vala* then declared himself openly against the minister, in favour, say they, of the Prince himself, whose true interests they did themselves the honour to maintain by taking up arms against him. This is neither the first nor the last instance of such fantastical zeal.

Theganus
num. 36.

As soon as the Abbat of *Corbie* had declared himself, *Hilduin* Abbat of *S. Dennis* and grand master of the chapel royal, *Bernard* Bishop of *Vienne*, *Agobard* Bishop of *Lyons*, *Jesse* Bishop of *Amiens*, all of them persons of great reputation for their probity, wisdom and learning, embraced this interest, and were followed by several others, whose merit help'd very much to strengthen the faction.

These Bishops and Abbats met together, and protested they wou'd look upon all persons as rebels to God and the church, that did not second them in their design of restoring order to the state, procuring the security of the people, and providing for that of the Emperor and all the royal family. They cried up the Abbat *Vala's* virtue every where, and he was never thought a greater saint, than when he levied a rebellious war against his Prince.

The revolt of
the Emperor's
three sons.

The Emperor's three sons had not as yet appeared in the conspiracy; but when the faction was grown strong, and the people were put in motion by the authority of the Bishops and Abbats, the Princes were acquainted that it was now time for them to make their appearance and place themselves at the head of them. A revolt of the *Bretons* gave them opportunity to do it.

Annal. Ber-
tiniani ad an.
830.

The news of this revolt coming to the Emperor's ears, he drew up his army at *Aix-la-Chappelle* to go in person to punish the rebels. But one part of his forces mutiny'd, and refused to march, excusing themselves upon the difficulty of the ways, which were as yet very bad. The Emperor, who was not in a condition to reduce the mutineers, nor safe where he was, departed with the rest of his army, though he had at that time the gout upon him, and march'd with great uneasiness by the sea coasts, having his son *Lewis* King of *Bavaria* with him.

Lothaire, whom his father had sent to *Italy* a second time, to remove him from the faction at court, return'd

entred *France*; and *Pepin*, according to the orders he had received from him, came with the forces of *Aquitain*, not to make war in *Britany*, but to declare war against his father. An. 830.

At the same time the King of *Bavaria*, who perceived that he was watch'd with a very strict eye at court, escaped and went to *Corby* to the Abbat *Vala*, and some Bishops of the faction who were come thither.

In the mean time the refractory forces at *Aix-la-Chappelle* departed under the conduct of their heads, and came to *Paris* to join *Pepin*, who march'd immediately to the sea coasts to meet the Emperor his father. This news being brought to the Emperor, and the defection of some Lords who had deserted his colours, made him sensible of his danger. He consulted with the Empress and Count *Bernard*, about what method he shou'd take in such a melancholy conjuncture. It was difficult for him to make a choice; but at length considering that the hatred they bore to the Empress and the Count was the principal ground of the revolt, he judged that, by removing them both from him, he shou'd be able to bring the rebels to some temper. Count *Bernard* therefore set out soon after for his government of *Barcelona*; the Empress retired to *Laon* to the monastery of *S. Mary*, and the Emperor came with his army to encamp at *Compiègne*.

Pepin advanced on that side, and posted himself at *Verberies* three leagues from *Compiègne*. From thence he sent some detachments under the command of the Counts *Varin* and *Lambert*, who went to lay siege to *Laon*, the gates of which being open'd to them, they seized the Empress and carried her to *Pepin's* camp. This Prince, after many reproaches, gave her to understand, that she had no other way of escaping death, than by taking upon her the vail of a Nun, and persuading the Emperor to lay down his arms, receive the tonsure, and retire also to a monastery for the rest of his life. He sent her to the Emperor's camp to make him these proposals. She persuaded him to consent to the first, which concerned herself; to the second he answered, that whatever danger he shou'd be expos'd to, by the treason of his subjects, he wou'd make no

Vita Lud.
Pij ad an.
830.

An. 830. resolution without the advice of the Lords and Bishops of both sides. The Empress returned to *Pepin's* camp with this answer, who immediately sent her to *Poitiers*, where they vailed her in the monastery of *S. Radegonde*. He consented to the meeting proposed by the Emperor, which was held in the palace of *Compiègne*.

The Empress
Judith ban-
ished to a
monastery.

Vita Valz.

The Emperor entred the hall with a stern countenance, and refused to sit down upon the throne. He talk'd in a manner as affecting as it was unworthy his rank: but his discourse moved the assembly to such a degree, that most of them rose up, came to him and forced him to sit upon the throne they had prepared for him. This was not the consequence *Pepin* expected. However they went no farther, and *Pepin* remain'd in his camp till the arrival of *Lothaire*, who came to join him with other forces. *Lothaire* had hardly encamp'd, when almost all the *Imperial* army deserted over to the camp of the two Princes; so that the Emperor seeing no way to escape, delivered himself up with his son *Charles* to the discretion of the rebels.

The Emperor
delivered to
Lothaire his
eldest son.

Lothaire treated him with respect, and wou'd not degrade him. He contented himself with discharging his wrath upon some Lords of the family of the Empress and Count *Bernard*, and in the mean time ordered every thing himself, leaving his father nothing but the empty title of Emperor, which he wou'd not take from him, tho' he wish'd to see him quit it.

Nithard. l. 1.

He employed some monks, whom the Emperor found ready to persuade him to retire to a cloister, as he had formerly designed, when he was no more than King of *Aquitain*, in *Charlemagne's* life time: but they finding him firmly bent against any such resolution, offer'd him their services; and tho' they were no better than spies, he made them his confidants.

His main point was to set the three Princes at variance, and *Gombaut* one of these monks, a dexterous and ambitious man, charged himself with the commission. He went in the name of the Emperor to wait upon the Kings of *Bavaria* and *Aquitain*, laid before them the consequences of the alteration that had been made; that in the room of a father full of goodness towards them, they wou'd have their eldest brother for a master, who wou'd soon forget how much he was obliged to them for the state he was rais'd to. Lastly,

he added, that the Emperor engaged himself to augment An. 830.
 their shares, in case they behaved themselves upon this occasion as sons ought to behave to a father who had always most tenderly loved them.

These Reflections, which the two Princes had in all likelihood already made themselves, supported by the expectations of their own particular advantage, made all the impression upon their minds which the Emperor could have wish'd. They yielded to *Gombaut's* remonstrances, waited upon the Emperor, and were reconciled to him, and promised him never to swerve from their duty.

He is reconcil'd to two of his sons.
Vita Lud.
 Pii.

Their reconciliation surprised *Lothaire* and the rest of the faction; but this Prince was in hopes, that in a diet which they had agreed to assemble in order to put an end to the civil war, his interest wou'd prevail. But he was mistaken. For first the Emperor procur'd the meeting to be held at *Nimeguen*, contrary to *Lothaire's* intentions, who would have had it held in the country on this side the *Rhine*, where the people were much more in his interest than those on the other side. Secondly, the Emperor, assisted with his two other sons, had sufficient authority to oblige Count *Lambert*, one of the most factious of the whole party, to return to his government, to put a stop to the irruptions of the *Bretons*. Thirdly, he ordered, under pretence of the publick tranquillity, that all those who came to the diet of *Nimeguen*, shou'd bring no more attendance with them than were necessary for their service; and he gave notice under hand to the *German* Lords to come thither in great numbers, which they did not fail to do, and came almost all of them with a resolution to do him the best service they cou'd.

By this means finding himself pretty strong, he ventured at two strokes of authority. The first was to make *Hilduin*, Abbat of *St. Denys*, who contrary to his order had come with a large attendance and arms, depart from *Nimeguen*, commanding him to go to *Paderborn*, with none but his domesticks, there to wait his orders. The second, was to send the Abbat *Vala* back to his monastery of *Corby*, to live there for the future as a monk, without meddling in the affairs of state. Afterwards he sent to desire *Lothaire* to come to him,

An. 830. promising him all manner of security and satisfaction.

He is reconcil'd to Lothaire.

This proposal increas'd *Lothaire's* fear: but seeing things take a different turn from what he expected, he accepted it, and went to the Emperor, who received him tenderly, embraced him, laid before him in a very lively manner the consequences of their disunion, which wou'd not only be the ruin of the state, but also of the royal family. In short, he so work'd upon him, that this Prince threw himself at his feet bath'd in tears, implored his pardon, and promised to be entirely subject to him for the future.

Theganus. num. 37.

The Emperor did not stop here; for seeing himself master, he ordered the chief accomplices in the rebellion to be seized, and had them condemned to death in the diet, as guilty of high treason. But in all likelihood, out of regard to the three Princes, he was content to banish most of them into monasteries. However he caused *Jesse*, Bishop of *Amiens*, who was one of the most culpable in this affair, to be deposed in a council, after which peace seemed to be again restored.

Vita Lud. Pii.

After the diet of *Nimeguen* the Emperor return'd to *Aix-la-Chappelle*, where he retain'd his three sons with him. He prevail'd with the Pope, then *Gregory IV.* and the Bishops to annul the Empress's engagement to the profession of a nun, as having been contracted by a manifest force, and recalled her to court.

Vita Valz.

She was no sooner there than her enemies were made sensible of it. The Abbat *Vala* was confin'd to a castle upon a steep rock, upon the banks of the lake of *Geneva*. Others were banished. But that which made the greatest noise was that *Lothaire*, who had for so many years been partner in the empire, was declared to have no share in the government; and his name was no more added to that of the Emperor's in the publick acts. Nothing was left him but the title of King of *Italy*, and this upon condition that he wou'd enter upon no important transactions without the Emperor his father's consent. As for *Pepin*, King of *Aquitain*, and *Lewis*, King of *Bavaria*, the Emperor performed his promise to them, and augmented their kingdoms with some towns and territories, and gave both them and *Lothaire* leave to return to their realms.

Nichard. 1. 1.

After

After all, it appeared that the Emperor did violence to himself in the severity he used towards the rebels and whether it was owing to his own inclination; to mild and gentle methods, or to some Bishops injecting new scruples into his mind, he some time after granted a general amnesty and discharge to all those who had been confin'd in monasteries, against the will of the Empress, and restored them their estates.

An. 830.

Vita Lud.
Pii ad an.
831.

He was not willing that *Vala* himself should be excepted out of this general pardon, and only required him to acknowledge his fault before his punishment was taken off. But *Vala* was one of those ungovernable spirits and pretended saints, whose pride and conceit was too big for repentance, ready to suffer any thing rather than confess he had been mistaken. *You ought to know me better*, said he to the monk *Paschasius Radbert* his friend, who was sent to him upon this errand, *and if you knew me better you wou'd give me other advice; I have been guilty of no crime, and I can confess none without injuring my self.*

Vita Valz.

Upon this answer the Emperor fearing lest *Lothaire* shou'd renew his correspondence with this Abbat, whose prison join'd to the *Alps*, order'd him to be transported to the Abby of *Nermontier*, and some time after for a like reason, for fear *Pepin*, King of *Aquitain* shou'd rescue him, to be brought back to *Corby*, but without allowing him the dignity of Abbat there. It was thought there would be less occasion to be apprehensive of him here, because he might be easily and closely observed.

The Emperor, who had so much regard for his enemies, did not forget his favourite Count *Bernard*, whom he had banished against his will to his government of *Barcelona*, and recalled him to court.

This return restored the troubles there. For the monk *Gombaut* was become very considerable for the great service he had done the Emperor, in reconciling the King of *Bavaria* and *Aquitain* to him. *Bernard* at his arrival found this competitor already firmly established, and in a condition to dispute the post, which he wou'd have retaken, with him. Besides the Kings of *Bavaria* and *Aquitain* were always averse to *Bernard*; and lastly, whether the Empress look'd upon him as a man already too much hated by the people, or was

An. 831. afraid of giving fresh ground for the ill reports which had done her so much injury throughout the empire, she deserted him. *Bernard* enraged at this treatment, return'd with a resolution to be revenged, and entred into a private league with *Pepin*, King of *Aquitain*, who, notwithstanding his reconciliation, and the new benefits the Emperor had conferred upon him, was impatient, as were also his two other brothers, of the Empress's resettlement in all her former power.

The Emperor soon discovered it upon occasion of a diet he assembled at *Thionville*, where he concluded a peace with the King of *Denmark*, and the *Saracens* of *Africa*. He had sent *Pepin* orders to appear there, but he did not come till the meeting was over. Some time after he stole away privately from *Aix-la-Chapelle* the night before the feast of *Innocents*, and return'd to *Aquitain*.

Theganus
num. 38.
Annal. Ber-
tiniani ad
an. 832.

The revolt
begins again.

He had no great difficulty to engage *Lothaire* in the revolt, who had warm resentments of the dishonour that had been done him in depriving him of the title of Emperor; and both together drew in the King of *Bavaria*; but their league remain'd a secret for some time. The Emperor was resolved to punish the King of *Aquitain*; but as he was preparing in the spring to pass the *Loire*, news was brought him that all *Bavaria* was up in arms, and that *Lewis*, at the head of an army, which was to be join'd by a great body of *Slavonians*, was upon the point of entering the country of the *Alemanni*, to take it from Prince *Charles*; that he had most of the old male-contents with him, and among others Count *Matfride*, who had undertaken to make all *Saxony* and *Francia Germanica* revolt.

This news made him lay aside the *Aquitain* expedition, and he marched with great dispatch to *Mayence*, after he had given orders to all the Lords of *France*, *Saxony*, and the rest of *Germany* to send him their forces. They came with such expedition and zeal as gave this Prince a very satisfactory prospect. He pass'd the *Rhine* and the *Moëse*, and pitch'd his camp in the midst of the country of the *Almans*.

The King of *Bavaria* was then encamped at *Langhardein*, continually expecting, as they had made him believe, that the *French* on the other side the *Rhine*, with the *Saxons*, would surrender to him, and desert

the

the Emperor's army; but he expected them in vain. An. 832. Both the one and the other continued faithful. So not daring to appear before the Emperor's army with a force so much inferior as his was, he return'd to *Bavaria*.

The Emperor pursued him but slowly, rather to fright than engage him; and arriving at *Ausbourg*, he sent him orders to come before him. *Lewis* knowing his own impotency, and the goodness of the Emperor, thought it was his best way to obey. So he came to *Ausbourg*, where he threw himself at the Emperor's feet, who pardon'd him a second time, and permitted him to return to his kingdom.

As the Emperor return'd to *Mayence*, *Lothaire*, who had always forbore to declare himself openly, came to meet him at *Frankfort*, where he used all his endeavours to persuade him that he had no share in the revolt of his younger brother; and the Emperor was rather willing to believe it than reason'd into it.

There was now none but *Aquitain* to subdue. The Emperor came to *Orleans*, where he held a diet on the first of *September*, and from thence went to *Joac*, a palace in the *Limousin*, from whence he sent orders to *Pepin* to come to him. Necessity obliged him as well as the rest to have recourse to submission. Count *Bernard*, by whose advice the Emperor supposed he had acted, had also orders to appear there. Both of them were tryed, and *Pepin* was easily convicted of a revolt, which had been publick. There was not so strong proof against *Bernard*, but the Emperor however deprived him of his dignity and government. As for *Pepin* he still found a refuge in the clemency of a father, always ready to pardon his children. Only he ordered him to retire to *Treves*, where he wou'd have a town for his prison, till such time as he should be permitted to return to his kingdom. He was carried to *Treves*, but was rescued in the way by his own people. Upon the news of his escape, almost all *Aquitain* took up arms again, and the Emperor's army, greatly fatigu'd and harrassed on all sides, was obliged to repass the *Loire*.

Scarce was he arrived at *Aix-la-Chappelle*, when he receiv'd advice of a new league of his three sons against him. This was of more consequence than

An. 832. the former, and would perhaps have been less so, if he had not taken a resolution to punish *Pepin's* revolt severely.

Nithard. l.
1. an 833.

The Empress made use of the opportunity, when she found him so extremely exasperated against *Pepin*, and urg'd him in such a manner, that he disinherited him, and gave the kingdom of *Aquitain* to Prince *Charles* then eight years of age. The principal Lords of the country, who had refus'd to join in the revolt, took an oath of fidelity to the young Prince. Such a thundering stroke as this cou'd not fail of being effectual, either to render the Emperor formidable to his children, or his children irreconcilable with him. But peoples minds were so disposed at that time, that this new alteration was almost universally disliked. *Lothaire*, and the King of *Bavaria* openly undertook the defence of *Pepin*, and an universal insurrection followed. *Lothaire* was then in *Italy*; where he began with levying an army, and perswaded Pope *Gregary IV.* to go with him into *France*, pretending there was a necessity for the authority of the holy See to interpose, to reconcile the father with his children; but indeed to screen his revolt from the odium that lay upon it, thinking that as he had the Pope for a support, there would be less scandal in having his father for an enemy. He forced the passes of the *Alps*, upon which the Emperor had set a guard and continued his march to the *Rhine*.

Vita Lud.
Pii.

Vita Valz.

The Emperor on the other hand drew his army together at *Wormes*, being informed that the rendezvous of the rebels would be in those quarters. Accordingly the three Princes came some time after to encamp at *Rotfeld*, between *Basil* and *Colmar*, and the Emperor having quitted his camp at *Wormes*, came to post himself between them and *Strasbourg*. The Abbat *Vala* repaired by the Pope's order to the camp of these Princes. At length the Emperor resolved to decide the affair by a battle, and set out from his camp at the head of an army with this design.

The Princes having advice of his march, rang'd their forces in order of battle; but whether a sudden remorse of conscience, and the terrible thought of engaging with their father sinote them to the quick at the very moment of execution, or rather some politick views which

which they succeeded in; they conferred with the Pope, and consented that he should go to wait upon the Emperor, and see if there was any way of coming to an accommodation. But during the negotiation, they took the advantage of the two camps lying near each other, to bribe the Emperor's soldiers, which they managed so effectually, that the desertion was more sudden and general than it had been three years before at *Compiègne*. The night after the Pope's departure, who took leave of the Emperor on *St. Peter's* day, this Prince found himself almost left alone in his camp with the Empress and Prince *Charles*: and the same day a great body of deserters came to surround him, threatening to seize him by force, if he refused to surrender up himself into the hands of the Princes.

An. 833.

Vita Lud.
Pii ad an.
833.The Empe-
ror is be-
trayed.

He was under a necessity to submit; and as soon as he arrived at the camp of the Princes, they carried him into *Lothaire's* tent, but the Empress and Prince *Charles* into that of the King of *Bavaria*.

Immediately some of the heads of his army assembled together in a tumultuous manner, and call'd for *Vala*. And it was determined with one consent that the Emperor having merited deposition for his ill government, the throne was vacant, and ought forthwith to be fill'd. All immediately decreed the empire to *Lothaire*, who, after some affected opposition, suffered himself to be proclaimed Emperor. Thus two important affairs were finished in one moment of time, the deposition of an Emperor, and the election of his successor.

He is deposed
from the em-
pire.

Lothaire was not to enjoy the fruit of his wickedness alone, *Pepin* and *Lewis* were to have their share in it, and their dominions were augmented at the expense of Prince *Charles*.

After this the Pope return'd to *Rome*, very much concern'd to have lent his name and authority, contrary to his intentions, to a factious party, which carried every thing to extremity, and had falsely flattered him with being the mediator of a peace, which wou'd have been much for his honour, if he had procured it. The Empress was banished to *Tortona* in the *Milanesse*. *Pepin* returned to *Aquitain*, and *Lewis*

to

An. 833. to Bavaria. *Lothaire* took the road for *Marley*, a palace in *Alsatia*, carrying his father along with him.

From thence he went to *Metz*, and at length to *Soissons*, where he imprison'd him in the monastery of *St. Medard*, and set a strict watch over him, took Prince *Charles* from him, and sent him to the abbey of *Prum* in the *Ardennes*. After this he caused his election to be confirmed in the month of *October*, in a diet which he called at *Compiègne*, where he clearly perceived, that tho' he had all the voices, yet he had by no means all the hearts and inclinations of the assembly.

Theganus
num. 43.
an. 833.

As he was in search of the properest methods to secure his usurpation, some Bishops suggested one that was very agreeable to him, viz. To cause the Emperor to be accused, in an assembly of the Bishops, Abbats and Lords, of some crimes against the interest of church and state, after which they wou'd enjoin him a publick canonical penance for the rest of his life. According to the Canons, during the time of this penance, the penitent was not permitted to bear arms, nor to concern himself with publick affairs. And thus by making the Emperor incapable of the essential functions of the sovereignty, he wou'd be also readred incapable of bearing the title or holding the rank of a Sovereign.

Acta exau-
dicationis
Lud. Pii.

He is put
to penance.

This expedient was put in execution. *Ebbon*, Bishop of *Rheims*, whom the Emperor had raised to this dignity from a very mean condition, was present in the assembly called together for this purpose, and *Lothaire's* chief instrument in imposing upon his father all the confusion of this mortifying ceremony. He drew up an indictment of several pretended crimes against this Prince, which was read to him, and of which he was obliged to own himself guilty. They made an exhortation to him upon this subject, and the obligation he was under to make reparation for the scandal he had given, took away his sword and belt, and having made him prostrate himself for some time upon a hair-cloth, they vested him in a piece of sack-cloth, and in this equipage led him in ceremony to a little cell of a monastery, there to pass the rest of his days in penance. The people, who were spectators of this strange catastrophe, were moved at the sight of it, and went out of the church in a pensive and mournful silence,

lence, which could not be agreeable to *Lothaire*: but he gave himself no great trouble about it, thinking himself secure of the Lords and Bishops.

An. 834.

Vita Lud.
Pii.

In revolutions of this extraordinary nature the first success is never lasting. The impetuosity of the people soon cool'd: all those who contribute the most to these alterations act upon hope and prospect. Few obtain their wishes, because too many have the same pretensions. By this means interests changed, and from thence proceeded an indifference, and afterwards an aversion for a party which had no more baits or allurements, and was no longer rated but by the criminal and infamous part of its character. Scarcely was the news of the Emperor's treatment spread thro' the *French* empire, when they perceived the sorrow and indignation it caused in the minds of the people.

Lothaire had offended his brothers by his haughty behaviour: the two chief ministers, Count *Matfride* and Count *Lambert* were grown jealous of each other, and had the destruction of one another more at heart than the advancement of their master's affairs. The King of *Bavaria* was again recovered to duty by *Drogon*, Bishop of *Metz*, the Emperor's brother, and after *Lothaire* had several times refused some Lords to see the Emperor, whom this King had sent to enquire after the estate of his health, he declared his resentment. The Abbat *Hugues* persuaded *Pepin* to take the King of *Bavaria*'s part. Several Lords, even of those who had been the most averse to the Emperor, declared in a manner openly for him, solicited the towns, and caused those in particular, whom they knew to have the greatest sway, to take an oath to restore the Emperor. In a word, the King of *Bavaria* open'd first, and march'd to *Aix-la-Chappelle*, with a design to surprize *Lothaire* there.

Vita Lud.
Pii.
Nithardos
l. i.

Annal. Ber-
tiniani ad an.
834.

This Prince, having had no advice of it, went with the Emperor to *Compiègne*, where he had given the rendezvous to his army. There he understood that almost all the provinces were up in arms, and that *Pepin* had already pass'd the *Loire*; so that fearing lest he should be beset by so many enemies, he chose to withdraw to the Kingdom of *Burgundy*, and, to prevent their following him too closely, he left the Emperor and Prince *Charles* at the Abby *St. Denys*, and march'd with

A revolution
in favour of
the Emperor.

An. 834. with great speed, without stopping till he was come to *Vienne*. In these quarters he had a great number of adherents, and particularly *Agobard* Bishop of *Lyons*, who had till that time serv'd him faithfully, and besides he was not far from his kingdom of *Italy*. He encamp'd under the walls of *Vienne*, and resolved to rest there for some time to see what turn affairs wou'd take.

He is replac'd
upon the
throne.

As soon as *Lothaire's* retreat was known, and the Emperor was at liberty at *S. Denys*, great multitudes flock'd to him, people, Lords, Bishops, every one forward to express his joy and desire to see him again upon the throne: but he refus'd to resume the crown, till an assembly of Bishops had repealed all that had been done in that of *Compiègne*, where he had been deposed. He received his sword and his crown from the hands of these prelates, and seated himself upon his throne with the acclamations of the people which far exceeded all that had ever yet been heard.

The Emperor after this ceremony called a council, in which many were of opinion that with his army, which encreased daily, he shou'd pursue *Lothaire* in his retreat, whose intimidated forces wou'd be easily dispersed. But he was of another mind, and hoped always that he wou'd return of himself, and that the confusion of his affairs wou'd oblige him to submit to his duty. He went to his palace of *Chiersi* upon *Oise*, where *Pepin*, *Lewis* of *Bavaria* and the Counts, who were on the other side the *Maine*, came to join him with their armies. After these rejoycings, which so happy a reconciliation of children with their father, and subjects with their Prince merited, the Emperor sent *Pepin* back to his kingdom of *Aquitain*, which he invested him with anew, and the King of *Bavaria* followed him to *Aix-la-Chappelle*, where they kept the feast of *Easter* together, and whither the Empress *Judith* arriv'd some time after from her prison of *Tortona*. The Emperor published a general amnesty in all the provinces, out of which he excepted *Ebbon* Bishop of *Rheims*, who had presid'd in the assembly of *Compiègne*, and been the cause of his confinement. He sent also to persuade *Lothaire* to lay down his arms and come to him, assuring him of his pardon: but this Prince either not daring to trust to his promise, or

Vita Lud.
Pij ad an.
834.

Theganus
num. 48, 49.

having

having yet hopes to recover his Interest, wou'd hearken An. 834.
to no proposals.

He depended much upon the Counts *Matfride* and *Lambert*, who still held out for him upon the marches of *Britany*, of which the latter was governor. The Emperor resolving to deprive him of this refuge, sent *Odon* governor of *Orleans* against them, with an army able to crush them; but he suffer'd himself to be surpriz'd, his army was cut in pieces, and himself killed.

Vita Lud.
Pij.

This victory gave *Lothaire* new hopes, who took the field, seized *Chalons* upon *Saone*, and afterwards *Autun* and *Orleans*, from whence he march'd to *Maine* with a design to join the Counts *Lambert* and *Matfride*. The Emperor attended with the King of *Bavaria* set forward with a design to prevent this conjunction, but did not arrive soon enough to execute it.

Lothaire strengthened with the forces of the two Counts, came and encamped near the Emperor's army. Upon this many negotiations were proposed, which *Lothaire* readily agreed to, in hopes of corrupting the Imperial army, as he had done at the camp of *Rotfelf* in *Alsatia*: but not succeeding, he decamped privately by night, in order to post himself near the *Loire*.

The Imperial army pursued him as far as *Blois*; where the King of *Aquitain* having join'd the Emperor with a new armed body, *Lothaire* found himself under great difficulties, being much inferior in force.

Theganus
num. 54.

The Emperor thought this a favourable conjuncture to conquer the obstinacy of his son. So he sent *Burade* Bishop of *Paderborn*, Duke *Gebhard* and *Beranger* his kinsman, a man who by his conduct had merited the surname of *Sage*, to him. He gave them orders not only to desire *Lothaire* to think of peace, but to command him in his name to come to him, and assure him this was the last step his father wou'd take in his favour.

The Bishop of *Paderborn*, who carried the message, performed his commission perfectly well, discoursing him not only as the Emperor's ambassador, but also as a Bishop and a messenger of heaven. He work'd upon the Prince, and assuring him that the Emperor wou'd always be mindful that he was his father, he persuaded him to come and implore his clemency. This

An. 834.

Theganus
num. 54.Peace is con-
cluded.Vita Lud.
Pij ad an.
835.Annales Ber-
tiniani.

This submission was made in presence of the whole army. The Emperor received him with a grave deportment, but such as discovered less wrath than joy, at his son's return to his duty, after so long a deviation from it. I grant you your pardon, says he to him, I restore you *Italy*, I permit you to go thither and govern it; but upon this condition, that if you venture to return to *France* without my orders, there shall be no more pardon for you.

Peace being proclaimed between the two armies, *Lothaire* continued some time with his father, and went afterwards to *Italy*, the passages of which the Emperor caused to be seized and punctually guarded, with a prohibition to suffer any person to pass from *France*, without declaring his business. *Pepin* returned also to *Aquitain*, and *Lewis* to *Bavaria*. And thus the peace was again establish'd.

After the departure of the Princes, some Bishops were brought to their trial, who had had the greatest hand in deposing the Emperor at *Compiègne*. *Ebbon*, Bishop of *Rheims*, who was in prison, deposed himself, and was succeeded by *Fouques*. *Agobard*, Bishop of *Lyons*, who had made his escape, was also deposed: This was transacted at *Tbionville* in *Sexagesima*-week, an. 835.

It is very surprizing that the nations at enmity with *France* shou'd not make a great advantage of the troubles with which it was then harrassed; and yet nothing was attempted by the *Pyrenean Saracens*, and the *Greeks* of *Italy*. The *Normans* alone made two descents upon *Frisia*, where they committed great outrages; but this was all the consequence that attended them.

Notwithstanding the Empress had entirely recovered her former interest and power, she was not without some solicitude and concern for the future state of things. The Emperor began to decay in his health, and if he should dye, she had all the reason in the world to be apprehensive of her own and her son *Charles's* situation, with regard to the inclinations of the three Princes, and it was absolutely necessary for her to make a friend of one of them.

She had her eye upon *Lothaire*, and gave him hopes of returning into *France*, and being again associated in the empire, and of several other advantages; and as
interest

interest is the first principle of reconciliation at court more than elsewhere, she took the Abbat *Vala* into her favour, who had the greatest influence upon *Lothaire*, sent for him from the monastery of *Bobio* between *Gennes* and *Placentia*, which the Prince had made him Abbat of, received him with all possible respect, and promised to forget all that was past, provided he would bind the King of *Italy* firmly to her interests. He gave her his word to do what she desir'd, and soon after the Emperor sent orders to *Lothaire* to come to him: but some incidents, together with a long and severe illness, detain'd this Prince in *Italy*. *Vala* dy'd also in this interval at his monastery; which put off for a considerable time the important treaty they had in hand. Above a year passed without any talk of a new alteration concerning the division of the succession between the Princes. But the Empress constantly pursued her design, and persuaded the Emperor to resolve upon granting Prince *Charles* the whole kingdom of *Neustria*, besides the country of the *Alemanni*, which he had already.

An. 835.

Vita Lud.
Pij ad an.
835.

An. 836.

An. 837.

This disposal could not be kept so secret, but that the three Princes, who were concerned in it, got notice of it: upon which they met together, to deliberate upon renewing the war; but the passes of the *Alps* were so well guarded, that it was impossible for *Lothaire* to enter *France*. The states of *Pepin* and *Lewis* were so far distant from each other, and their people, as well as the rest of *France*, so tir'd of civil wars, that they did not think it possible to engage them in a fresh dispute. So they resolved to dissemble the matter, till some favourable opportunity presented, and in the mean time *Charles* was acknowledged King of *Neustria* in an authentick manner, in a general diet held at *Chiersi*, where the *Neustrian* Lords took an oath of fidelity to him; but the death of the King of *Aquitain* happening some months after, was a new incident that gave the Empress room for resuming the negotiation, begun two years before, with *Lothaire*.

An. 838.

As soon as the news of *Pepin's* death arrived, three things were deliberated on in council; first, whether *Aquitain* shou'd descend to *Pepin's* children, who left two sons behind him, the eldest of whom bore his name, and the youngest that of *Charles*. Secondly, whe-

An. 838. whether, supposing the interest of the empire required the exclusion of *Pepin's* sons from the succession to this state, the Emperor shou'd give it to one of the three Princes his sons; and thirdly, in case he shou'd bestow it upon one of the three, which of them he shou'd pitch upon for that purpose. There was no great dispute upon the first article: the two orphan Princes had no interest in the council, and the Empress governed there; and it was agreed that all these divisions were a great inconvenience to, and weakning of the *French* empire. The two other articles were determined as follow.

It was resolved that *Lewis* King of *Bavaria* having his share on the other side the *Rhine* at a great distance from *Aquitain*, they cou'd have no thoughts of him, and that a new partition must be made of all the rest of the empire between *Lothaire* and Prince *Charles*, who from that time was called King of *Neustria*.

This affair tended greatly to *Lothaire's* advantage, who by that means re-entred into possession of a great part of the rights he had been deprived of for his revolts. He was to be informed that he was obliged to the Empress for it, and by this motive he was to be engag'd to swear, that he wou'd always remain in a strict amity with her and Prince *Charles*, against *Lewis* King of *Bavaria*, who being alone wou'd find himself too weak to disturb the peace of the Empire.

As soon as this resolution was taken, *Lothaire* was sent for to *Wormes*: where the Emperor gave him his choice, either to portion out two shares himself, or to choose that which he liked best, when they were assign'd by persons of understanding, and such as were capable of dividing them as equally as possible: but he desired the Emperor to vouchsafe to take the trouble of appointing the division himself, to which he consented, and fix'd the *Meuse* for the limits of the two kingdoms, a line being drawn from the head of the *Meuse* to the *Rhone* through the present county of *Burgundy*. *Charles's* share was included between the *Meuse*, the country of the *Switzers*, the *Rhone* and the *Ocean*, besides which he had the *French* territories on the other side the *Pyrenees*. *Lothaire* had all the rest except the kingdom of *Bavaria*.

Nithardus
l. 1. ad an.
839.

The conclusion of this treaty, which was matter of An. 838. great joy to the whole court, made the King of *Bavaria* extremely uneasy, who, without any farther dissimulation, took the field with a design to make himself master of all *Francia Germanica*: but the Emperor marching his army with great dispatch to *Mayence*, prevented the people from declaring for the King of *Bavaria*, who was again obliged to implore his pardon: but always fully resolved to pay no regard to the promises he made of continuing in peace, any longer than till he was in a capacity of breaking them without danger.

*A new revolt
of the
Princes.*

*Vita Lud.
Pij.*

The Emperor march'd from thence with the same expedition to *Aquitain*, where there had been some risings in favour of *Pepin* the late King's son, and obliged the people to swear fidelity to Prince *Charles*, whom he had brought thither, together with the Empress, and promised the Lords to take care of the education and settlement of their deceased King's sons; but he cou'd never persuade them to deliver up the young *Pepin* into his hands.

He continued to give orders for the repose of *Aquitain*, when about the feast of the purification they brought him the news that the King of *Bavaria* had made a fresh revolt, and entred the country of the *Allemani*: upon which he immediately set forward, leaving part of his forces with the Empress and Prince *Charles*, and march'd with the rest into *Germany*.

*Vita Lud.
Pij.*

*Annales Ber-
tiniani. ad an.
840.*

At his approach *Lewis* retired to *Bavaria*, whither he escaped being pursued by the Emperor's falling ill of a dangerous cold in his head and a fever, which carried him off within the space of six weeks.

When he saw himself a dying, he set apart a crown, a sword and golden scepter adorned with precious stones for *Lothaire*, and order'd one of his attendants to deliver them all three into the Prince's hands. To send him these marks of empire was to declare him Emperor: but he order'd the bearer to tell him that he made him this present upon condition that he kept his word with Prince *Charles* and the Empress, and gave them no trouble about that part of the succession, which he had yielded to them with the solemnity of an oath.

*The Emperor's
death and
character.*

An. 840.

Vita Lud.
Pij ad an.
840.

He died with a lively sense of piety *June 20. an. 840.* in his seventy second year, and the twenty seventh of his Empire, and was buried at *Metz* by his mother Queen *Hildegarde* in the church of *S. Arnold*.

This Prince came into the world with the best endowments of nature and inclination; liberal, and beneficent; an enemy to all kinds of violence, disposed to make his subjects happy, and capable of effecting it, if he had been less forward in his wishes towards it. His eagerness to gain their love made him too little fear'd, and his too great indulgence was the occasion of an infinite number of revolts, which wasted all his kingdom. By too much forgiveness he render'd the crime presumptuous. By too much affability and deference to the Bishops and Abbats, of which his court was always full, he became contemptible in their eyes, and found himself in time exposed to indignities, which they forced him to bear by the advice of the faction. He was reproach'd for raising several persons of mean birth to the prelacy, who became insolent thereby, and who themselves were revenged of him for making so bad a choice. He had a great share of piety, but with an equal littleness of spirit; fond of the church devotions and reading holy books, to such a degree as to neglect the business of state, which he left too much to his ministers and the Empress *Judith*, who absolutely governed it. *Charlemagne* had given him a learned education: he understood *Greek*, which was necessary for him upon account of the frequent embassies at that time from *Constantinople* to the court of *France*. He spoke *Latin* as readily as his mother tongue: but he look'd upon it as a point of conscience to forget all the prophane poems he had learnt in his youth, and cou'd not endure to hear any thing of that nature recited before him. He took no pleasure but in study, and in searching out the difficulties and various senses of holy Scripture. He was chaste, sober and modest; without pride, serious even at the publick shews and diversions. In a word, he was a very good Prince, too good a father, a very bad politician, and a very moderate Emperor.

Theganus
num. 20.

CHARLES *the* BALD. LOTHAIRE
Emperor. LEWIS King of Bavaria.

THE *French* dominions were now almost as large as in the time of *Charlemagne*, excepting on the side of the *Danube*, where some nations shook off the yoke in the reign of *Lewis the Debonnaire* during the dissensions of the *Imperial* house; but these dominions, as extended as they were, were too much divided to preserve their glory entire, and to maintain themselves in that great power which rendred them formidable to all the nations in *Europe*: and *France*, which had for so long time carried the war as far as the *Baltick* sea and *Pannonia*, is now going to be expos'd to the insults of the *Northern* nations, and to be sack'd and pillaged by them: these were the fatal effects not only of the division of this great state between several Princes, but yet more of the continual dissensions of these Princes among themselves, which employed as much as they weaken'd them.

Lothaire, whose uneasiness and ambition had been so long the unhappiness of the *French*, no sooner saw his father dead, but he form'd the design of making himself the sole monarch of the *French* Empire. Nithard. l. 2.

He began with entring upon the territories of *Lewis* King of *Bavaria*: but finding him upon his guard, he turn'd towards *France*. King *Charles* was at that time in *Aquitain*, and the people of *Neustria* being gain'd partly by *Lothaire's* emissaries, partly by the fear of an army which threatned them with utter destruction, submitted to him. He advanc'd as far as *Paris*. *Gerard*, who was the governor of that city, declar'd for him. At the same time *Ebbo* the depriv'd Bishop of *Rheims* rais'd all *Compiègne* for him, and for his reward was restor'd to his Bishoprick, after having been absolv'd in a council at *Ingelheim* by twenty Bishops of *Lothaire's* faction. Flodoard. l. 2.
c. 20. Hist.
Remens.

This Prince taking the advantage of his success, pass'd the *Seine*, and reduc'd all the country as far as the *Loire* to his obedience. Tho' *Charles* was struck with consternation and wonder at this dreadful news, yet Nithard. l. 2.
ad an. 841.

An. 840. he advanc'd as far as *Orleans* with an army much inferior in number to that of his enemy: but when he was there, embassadors came to him from *Lothaire*, who propos'd an accommodation to him.

Charles, after having well consider'd of it, thought that in the confusion his affairs were in, a peace, tho' never so disadvantageous, would be preferable to a war that would in all probability quite destroy him: so that he did not reject the hard proposals of *Lothaire*, but got the Lords in his army to agree to them. They amounted to this, that *Charles* should continue in possession of *Aquitain* and *Languedoc*, that *Lothaire* should yield *Provence* to him, and that he should have besides ten counties between the *Loire* and the *Seine*; that the rest should be given up to *Lothaire*, and that in the *May* following there should be a meeting held at *Attigni*; at which the two Princes should be present, in order to settle every thing to the advantage of the state, and establish a lasting peace: but *Lothaire* did not come thither.

The Kings of *France* and *Bavaria*, having already had but too many proofs of the design their brother had form'd of depriving them both of their kingdoms, united against him; and the King of *Bavaria* having forc'd the pass at the *Rhine*, and defeated Duke *Adelbert's* troops, who guarded it, march'd with his own and join'd *Charles's* which had been re-inforc'd with some others, which the Empress *Judith* his mother had brought him from *Aquitain*.

Charles and the King of *Bavaria* having consulted together upon the proper measures they should take, to defend themselves against the ambitious designs of their brother, sent a deputation to him of some Bishops and Lords, to desire him in their name to stand to the division which the Emperor their father had made of his dominions among them, and which he himself had agreed to and confirm'd with many solemn oaths; but he would hearken to nothing: so they advanc'd towards him, and follow'd him with a design to fight him.

Battle of
Fontenay
where Lo-
thaire is de-
feated

The two Kings sent again some proposals of accommodation. But at length it was necessary to come to a battle, in which heaven declar'd itself against the injustice and unbridled ambition of *Lothaire*, who was defeated

defeated at *Fontenay*, a town in *Auxerrois*, and his troops slaughter'd in a miserable manner. An. 840.

This happen'd upon the twenty fifth of *June* in the year 842. *Lothaire* fled, and got to *Aix-la-Chappelle* follow'd by very few of his people.

How great soever this victory might be, the two Kings made no use of it. For the King of *Bavaria* return'd to his own dominions, where he always apprehended the secret intrigues of *Lothaire*, and *Charles's* army was disbanded.

On the other hand *Lothaire* lost no time, but found means to bring a new army together again, and became more formidable than ever to his conquerors. He advanc'd towards the *Rhine* in order to attack the King of *Bavaria*. The approach of this army oblig'd that Prince to remain in his own dominions, and hindred him from going to *Langres*, where he should have had an interview with *Charles*, that they might have taken proper measures upon their common affairs.

Charles having rendezvous'd some troops at *S. Quentin*, march'd towards *Mastric*, and entred upon *Lothaire's* territories to make a diversion. *Lothaire* came back; and the season was already too far advanc'd for him to return against the King of *Bavaria*: so he went to *Aix-la-Chappelle*.

It might well be expected that the enemies of *France* would take advantage of all these confusions.

The *Normans* did not fail to do so. They had already in the foregoing years made several incursions into the kingdom; but in this they began those horrible ravages, with which they laid the country waste so often afterwards. They entred the mouth of the *Seine*; and being carried by the tide, they had the boldness to come up as far as to *Rouen*, surpriz'd that city, and pillag'd it, as well as all the monasteries and the country in the neighbourhood; and after having loaded their fleet with a prodigious booty, they return'd without being either attack'd or pursu'd.

*Invasion of
the Normans
Annal. Berri-
niani.*

In the mean while the two Kings repair'd to *Strasbourg* on the fourteenth of *February* in the year 843. An. 843.
and there they renew'd their alliance before the two armies in so solemn a manner, that they satisfied all the people of *France* of the sincerity with which they were resolv'd to continue perfectly united against their common enemy.

An. 843.



They sent again to propose an accommodation to *Lothaire*, who refus'd it. The news of which being brought to the two Kings, and publish'd in the army, caus'd an universal indignation; and the soldiers desir'd with eagerness that they might march against this obstinate Prince, who was the cause of all the misfortunes of *France*.

Annal. Ber-
tiniani.


The Princes were not willing to let the heat of the soldiers cool, but resolv'd to go immediately and attack *Lothaire*, who was at *Sinsik* upon the *Rhine* betwixt *Bonne* and *Andernach*. He durst not wait their coming thither, but retreated to *Aix-la-Chappelle*: and not thinking himself safe there, he took away from thence all the treasures and even every thing of value that was in *St. Marv's* church. Finding himself still follow'd, he fled as far as *Lyons*, that in case of necessity he might have a secure retreat into his kingdom of *Italy*.

The two Kings meeting no resistance any where, resolv'd to push *Lothaire* to the utmost, and make him declare, in an authentick manner, that he was entirely divested of all the rights which he might have, or might pretend to have, over any part of the country on this side of the *Alps* and on the other side of the *Rhine*.

The authority of the Bishops was never greater in *France* than during the civil wars which had divid-ed the family of *Lewis* the *Debonnaire*, both in that Emperor's life-time and after his death. The Princes willingly gratified the ambition of those prelates, if it serv'd to satisfy their own, and without any difficulty they allow'd them to be disposers of crowns, provided they did but place them upon their own heads.

Richard. 1. 4.

They call'd together therefore several Bishops at *Aix-la-Chappelle*, and desir'd them to decide the matter, and declare to the people, as from God, that the conduct of *Lothaire*, both with regard to his brothers, and with regard to so many provinces of *France* which he had ruin'd by the war, deserv'd it at their hands, and oblig'd them to deprive him of his part in that kingdom, which the Emperor his father had given him by will. They did so; and after having declar'd that *Lothaire* had no more right over any part of *France*, the president of the assembly address'd himself to the two Kings

Kings in these terms: *Receive the kingdom by the authority of God, and govern it according to his divine will; we advise you, we exhort you, we command you to do so.* An. 843. 

After these authoritative words, at the pronouncing of which all the people shew'd signs of approbation and rejoicing, the two Kings chose each of them twelve persons to mark the division of the whole dominions; and *Nithard* the historian says that himself was one of those whom *Charles* chose.

The division was made very peaceably, those who made it having a regard to what might be most agreeable and convenient for both the Kings. *Lewis* had already *Bavaria* by the old division, and part of the rest of *Germany*. *Frisia* was now added to it, which besides the country which bears that name, comprehended at that time *Holland* and *Zealand*. He had all *Germany*, and all that lies between the *Meuse* and the *Rhine*. *Charles* had all the rest as far as the *Alps* and the *Ocean*, besides *Aquitain* and all that belonged to the Empire on both sides the *Pyrenean* mountains, of which he had already taken possession.

Lothaire was struck with this news, and much more so when he knew that all the Lords of *Neustria*, among whom he had had a great number of partisans, were under perfect obedience to *Charles*. He sent ambassadors to the two Kings, who took care not to speak as from him in that haughty tone which was usual with him formerly upon the like occasions. They represented, that their master having nothing but *Italy*, he could not maintain the title of Emperor with dignity, and that the *Greeks* would dispute it hereafter with the house of *France*. They desir'd the two Princes to consider a little upon this reason, which ought to be the common concern of all the royal family.

The two Kings very earnestly desired peace. *Lothaire* was still master of the country lying upon the *Rhine*. A great part of the *Saxons* had declared for him, and the King of *Bavaria* was afraid lest the *Sclavonians*, who were always dispos'd for a revolt, and the *Normans* should join them. *Aquitain* was not yet settled, and young *Pepin* in alliance with *Lothaire* had a party there continually. Count *Lambert*, whom

Nithard. l. 4.
ad an. 843.

An. 843. *Charles* had dispossest of his government of the frontiers of *Britanny*, solicited Duke *Nomenoy* to lay hold of the occasion of the troubles in *France* to shake off the yoke. All these reasons obliged the two Kings not to reject an accommodation with *Lothaire*. They answered the embassadors, that for the sake of peace they would consent to yield *Lothaire* some part of the kingdom of *France*, provided they had assurances of his sincerity and resolution to restore tranquillity to the state. And thus they began again to enter upon a treaty.

The negotiations lasted a long while; and as several difficulties came upon the board, they resolved to prolong the truce to the festival of St. *John* in the following year, which was the term fix'd upon, within which to finish this important business. It was at length concluded within that time at *Verdun*. The two Kings for the sake of peace yielded a great deal, and the new division was made after the following manner.

Peace is made, and a new division of the kingdom.

An. 844. *Lewis*, King of *Bavaria*, had all the country belonging to the *French* empire beyond the *Rhine*, and over and above the cities and territories of *Spier*, *Wormes*, and *Mentz*, and for this reason we shall not call him for the future King of *Bavaria*, but with the ancient authors, King of *Germany*. *Lothaire*, besides *Italy* and his title of Emperor, had all the country between the *Rhine* and the *Schelde*, *Haynault* and *Cambresis*, and some other counties on this side the *Meuse*, and from the head of that river to the conflux of the *Saone* and the *Rhone*, and from that conflux all the *Rhone*, as far as the sea, with the counties on both sides. *Charles* had all the rest of *France*, and bore the name of King of *France*. The Princes parted very well satisfied, and reciprocally swore most solemnly to contribute all that lay in their power to preserve a good peace.

Death of the Empress Judith.

The Empress *Judith* had not the satisfaction of seeing this reconciliation; she died at *Tours* some time before. She was a Princess of a great genius, and dextrous in her management. The authority which she exercis'd in the government, drew upon her, during the life of the Emperor, her husband, many enemies and great troubles, which she always conquered. The envious charg'd her with a great many crimes. The Emperor

Lewis

An. 844.



Lewis the *Debonnaire* believ'd, or always seem'd to believe her very innocent. The court is a place where calumny dares to do every thing, and where policy dissembles every thing; and this is the reason that so many of its mysteries are impenetrable.

Count *Bernard*, whose favour and familiarity did the greatest injury to the reputation of that Princess, did not survive her long. His ambiguous conduct all along made him be suspected of having a design to raise his governments into a sovereignty, and set up for himself. The King had him seiz'd, and by the judgment of an assembly of *French* Lords he was beheaded.

While the peace was negotiating between the three Princes, Count *Lambert*, formerly governor of the frontiers of *Britanny*, who had been a long time in *Lothaire's* interest, and whom *Charles* had dispossess'd of his government, compass'd his end in engaging *Nomenoy*, Duke of *Britanny*, to revolt against that Prince. Duke *Renald*, a native of *Aquitain*, was sent from that side with troops, and *Nomenoy* being fallen sick, put his son *Herispée* at the head of an army, which he sent to ravage the territory of *Rennes*. Duke *Renald* march'd thither in haste, and met the *Bretons* at *Messac* near the river *Villaine*. He attacked them and defeated them. *Lambert* with some other troops followed close after the Duke of *Britanny's* son, and came up just as he was routed. He found the *French* in disorder, and dispersed after the enemy, whom they pursued; and he charg'd them with so much vigour, and at so proper a season, that as much conquerors as they were, they were forced to run for it. A great many stay'd upon the field, and among others Duke *Renald*. The consequence of this victory was the taking of *Nantes*, of which place *Lambert* was made governor by the Duke of *Britanny*.

Registerium
Monast. S.
Sergii An-
deg.

The French
beat the Bre-
tons, and are
afterwards,
beaten by
them.

He was scarcely got into possession of this government before he fell out with the Duke, who took it from him, but he was not long without revenging himself. He knew that a large *Norman* fleet was upon the coast of *Aquitain*; he went and joined them, and propos'd to them the surprizing and pillaging of *Nantes*. They followed him, and a West wind rising, which was very fair for sailing up the *Loire*, they ar-

An. 844. riv'd unexpectedly at *Nantes*, which they took by scalado, and put all in the place to fire and sword. They sent out detachments, which ravaged *Anjou* and *Touraine*. From thence they made a descent upon *Guyenne*, where they committed the like disorders; and, having made themselves masters of an island which is not named in history, they did what they never yet had dar'd to do upon the coasts of *France*; they stay'd there and built barracks in which to pass the winter.

Regino in
Chron.

The peace which was concluded between the three brothers, gave those Princes more time to apply themselves to the settling and defending their dominions against their enemies. The King of *Germany*, partly by force, and partly by management, reduced most of those *German* nations which had shook off the yoke, and subjected them again to the *French* empire.

Anastatus.

The Emperor *Lothaire* sent his son *Lewis* to the other side of the *Alps*, and that Prince was crown'd King of *Lombardy* by Pope *Sergius II.* who had succeeded *Gregory IV.* But he could not prevail to have *Ebbo*, formerly Bishop of *Rheims*, restored; and that Pope had no regard to what had been done at the *Conciliabulum* of *Ingelheim*, where the Bishops, who were *Lothaire's* partisans, had put him in possession of his bishoprick again.

The Saracens
fettle them-
selves in
Italy.

Lewis restored tranquillity to the duchy of *Benevent*, and promised it to *Siconulphus*, upon condition of a tribute of an hundred thousand crowns of gold. *Adalgisius*, who claimed against *Siconulphus*, was excluded. But the *Saracens*, whom these two competitors had called in to their assistance, continued masters of *Barri*, a considerable city upon the gulph of *Venice*, and of some other places, from whence they often disturbed *Italy* afterwards with their incursions and ravages.

The King of *France* did not succeed so well in restoring peace in *Aquitain*, as the King of *Germany* and the Emperor *Lothaire* had done in their dominions. Young *Pepin* made himself master of *Toulouse*, and got all the countries bordering upon the *Pyrenean* mountains to revolt.

The King marched and laid siege to *Toulouse*, but was forc'd to raise it, and part of his troops were defeated.

In

In the mean while the three brothers being recovered from those animosities, which made them entirely disregard all the disorders and confusions of the empire, came to a resolution in earnest to settle it in concert with one another; and having had an interview at *Jads* near *Thionville*, they sent orders to *Pepin*, the Duke of *Britanny*, and Count *Lambert* to return to their duty, and acknowledge *Charles* as King of *France* and their Sovereign. They threatened them that if they did not do it immediately, they would all three join their armies, and come and punish them for all that was past. What followed shew'd that these menaces did not much fright them; and the repeated descents which the *Normans* made upon several parts of the *French* empire, hindred the three Princes from putting their threats in execution.

An. 844.

Judicium
capitula Car.
Calvi.

Never had that nation appear'd so formidable as it did this year. For, without mentioning *England* and *Spain*, whither they carried their arms, the *French* empire felt their fury in several places.

Heric, their King, attack'd the King of *Bavaria* in person, and having return'd up the *Elbe* with six hundred sail, he took *Hamburg* by storm and pillaged it. He was not repuls'd till after he had done a great deal of mischief. They entred *Frisia*, where they were beaten at first; but they had their revenge, and gained two victories over the *German* troops, great numbers of which were slain. Afterwards they made several attempts upon the coast of *Flanders* and in *Aquitain*; but the most considerable expedition was that of one of their generals called *Regnier*, who entred the *Seine* with six hundred sail of ships, and went up as far as *Rouen*, the inhabitants of which place for want of courage or forces open'd their gates to them. He push'd on to *Paris*, which he found abandon'd. He entred that city upon *Easter* day, and pillaged it with all the country about it.

Annal Ber-
tiniani ad
an. 844.
The repeated
incursions of
the Nor-
mans.
Annal. Me-
tenses.Annal. Ber-
tiniani ad
an. 845.

The King with some troops being intrench'd at *St. Denys*, and not judging it prudent to venture a battle, engaged him with a large sum of money not to proceed any farther, but return into his own country. He thought likewise it would be best to make an accommodation with *Pepin*, who was continually making troublesom diversions. He yielded *Aquitain* to him,

An. 845. him, reserving the cities and territories of *Poitiers*, *Xaintes*, and *Angoulême*, and requiring homage for the rest: and having rendezvous'd his troops, he march'd against *Nomenoy*, Duke of *Britanny*, who had a little while before made some incursions as far as into *Maine*. The expedition was not attended with success. He was surpriz'd by the Duke in a disadvantageous place. He had like to have been kill'd, and the report was spread over *France*, that he was slain as well as routed.

Charles beaten by the Bretons.

The Emperor succeeded better in *Provence*, which had revolted from him; he subdued the rebels: and the people of *Bobemia* embracing at the same time Christianity of their own accord, gave the King of *Germany* the greatest security of their fidelity that he could wish for. These were the principal things that hapned in the year 845.

An. 846. Next year *Charles* entred *Britanny* with a numerous army, upon which the Duke sued for peace and submitted. The *Normans* committed still more ravages towards *Bourdeaux* and *Xaintes*, and in *Frisia*. Their descents were so unexpected, their incursions so sudden, and their victories so quickly obtain'd, that they were almost to be seen at the same time in different places, and were feared every where, even where they were not to be seen.

The French defeated by the Saracens.

The *Saracen* Princes, after the example of the *Normans*, continually harrassed the *French* empire. They entred the *Tyber*, came up and pillaged *St. Peter's* church at the gates of *Rome*. They beat some of the Emperor's troops. The young King of *Lombardy* march'd against them, and attack'd them, but was entirely defeated, and with a great deal of difficulty got to *Rome*, whither he fled, and sav'd himself.

Annal. Bertiniani ad an. 847. The Normans and Saracens invade the French empire.

The union of the three Princes, between whom there seem'd to be a better understanding than ever, and the descents of the *Normans* upon *Britanny*, where they beat the *Bretons* three times this year, obliged Duke *Nomenoy* to live peaceably with the King of *France*; but these same *Normans* committed their usual ravages upon the *French* empire. They invaded *Aquitain*, made miserable havock upon all the coast, and besieged *Bourdeaux*; while some others of the same nation fell upon the Emperor's territories on the

the side of the *Rhine*, and made themselves masters of the island of *Betau*. About the same time the *Saracens* in *Italy* made some inroads as far as the gates of *Rome*; so that both the extremities of the Emperor's dominions were in continual alarms: but the *Saracens* in *Spain* having had a considerable battle with *Ramire*, King of *Leon*, and lost it, sued to the King of *France* for peace, who willingly granted their request.

An. 847.

This peace facilitated *Charles's* expedition into *Aquitain*, where the *Normans* continued the siege of *Bourdeaux* with vigour and obstinacy. He surpris'd nine of their ships in *Dordogne*, put all that were in them to the sword, and oblig'd the others to raise the siege. But scarce was he got out of *Aquitain* before they attack'd that place again, took it by the treachery of the *Jews*, pillag'd and burnt it.

Chr. Font.

Bourdeaux
burnt by the
Normans.

Bourdeaux did not belong at that time to the King, but to *Pepin*, to assist whom this Prince had march'd into *Aquitain*. The Lords of the country attributed this loss to want of application or want of courage in *Pepin*; and, according to their usual inconstancy, they resolv'd by almost general consent to put themselves under the King of *France*. That Prince accepted the offer; and *Pepin* was oblig'd to wander about incognito, as he had done for many years.

Annal. Ber-
tiniani ad
an. 848.]

During the war in *Aquitain*, *Nomenoy*, Duke of *Britanny*, renew'd the war with *France*, and gain'd greater advantages than he had ever done. He made himself master of *Nantes* and *Rennes*, and seiz'd *Anjou* and *Maine* as far as the river *Mayenne*. This success encouraged him to that degree that he entirely shook off the yoke of *France*, and resolv'd in good earnest to execute the design he had long before form'd of taking the title of King, and accordingly had himself crown'd by the intruding Bishops of *Britanny*, whom he had placed in their Sees, after having depriv'd the lawful pastors.

Nomenoy,
Duke of Bri-
tanny, takes
the title of
King.

In the mean time a new fleet arriv'd from the North upon the coast of *Aquitain*; and the *Norman* pyrates meeting with nothing to oppose their landing, not only ravaged the coast, but had likewise the confidence to go up the country as far as to *Perigueux*, which they pillaged, and return'd to their ships loaded with
booty,

An. 848. booty, without any one's daring to stop them in so long a journey. About the same time the King of

Germany's army was cut in pieces by the *Slavonians*; and *Rome* was upon the point of being storm'd by the *Saracens*, and had infallibly been taken if the cities of *Naples*, *Amalphi* and *Gaietta*, had not sent and succoured it with their ships, which defeated the *Saracens*.

Annal. Ber-
tiniani ad
an 850.

The year after this overthrow, the *Saracens* revenged themselves upon *Provence*, where they put all to fire and sword, and pillaged the city of *Arles*. The Emperor was likewise obliged to leave the island of *Betau* to the *Normans*, not being able to dislodge them.

Chr. Font.

The Duke of *Britanny*, who in winter had made peace or a truce with *France*, and had restored *Nantes* and *Rennes*, renew'd the war in the spring, and retook those two places. But at length the death of this Duke delivered *France* from one of the most dangerous and obstinate enemies she had ever had to that time. He left the principality of *Britanny*, together with the cities of *Rennes* and *Nantes*, to his son *Herispée*, who had no less courage and ambition than himself.

Death of the
Duke of Bri-
tanny.
Ibid. ad an.
851.

The Duke of *Britanny's* death made the King hope that he should find it more easy for the future to subdue that people, and keep them to their duty. Wherefore, after having renew'd the Treaty of alliance with the Emperor and the King of *Germany* at *Mersen*, he march'd an army into *Britanny* against *Herispée*.

The French
routed by
Herispée,
Duke of Bri-
tanny.

That Duke receiv'd the *French* with such resolution as was not expected. They join'd battle, which was a very bloody one. The *French* were routed with a great slaughter, and the King being obliged to fly, retreated into *Anjou*. Then peace was mention'd; and the Duke came to the King at *Angers*, where it was concluded upon very advantageous and honourable terms for the Duke. The cities of *Rennes*, *Nantes* and *Retz* were yielded to him, of which he was already in possession. The King consented that he should wear the diadem and other marks of the royal dignity, upon condition however that he should pay homage to *France* as his predecessors had always done. This Prince and his successor were the only two that *France* acknowledged for Kings in an authentick manner;

The title of
King is al-
lowed him.

ner; and after these two Princes we never meet in An. 851.
history with more than Counts or Dukes of Bri-
tanny.

Herispée was indebted for so advantageous a treaty not only to his valour, but also to the usual diversions which the *Normans* made in the kingdom. They entered the *Seine*, came up to *Roëen*, and sack'd it again; from whence they had the confidence to go by land as far as *Beauvais*: but in their return they were surprized by the *French* and intirely defeated. Those who escaped got to their ships again, and return'd to their own country.

The following years were equally fatal to the An. 852.
French empire by the descents and repeated pillages of these pyrates, both on the side of the *Rhine*, and on that of the *Schelde*.

Nantes, *Touraine*, *Angers*, *Blois*, all those fine coun- Ibid. ad an.
tries lying upon the river *Loire*, were likewise ravag'd; 853, 854-
and the Sovereigns of the *French* empire, instead of executing so many treaties made between them, to succour each other, fell out again. The male-contentants in *Aquitain*, which party had not been as yet entirely crush'd, took advantage of the King's distance, who was busied in *Neustria* in appeasing the dissentions between the Bishops, and in holding of councils. And this party prevail'd so far as to occasion an almost general revolt.

They proceeded even to depose *Charles*, and put in his place *Lewis*, son of the King of *Germany*, who being fallen out at that time with *Charles* for some breaches of ancient treaties, willingly laid hold of this occasion to be reveng'd on him. *Lewis* was crown'd King of *Aquitain*; soon after which *Charles* passed the *Loire*, and put great part of the country to fire and sword. A new accident augmented the troubles of that kingdom. *Pepin*, who had fallen some time before into *Charles's* hands, and whom that Prince had caus'd to be imprison'd in the monastery of *St. Medard*, made his escape, and appear'd all of a sudden in *Aquitain*, where he rais'd again his old partisans.

The King of *France* and *Pepin*, tho' mortal enemies, seem'd however to act in concert to dethrone the new King, who was oblig'd to quit the country and return to *Germany*. His father was not in a con-
dition

An. 854. dition to support him, as well because of his distance from him, as because he was employ'd with the nations beyond the *Elbe*, and about the *Danube* and the *Save*, where he was sometimes victorious, and sometimes the contrary.

The Emperor, solicited by both his brothers, who were each desirous of getting him over to their party, held them in uncertainty, sometimes seeming to incline to one side, and sometimes to the other. He was himself in a good deal of perplexity. The raising the siege of *Barri* in *Italy*, which his son *Lewis*, whom he had lately made a partner with him in the empire, was oblig'd to abandon. The continual inroads of the *Saracens* made the *Romans* murmur openly against the government. *Michael*, the third of that name, Emperor of the East, was in a great rage at the breach of the treaty of marriage with his daughter, who was contracted to the young Emperor, which made *Lothaire* apprehensive he would declare war against him. This Prince however managed so as to satisfy the *Romans*, and brought his affairs into such a condition as to fear nothing from the Emperor *Michael*. He left *Italy*, and took a journey into his dominions on this side of the *Alps*.

This was the last of his life. He was struck with a mortal distemper; and during his sickness the remembrance of so many misfortunes as he had brought upon the *French* empire, and of which he had been the first and principal author, struck him with remorse, and the terror of God's justice seiz'd upon him. He ordered himself to be carried to the abbey of *Prum* in the *Ardennes*; there he renounc'd the empire and his dominions, had his head shav'd, and took the monkish habit upon him, rather probably to die in that state, than to pass his life in penitence; for his disease was incurable. He died six days after on the twenty ninth of *September*, in the year 855, the fifteenth of his reign, and the sixtieth of his age: A Prince ambitious, uneasy, shuffling, crafty, deceitful, always ready to break his promises, and violate his most solemn oaths; a persecutor of his own father; for a long time a declared, and afterwards always a secret enemy to his bothers; always busy in raising troubles in their dominions, without being able to keep his own in order and peace. He began to give
a shock

Death of the
Emperor Lo-
thaire.
Annal. Ber-
tiniani ad
an. 855.
Epitaph.
Lotharii.

An. 854.



a shock to the *French* empire by his revolts during his father's life-time. He saw, and contributed very much to its decay after he was placed upon the imperial throne. He wanted neither courage nor firmness nor constancy in his enterprizes, but they were almost always fatal to his country, and were certainly the occasion of all the misfortunes which befel it afterwards, and of all the troubles with which it continued to be disturbed till the extinction of *Charlemagne's* race.

LEWIS II. *Emperor*. CHARLES *the* BALD, *King of France*. LEWIS, *King of Germany*. CHARLES, *King of Provence*. LOTHAIRE, *King of Lorain*.

THE *French* empire was already very much weakened by the division which had been made of it among the three sons of *Lewis the Debonnaire*. But it was yet more so by the new division of that part, which *Lothaire* the Emperor possess'd, between his children. For he left likewise behind him three legitimate sons, *Lewis*, *Lothaire* and *Charles*. *Lewis* King of *Italy* and Emperor had his part already. *Lothaire* had for his share the kingdom of *Austrasia*, that is, the country lying between the *Rhine* and the *Meuse*; except *Mentz*, *Spiers*, *Wormes*, and some other cities yielded before to the King of *Germany*. He had besides all that his father possess'd between the *Meuse* and the *Schelde*, the counties lying upon the *Meuse*; *Haynault*, *Cambresis*, and all the countrey going down to *Burgundy* along the *Meuse*, as far as the conflux of the *Rhone* and *Saone*, and the mountains which separate *Switzerland* from what is call'd at present *Franche-Comté*. This extent of ground was called the kingdom of *Lothaire*, in *Latin* *Lotharingia*, and afterwards in *French* *Lorain*. So that this name, which is given now to a dominion of less extent, takes its original from the name of this Prince.

Lothaire's dominions divided among his children.

Origin of the name Lo-rain.

An. 854. *Charles* the youngest of all had *Lyons*, *Provence*, what is call'd *Dauphiny*, and *Transjuran Burgundy*, that is, what belong'd to the ancient kingdom of *Burgundy* beyond mount *Jura*, and which is at present the country about *Geneva* and *Switzerland*. Our old historians give this division the name of *Provence*, or the kingdom of *Provence*, because the country which bears that name is one of the most considerable parts of it.

T. 2. Miscellaneorum
Baluf. p.
149.
Annal. Bertiniani.

The Kings of *France* and *Germany*, uncles to these Princes, did not oppose this division. They let their nephews take peaceable possession of their parts, and in this they faithfully observ'd the ninth article of a treaty concluded at *Mersen* upon the *Meuse*, by which it was agreed that the uncles should not molest their nephews in succeeding to their father's dominions.

An. 855. The King of *France*, having recover'd the people of *Aquitain*, had his son *Charles* crown'd King of *Aquitain* at *Limoges*. The joy of this coronation was disturb'd by a fresh invasion of the *Normans*, who, after having pillag'd *Bourdeaux* again this year, entred the *Loire*, and made a descent on the side of *Poitou*. The *Aquitains* under the command of their new King march'd and met them on the road to *Poitiers*, and charg'd them with so much vigour, that they entirely defeated them; scarce did an hundred of them escape, and they had a great deal of difficulty to get to their ships again.

The raising of young *Charles* to the throne made a sixth King in the *French* Empire. This great number of sovereigns, three of whom had the name of *Charles*, and two that of *Lewis*, may make as much confusion in history, at it occasion'd at that time disturbances in the state; and therefore in order to avoid it, I am oblig'd to distinguish them as much as possible. For which reason I shall for the future call *Charles* King of *France*, who reign'd in *Neustria* and at *Paris*, I shall call him, I say, *Charles the Bald*, a name which has been given him long since in history, tho' I am very well persuad'd he was never publickly call'd so during his life-time. When I name *Charles* King of *Aquitain* and *Charles* King of *Provence*, I shall add the name of their kingdom. And I shall call *Lothaire* King of *Lorain*. As for the two *Lewis*'s, the King of *Italy* will be sufficiently distinguish'd from the King of *Germany* by his title of Emperor.

The

The eight following years present us with nothing but ravages of the *French* empire by the pirates, and particularly the desolation of *France* by the *Normans*, who during all that time entred sometimes by the *Seine*, sometimes by the *Somme*, sometimes by the *Loire*, sometimes they spread themselves over *Aquitain* and the other provinces beyond the *Loire*, were seldom beaten, and almost always committed the same disorders without opposition as they had hitherto done.

Robert surnam'd the *Strong*, grandfather to *Hugh Capel*, was look'd upon for some time as the tutelar Angel of *France* against these terrible enemies. He defeated them in several actions, but fell himself in one of his own victories; and his death freed them from a bridle which had us'd to curb them.

The royal authority was trampled under foot. The people of *Aquitain* dethron'd their King *Charles*, and put *Pepin* again in his place. Then they were tir'd, and call'd *Charles* back again; and all these changes happen'd in one and the same year.

Pepin, being dispossest'd, put himself at the head of the *Normans*, went along with them pillaging several provinces, and seconded them in the design they form'd of settling themselves in *France*.

The *French* Princes, instead of uniting to suppress these disorders, as they had so often propos'd, augmented them by their dissensions. The Emperor *Lewis* quarrel'd with his brothers upon the account of the death of *Charles* King of *Provence*, of whose dominions he expected a share with them. The King of *Germany* invaded and took by force great part of *Charles* the *Bald*'s dominions, and was driven out of them again a short time after.

These two Princes had no more reason to be satisfied with their own children than with their subjects. *Carloman*, the King of *Germany*'s son, revolted against his father. *Lewis*, *Charles* the *Bald*'s eldest son, did the same, and, notwithstanding his father's express prohibition, married the daughter of a Count of *Britanny* call'd *Hardouin*. *Charles* King of *Aquitain* gave him the like vexation by marrying likewise against his will the widow of Count *Lambert*, one of those whose revolt and secret practices had given him the greatest disturbance of any thing, and done the most mischief

An. 855. to France. And lastly, his daughter *Judith*, widow of *Eidulph* King of the *West-Saxons* in *England*, being return'd into *France*, went away with *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*; and having married him, retir'd with her husband into the kingdom of *Lorain*. Never did Prince reign with more vexation both from his subjects and his own family.

Amidst all these afflicting circumstances, he had the pleasure of hearing the news of *Pepin's* being taken, upon which he had him closely confin'd in the castle of *Senlis*: but about the same time a fresh occasion of sorrow presented itself, which was that his son *Charles* King of *Aquitain* was dangerously wounded as he was taking some diversion near the forest of *Compiègne*. This Prince was never cur'd of that wound, but died two years after.

During all these troubles and terrible disorders with which *France* was afflicted, an affair came upon the board which made a great deal of noise in the world, and therefore deserves a particular account to be given of it.

It was the divorce of *Lothaire* King of *Lorain* from Queen *Theutberga*, which for several years made a great deal of work at *Rome* and in *France*. I shall resume the story from the beginning, and carry it on to the end without interruption.

Amour and
scandalous be-
haviour of
Lothaire
King of Lo-
rain.
Hincmarus
de divorcio
Lotharii &
Theutbergæ.

Lothaire fell passionately in love with a mistress call'd *Valdrada*, upon which he took such an aversion to his Queen *Theutberga*, that he resolv'd to be divorc'd from her, that he might marry *Valdrada* and raise her to the throne. In order to compass his ends he had recourse to the most unworthy artifices. He had the Queen accus'd of the most infamous crimes, and drew in some Bishops to assist him in gratifying his passion. This Princess was given to understand, that her life was in danger, if she did not herself lend an helping hand to the divorce by confessing herself guilty of the crimes laid to her charge. She did so; but soon after she made her escape from court, and fled into the kingdom of *Charles the Bald*, from whence she wrote to Pope *Nicholas I.* who was resolv'd to examine into this affair himself.

Annal. Ber-
tiniani.

Lothaire on his side sent *Gontherius* Archbishop of *Cologne*, *Theutgaldus* Archbishop of *Treves*, and *Atto* Bishop of *Verdun* to *Rome*, to inform the Pope of what

what had pass'd, and to give evidence of the confession which *Theutberga* had herself made of her crimes, and of the sentence which several Bishops assembled at *Aix-la-Chappelle* had pass'd against her upon that confession. An. 855.

The two Archbishops and the Bishop of *Verdun* return'd from *Rome* without any other answer, than that the affair in hand was of so great importance as to deserve to be examin'd with all possible care and attention.


Lothaire thought he should satisfy the Pope by assembling the Bishops again at *Aix-la-Chappelle*, where they not only declar'd, as they had already done, that for the future the King could not in conscience look upon *Theutberga* as his wife, but likewise that he might marry another. Upon which this Prince sent two Counts to *Rome*, to present the Pope with this declaration, and to desire him to confirm it, promising to be determin'd by his judgment. Epist. 58.
Nicolai Pap.

The Pope answer'd, that he would send some prelates into *France* upon this business, and desir'd the King would not precipitate matters. But this Prince, who had no good opinion of all these delays, proceeded of himself, married *Valdrada* publicly, and made her take the title of Queen.

This scandalous marriage was blam'd and detested throughout the whole *French* Empire; and the Pope, upon whom this affair was devolv'd by *Lothaire's* consent, order'd a council to be held at *Metz*, whither he sent his legates; but these very legates suffer'd themselves to be corrupted, and confirm'd what had been done at *Aix-la-Chappelle*. Epist. 22.
Nicolai Pap.
T. III. Conc.
Gall.

The Pope being inform'd of all this by *Charles* the *Bald*, and the Bishops of that Prince's kingdom, call'd a council together, null'd the acts of that of *Metz*, depos'd the Archbishops of *Cologne* and *Treves*, who were come again to *Rome* to deceive him, and threatened the other Bishops, who were concern'd in that unjust sentence, to depose them also, if they did not make satisfaction to the church for the scandal they had given.

These prelates, frightened at deprivation, wrote to the Pope, and condemn'd or excus'd their behaviour. The Pope easily accepted of their excuse, provided they re-

An. 855.  nounc'd the Archbishop of *Cologne's* communion, and indulg'd *Lothaire* no more in his wickedness. This Prince wrote himself to the Pope, complaining of the rigor with which he was us'd, and that too much regard was paid to the testimony of his enemies. In his letter he blam'd some heats which the Archbishop of *Cologne* had shewn at *Rome*, protested that for his part he was always willing to submit to the judgment of the holy See, when it should be better inform'd, and that he was resolv'd to come to *Rome* himself, as soon as the affairs of his kingdom would permit him to be absent. *Rotaldus* Bishop of *Strasbourg* was the person who carried this letter.

Annal. Ber-
tiniani.

Epist. 12.
Nicolai,

Valdrada acted very near the same part, and with as little sincerity as *Lothaire*. She pretended the same submission to the Pope's judgment, and the same desire to go to *Rome* to inform him herself of the truth of the facts which were disputed. She remov'd from the court of *Lorain*; but this removal did not hinder some meetings, which *Lothaire* and she manag'd privately, but which they could not hide from the people about the court; so that, as secret as they were, the Pope was inform'd of them.

This determin'd him to send *Arsenius* Bishop of *Orta* into *France* with the character of legate, and with absolute power to act in his name in this affair. The legate declar'd to *Lothaire* in the presence of a great many Bishops and Lords, that he must before every thing else remove *Valdrada* from him, and take the Queen again, and that if he did not do so, he had orders to excommunicate him. That after he had by these steps brought things to the same condition they were in before the process began, the cause should be examin'd with all the leisure and exactness that an affair of this consequence deserv'd.

Lothaire, who knew that *Charles* the Bald and the King of *Germany* waited only for his being excommunicated to invade his dominions, submitted to every thing. He had *Theutberga* brought to him, and both he and she, cloath'd in their royal habits with their crowns on their heads, assisted at mass which the legate celebrated pontifically at *Contreville*, a royal palace of that Prince's upon the *Moselle* a league below *Toul*. But the legate did not stop here; he requir'd that *Valdrada* should go to *Rome* to desire the Pope's absolution,

absolution, for the scandal she had given to all *France*; and *Lothaire* had the mortification of seeing *Valdrada* come to *Contreville*, as the legate had appointed her, and set out with him on her journey to *Italy*. She passed the *Alps* with him; but as she was upon the road to *Pavia*, she receiv'd a private order from *Lothaire* to go no further. She obey'd with a great deal of joy, and return'd into the kingdom of *Lorain*, but did not appear at court. The King only went to see her sometimes incognito.

An. 855.

Ep. 12. &
55. Nic. Pap.

Upon the Pope's receiving advice of *Valdrada's* returning into *Lorain*, he excommunicated her, and gave notice of it to the Bishops of the whole *French* Empire. He threatned *Lothaire* himself with excommunication. He wrote to *Charles the Bald* and the King of *Germany*, to get them to do all that was in their power to make *Lothaire* recollect himself; but they could prevail nothing.

During these negotiations Pope *Nicholas* died. *Adrian* II. succeeded him, who immediately examin'd into this grand affair. This change gave *Lothaire* some hopes of good fortune in a business, the success of which had appear'd desperate hitherto, and which nothing but his passion could hinder him from looking upon as impossible.

He wrote a very handsome letter to the Pope, and desir'd he would approve of his coming to *Rome* himself, that he might frustrate the designs of his enemies, and disprove the false informations which had been sent into that country against him. The Pope answer'd him in a very civil manner, consented to his journey to *Rome*, and promised him all the justice and even all the favour which the law of God would permit.

Regino ad
an. 862.

Lothaire appear'd satisfied with the answer, tho' he knew this journey must throw him into great perplexity, if his cause was tried at *Rome* according to the forms; but he depended very much upon the Pope's goodwill and affection for the Emperor *Lewis*, who favour'd him.

He resolv'd therefore to go to *Rome*; and as he was certain that *Theutberga* sincerely desir'd to retire from the world, and that far from hurting him she would assist in obtaining the divorce from the Pope, he engag'd her to go thither too, and order'd her to go be-

An. 868. fore him; but when the Pope heard of it, he sent her back into *France*. And as he foresaw this would irritate *Lothaire*, he made it the less disagreeable by taking off the excommunication, under which his predecessor had put *Valdrada*; tho' this was done upon assurances that *Lothaire* had for a long time had no conversation with her.

Epist. 7.
Adriani.

An. 869. This proceeding of the Pope's increas'd *Lothaire's* hopes, and he set out some time after for *Rome*, and came to *Ravenna* in *June*. His design was to have a conference with the Emperor before he saw the Pope: but this Prince was engag'd at the siege of *Barri*, where his presence was requir'd, and therefore he sent the Empress *Ingelberga* to him, with whom *Lothaire* consulted about the business he had to manage with the Pope.

This Pontif at that Emperor's desire receiv'd *Lothaire* very civilly at mount *Cassin*. The Empress prevail'd with him, that to prevent this Prince's being look'd upon as an excommunicate, he would celebrate mass pontifically in his presence, and give the communion to him and all his retinue.

It was with great difficulty that the Pope agreed to this last article, and at length he consented to it only upon condition that *Lothaire* should protest publickly, that ever since *Valdrada* had been excommunicated by his predecessor, he had had no evil communication with her. Upon which *Lothaire* said he was ready to swear he had had none from that time. Upon this assurance the Pope promis'd to do what the Empress desir'd of him, and every one prepar'd himself for approaching the holy mysteries.

The next day the Pope said mass publickly and pontifically in the church of mount *Cassin*: (others say it was at *Rome*.) At the end of the mass, he invited the Prince to approach the holy table; and then taking the holy Sacrament into his hand, he address'd him in these words:

Loth. Reg.
gesta Rom.
T. III. Conc.
Gall.

" Sir, if your Majesty knows yourself not to be
" guilty of the adultery which my predecessor forbade
" you to commit, and if you are firmly resolv'd
" never to fall into that crime for the future, draw
" near with confidence to this Sacrament of eternal
" life, and receive it for the remission of your sins.
" But

“ But if your conscience reproaches you with having An. 869.
 “ committed this sin since the time I have mention’d
 “ to you, or if you are not resolv’d to forsake it en-
 “ tirely and for ever, I adjure you not to touch
 “ the body of your Saviour, and receive that to your
 “ condemnation, which his divine providence has in-
 “ stituted as a remedy for the sins of men.

Lothaire was too far advanc’d to draw back; and therefore notwithstanding the stings of his conscience which accus’d him of the crime his mouth had deny’d, and notwithstanding the passion he felt in his heart for *Valdrada*, he receiv’d the communion from the Pope’s hand. When he was retir’d from the holy table, the people who accompany’d him approach’d it to communicate; and when the Pope deliver’d the host to each of them, he spoke these words: “ If you have
 “ neither contributed nor consented to the sin of King
 “ *Lothaire* your master and that of *Valdrada*, and
 “ have not join’d in communion with those who
 “ were excommunicated by the holy apostolick see, may
 “ the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ pre-
 “ serve you to everlasting life.” There were some, tho’ but a few, who were frightned at these words, and withdrew from the communion table.

The day after this ceremony, the circumstances of which we see were very particular, the Empress return’d to the Emperor at the siege of *Barri*, and the Pope to *Rome*, whither *Lothaire* follow’d him. This Prince was but indifferently receiv’d by the *Romans*, who instead of coming out to meet him seem’d to look upon him as an excommunicate; but the Pope shew’d him a great many marks of friendship, and made him presents. He sent two Bishops into *France* to examine again in a council upon the spot the business of the divorce, with orders to decide nothing till they had given him an exact account of their proceedings: but God himself put an end to this affair in a way that the Pope and the King of *Lorain* had not foreseen.

There have not been many sins more visibly punish’d by God, than the sacrilege committed by *Lothaire* and his courtiers, when they receiv’d the communion from the Pope. When this Prince and his retinue arriv’d at *Lucca* in their return to *France*, they were seiz’d with a malignant fever which carried off all those, who had

com-

An. 869. committed the sacrilege, and of which the Prince himself died on the sixth of *August* at *Placentia*, whither he had order'd himself to be carried.

Fatal death
of King Lo-
thaire.

Such was the end of this Prince, who did not want good qualities, but who, by delivering himself up to an unhappy passion, the impulses of which he follow'd too much, had a reign full of scandalous wickedness, and at the same time disturb'd with uneasinesses, fears, jealousies, and troubles: and this reign was finish'd with a death which shews the greatest Princes upon earth, that they have a master and a judge above them. It were to be wish'd that such an example as this would make them fear him more.

Queen *Theutberga* retir'd into a convent at *Metz*, where she ended her days. *Valdrada* acted in the same manner, and shut herself up in the monastery of *Remiremont*, either to go through a course of penance, or else out of chagrin at seeing all her hopes ruin'd, and all her grandeur brought to nothing.

Lothaire dying without any legitimate children, his succession was a new subject of dispute between the Emperor his brother, and his uncles the Kings of *France* and *Germany*. It happen'd at a juncture very favourable to *Charles the Bald*.

The King of *Germany* was fallen ill at *Ratisbon*; and the Emperor, who of the three had the most apparent right to the kingdom of *Lorain*, being the only brother to the deceas'd King, was engag'd in war with the *Saracens*; and had for three years held on the siege of *Barri*, which place he did not take till the year after. In the mean while the people of *Lorain* were not all of the same mind in relation to their late King's successor. The Emperor had but very few of his party in that country: but the King of *Germany's* and the King of *France's* factions were pretty equal and ballanc'd each other.

The King of *France's* partisans gave him to understand, that there was no time to be lost, and that he must march without delay into *Lorain* at the head of an army. He follow'd this advice, and came to *Metz* on the fifth of *September*; and his party having prevail'd, he was crown'd King of *Lorain* four days after.

Annal. Ber-
tiniani ad an.
869.

His taking possession in this manner had like to have caus'd a war between the two Kings; but after several negotiations they agreed and divided the kingdom between them. An. 870.

The principal cities which *Lewis* King of *Germany* had in his division were *Cologne*, *Utrecht*, *Strasbourg*, and *Basil*. He had already *Wormes*, *Spire*, and *Mentz*, and thus he had all the country upon the *Rhine* from *Switzerland* to the mouth of that river. *Treves* and *Metz* were likewise yielded to him with the territories depending upon all these cities, and all the country that lay between the rivers *Ourta* and the *Meuse*. He had likewise *Aix-la-Chapelle*, and almost all on that side that was between the *Rhine* and the *Meuse*.

Division of the kingdom of Lorain, between Charles the Bald and the King of Germany.

The most considerable places that came to *Charles's* share, were *Lyons*, *Besançon*, *Vienne*, *Tongre*, *Toul*, *Verdun*, *Cambray*, *Viviers*, and *Uzez*. He had besides this *Haynault* and a third part of *Frisia*, which, as I have already observ'd, reach'd at that time as far as the mouth of the *Schelde*. So that *Charles the Bald* added to his dominions almost all the higher *Lorain*, a considerable part of the Low-countries, all *Burgundy*, *Dauphiny*, and that part of *Languedoc* which is next the *Rhine*.

This division of the kingdom of *Lorain* was made between the two Kings, without regarding much the *Emperor Lewis*, to whom this succession belong'd, or the remonstrances and menaces of the Pope, who upon this occasion wrote thundring letters to *Charles the Bald* and the *French* Bishops and Lords. But these thought that their common interest requir'd an augmentation of power in the two Kings, that they might be in a better condition to oppose their enemies, and especially the *Normans*, who kept *France* in continual fears and alarms.

The increase of *Charles the Bald's* power by the acquisition of half the kingdom of *Lorain*, and the good understanding which he kept with the King of *Germany*, made his reign more absolute and easy than it had ever been. The *Saracens* had not appear'd upon the coasts of *France* for a long while. The inroads of the *Normans* were less frequent and attended with less damage through the care that was taken to provide against their attempts, chiefly on the side of the *Loire* and

An. 870. and *Anjou*, where they made themselves masters of *Angers*. But it was the fate of this Prince never to be without great vexations and troubles from his own family, when his enemies gave him no disturbance.

Charles had had four sons by Queen *Ermentrude* his first wife, *Lewis*, *Charles*, *Carloman*, and *Lothaire*. The two last of these four he design'd for the church, that his kingdom might not be so much divided after his death. *Lothaire* died very young, tho' already dignified with the title of Abbat. *Charles*, whom his father had made King of *Aquitain*, was kill'd by the accident I mention'd before. There remain'd therefore *Lewis*, who after his brother *Charles's* death had been made King of *Aquitain*, and *Carloman*, who was already in deacon's orders, the taking of which he much repented. He rebell'd against the King his father; and having got some troops together, or rather a vast number of vagabonds and robbers, he put himself at the head of them, and committed a great many disorders in the country between the *Meuse* and the *Seine*, and in some other parts of the kingdom.

Ibid. ad an.
373.

This rebellion lasted for some time; but at length he was taken and condemned to death by the judges, whom the King his father had commission'd to try him, and who changed this punishment into what was pretty common in those days, namely, having his eyes put out, and afterwards imprison'd for life. However, as blind as he was, he found means to make his escape, and got to his uncle the King of *Germany*; but he died shortly after in the abbey of *Epternach*, which that Prince had given him for his subsistence.

Charles the Bald having no more rebellions to be afraid of in his dominions, thought he could do nothing better than exterminate the *Normans* if he could, who had for a long time kept footing in the country upon the *Loire*. He concerted the thing with *Solomon* Duke of *Britanny*, who after having made use of the *Normans* against *France* upon several occasions, now found them to be very troublesome neighbours.

They besieg'd them in *Angers*, where the greatest part of them were got; but they were forc'd to capitulate for a large sum of money. One of the articles of the capitulation was, that they should have an island in the river *Loire* to stay in till *February*, upon condition that then

then they should leave the kingdom, and not return during the King's life. The capitulation was exactly observ'd by the *French*; but when the time fix'd by the treaty was come, the *Normans* broke their oath, and maintain'd their footing in the island which is not nam'd in history, where they had fortify'd themselves at their leisure, and continued their incursions.

An. 873.

The Duke of *Britanny* did not long enjoy the fruits of his victory; for a conspiracy being form'd against him, his eyes were put out, and the next day he died. His death occasion'd civil wars in *Britanny*, and at last *Alan* one of the pretenders was settled in quiet possession of that duchy.

An. 874.

But the death of the Emperor *Lewis* II. who died in *Italy* without issue male during these troubles in *Britanny*, was an incident of much more importance, and in which our *French* Sovereigns could not but have a great deal of concern.

An. 875.

The Kings of *France* and *Germany* had for a long time been making their parties in *Italy* with relation to this succession, but they were much more busy and eager when they heard the news of the Emperor's sickness. The business in hand was no less than the kingdom of *Italy* and the title of Emperor. That dignity could not be divided, and there was but little likelihood that any of the *Italian* dominions should be dismembred, which were as it were join'd to the *Imperial* crown.

The King of *Germany's* party look'd as if it would be the strongest, for besides that he was elder than the King of *France*, and had more reputation than him in foreign countries, the Empress *Ingelberga*, a Princess of great parts and address, was in his interest; because she thought after the death of her husband she could rely more upon him for her safety and other advantages, than upon the King of *France* with whom she had fallen out.

Basil Emperor of the *East* kept a good correspondence with the King of *Germany*; and if he should have occasion to declare for either of the two Kings, it was not doubted but he would favour that Prince. But *Charles the Bald* manag'd his matters more privately. He was secure of Pope *John* VIII.'s assistance, who succeeded *Adrian* II. and whose countenance must necessarily be of very great weight upon this occasion.

Those

An. 875. Those of the Emperor's court who hated the Empress, which were a great number, were for him. But above all he was very diligent in learning all that happen'd; and from the time of the Emperor's being ill, he kept himself in constant readiness to march upon the first advice he should receive of his death.

Death of the
Emperor
Lewis.
Annal. Ber-
tiniani adan.
875.

He receiv'd it pretty early in *August* at *Douisi-les-préz* a pleasure-house near *Monson*. And after having sent his son *Lewis* to the frontiers of the kingdom of *Lorain*, to defend it against any attempts of the King of *Germany*, he got himself ready to begin his march to *Italy* upon the first of *September*. When he entred that kingdom, his army was join'd by a great number of Lords of the country, who brought their vassals along with them.

Ibid. & An-
nal. Fuldenf.

The King of *Germany* surpris'd at this forwardness, sent away his son *Charles* with some troops, and afterwards his other son *Carloman* with a second body. But neither one nor the other durst engage themselves too far, because of the small number of forces they had in comparison of the King of *France*, who notwithstanding propos'd a conference with *Carloman*. He did all that he could to get this young Prince to join with him, promising him he would take care he should reign alone in *Germany* after the death of the King his father; but *Carloman* rejected these base proposals, which oblig'd the King of *France* to lay more reasonable ones before him.

Odorannus
Acta Conc.
pontigonens.

He offer'd him to quit *Italy*, provided he would withdraw himself; and that he would afterwards come to an agreement with the King of *Germany*, as they had done for the kingdom of *Lorain*. Nothing could be more advantageous for the King of *Germany*; the offer was accepted. *Carloman* began to march off with his troops, and *Charles* pretended to retire likewise: but this was a snare which *Carloman* fell into, for want of prudence. *Charles* expected every day news from the Pope to inform him how the *Romans* were dispos'd towards him; and the Pope having sent him word that he would be very well receiv'd at *Rome* provided he made haste, upon this advice he march'd in all haste, and made the best of his way. As soon as he appear'd, the gates were open'd to him, and he made his entry amidst the acclamations of the people.

A few days after, he was crown'd Emperor by the Pope in St. *Peter's* church on *Christmas* day, the day in which *Charlemagne* his grandfather had receiv'd the imperial crown in the same church.

He did not make any long stay at *Rome*, but went from thence in *January*, and at *Pavia* he receiv'd homage from the Bishops and Lords of the country, both as Emperor and as King of *Italy*. When he departed, he left *Boson*, who was brother to the Empress his wife, his lieutenant general, and with the title of Duke gave him the ducal crown; and this is the first time, in my opinion, that we meet with this mark of honour and authority in our history.

His presence was necessary in *France*; for the King of *Germany*, being prodigiously vex'd and provok'd at his being thus prevented and disappointed, was resolv'd to discharge his fury upon that kingdom; and notwithstanding the remonstrances and menaces of the Pope, he made his way as far as *Attigni*, committing great ravages wherever he came; such ravages as Queen *Richilda* and her son *Lewis*, whom *Charles the Bald* had declar'd regent before he pass'd the *Alps*, could not hinder or oppose for want of a sufficient number of troops.

But *Charles's* return prevented the King of *Germany* from proceeding any farther, and he repass'd the *Rhine* much sooner than could have been hop'd for. The news of this retreat mightily rejoic'd the new Emperor, whose majesty being heighten'd by that great title and by the *Imperial* ornaments, which he wore sometimes upon publick occasions, increas'd the respect of the subjects and the authority of the sovereign.

Some time after his return, ambassadors came to him from the King of *Germany*, who demanded in their master's name the share which was due to him of the succession of the deceas'd Emperor according to the promise which *Charles* had made in *Italy* to Prince *Carloman*, by which he oblig'd himself to retire from that country with his troops. The negotiation lasted some months; and the Emperor, who had a mind to have the war ended, was dispos'd to make some recompence to his brother, upon condition he would acknowledge him for Emperor and make no pretences upon *Italy*. About the middle of *August* he sent *Odo*

Bishop

An. 875.

Charles the Bald Emperor.

Annal. Bertiniani ad an. 876.

Acta Conc. pontigonens.

An. 876. Bishop of *Beauvais* to treat with him upon this subject: but while that prelate was on the road, he heard the news of the King of *Germany's* death, which happen'd at *Fransfort* on the twenty eighth of *August*. This accident deliver'd the Emperor from a great deal of uneasiness, and *France* from a dangerous war: for the King of *Germany* had already made great preparations in order to have carried it on with the utmost vigour.

Annal. Ber-
tiniani ad an.
876.
Death of the
King of Ger-
many.

Monach.
Sangall. l. 2.
c. 15. & 16.

A contemporary author gives us a handsome character of *Lewis* King of *Germany*, which is not contradicted by any other part of history. He appears by that to have had a great deal of courage, wisdom, and moderation. He is prais'd for his great piety, and no sort of irregularity or debauchery is laid to his charge. He was well made, of a proper stature, had a majestick air, and yet was affable, his humour was agreeable, a man of a great deal of wit, was gracious, kind, and bountiful, punishing the greatest crimes with concern and reluctance, and seldom putting the guilty to death.

Annal. Ful-
denfes &
Metenses.

Division be-
tween the
King of Ba-
varia's sons.

His three sons, *Carloman*, *Lewis*, and *Charles*, by his death entred each of them into possession of that part of his dominions which he had assign'd them four years before in the diet of *Forcheim*. *Carloman* the eldest had *Bavaria*, *Bohemia*, *Carinthia*, *Sclavonia*, and all the countries depending upon the *French* Empire as you go down the *Danube*, that is, the present *Austria* and part of *Hungary*. *Lewis* had *Franconia*, *Saxony*, *Frisia*, *Thuringia*, and the lower *Lorain*, *Cologne*, and some other cities lying upon the *Rhine*. *Charles*, who is call'd in history *Charles the Big* or *Charles the Fat*, had *Allemania*, and under this name was comprehended all that is beyond the *Moëin* as far as the *Alps*, and with that some cities which had formerly belong'd to the kingdom of *Lorain*, but which are not nam'd. This supposes that the late King of *Germany* was, when he died, in possession of the part of that kingdom which he had yielded to the deceas'd Emperor *Lewis*, whether it was that that treaty had never been executed, or that he seiz'd that country again in the irruption he made into *France* while the new Emperor was in *Italy*. I shall therefore call *Carloman* King of *Bavaria*, *Lewis* King of *Germany*, and *Charles*

Charles King of *Allemania*, till he comes to the empire; to which he was rais'd some time after. An. 876.

This division had been so well regulated by the late King of *Germany*, that there was no contest between the three Princes about it. But the Emperor, whose ambition grew with his power, had a great mind to have a share likewise in the succession, and to get possession again of that part of the kingdom of *Lorain*, of which the people of the country had made him master formerly, and which the King of *Germany* had oblig'd him to yield to him.

He went to *Aix-la-Chappelle*; and from thence towards *Cologn* where he rendezvous'd his troops. He was upon the point of returning back at the news he receiv'd that a *Norman* fleet of near an hundred sail was entred the *Seine*: but as he thought he had put the principal cities situat'd upon that river in sufficiently good defence, he pursued his design. Annal. Ber-
tiniani ad an.
876.

In the mean while *Lewis* King of *Germany* was advanc'd over against *Cologn* with an army of *Saxons*, *Turingians*, and *French* belonging to *German France*, and he sent embassadors from his camp to the Emperor, to desire he would not invade a country to which he had no right; but this Prince would hearken to nothing. The King of *Germany*, tho' much inferior in number of troops, pass'd the *Rhine* however near *Andernach*. He had his cavalry canton'd in several different quarters for the convenience of forage, and sent again to the Emperor to desire peace.

Charles the Bald receiv'd the embassadors better than he had done the first time: he gave them to understand that he would very willingly treat with his nephew, and that he would immediately without delay send him the proposals which he had to make to him. But this was merely artifice to amuse and surprise him; for that very night he broke up without any noise, order'd his troops to be divided into a great number of small bodies, and made them march thro' private ways, that he might fall upon the King of *Germany* when he least thought of him, and attack him at places where he could not expect him. But *Vilbert* Archbishop of *Cologn* gave advice of this design to the King of *Germany*, who posted himself advantageously with the few troops he had with him, and

Annal. Ber-
tiniani 8c
Fuldenfes.

An. 876. and sent orders to his cavalry in the several quarters where he had lodg'd them, to come and join him with all speed.

The Emperor
thinks to sur-
prise Lewis
of Germany,

When the Emperor came up with his army, which consisted of fifty thousand men, he was very much surpris'd to find he was expected. But without waiting for day-light, he order'd the attack to begin at the village of *Megen*. The *Saxons* who guarded that post maintain'd it for some time; but at last being over-power'd by numbers, they began to give way. The King of *Germany* came up very seasonably to their assistance, and prevented the consequences of this disorder; for with his *German* troops he charg'd the *French* in their flank, routed them, and made a great slaughter among them.

is himself
defeated.

This ill success discourag'd the *Imperial* troops, who had been promis'd a certain victory and the pillaging of a camp surpris'd without making any resistance. On the other hand this first advantage animated the *German* troops which increas'd every minute; and their King, who had form'd his plan of defence at his leisure, rang'd them in order of battle as soon as they join'd him. All was in good order on one side, and on the other all in very great confusion.

The King of *Germany* was not willing his soldiers fire and courage should cool, and therefore order'd them to charge the *French* on all sides, who gave way every where. The horror of being in the dark in a country they were not acquainted with increas'd their consternation. In a short time all the *French* army was defeated, and the Emperor was forc'd to fly that he might not be surrounded.

The havock and slaughter that was made in the pursuit was terrible. A great number of prisoners was taken, and the Emperor arriv'd almost alone at the monastery of *St. Lambert* upon the *Meuse*. This battle was fought on the eighth of *October* at the latter end of the night in the year 876. Such was the success of an enterprize at first well enough concerted and carried on, but which having been the effect of a great deal of insincerity and foul dealing, ought not to have been more fortunate in the event.

The Emperor call'd a dyet at *Saunonci*, a royal palace near *Laon*, to consider on the present posture of affairs

affairs which gave him a great deal of trouble and perplexity. An. 876.

A large army cut in pieces, a very strict union between the Kings of *Bavaria*, *Germany* and *Allemania*, a numerous fleet of *Normans* in the *Seine*, who had taken *Rouen*, the mistrust and jealousy he had of some discontented Lords; and over and above all this the frequent letters he receiv'd from the Pope relating to the confusion of affairs in *Italy*, where the *Saracens* were continually committing ravages, and where the Duke of *Benevent* and the *Greeks* carried on secret intelligence with those infidels: these were the sad circumstances the Emperor was in.

However they consulted at *Saunonci* only upon ways and means to remove the *Normans*, that being the most pressing affair; and troops were sent to that side, who stop't their incursions.

The Emperor, having provided as much as was possible for the safety of the countries lying upon the *Seine* against the *Normans*, could not but perform the promise he had given the Pope of going into *Italy* with an army. And having held a diet at *Chierfi* on the first of *July*, where he declar'd his son *Lewis* regent of the kingdom during his absence, he march'd in order to pass the *Alps*. Capit. Car. Calvian. 877:

The Pope came to meet him as far as *Verceil*; but both of them return'd back again upon the news that *Carloman*, King of *Bavaria*, was entring *Italy* with an army. The Emperor had a few troops with him, with whom he had march'd before; but he had advice that the *French* Lords, who should have brought the army into *Italy*, refus'd to march, pretending that this expedition would leave *France* unguarded, and expose it to the inroads of the *Normans* and *German* troops. This unacceptable piece of news made him hasten his return, and he march'd towards *Morienne*, where the Empress was already arriv'd. He enters Italy.

The Emperor fell sick upon the road. His distemper was only a fever, and such as did not take away all hopes: but a treacherous physician, a Jew by nation, *Zedecias* by name, in whom he plac'd all his confidence, poison'd him with a powder he gave him as a sovereign remedy against his disease. It was upon the road to the passage over Mount *Cenis* that he His death.

An. 877. took this poison; and he was so ill with it some days after, that he was oblig'd to stop at a village call'd *Brios*, and put up in a poor peasant's cottage. The Empress came to him thither from *Morienne*, and there he died eleven days after he had taken the poison'd portion, that is on the sixth of *October*, in the second year of his empire, and the thirty eighth of his reign, aged fifty four.

His character. He was a Prince, whom sometimes his unhappiness, and sometimes his want of conduct, brought several times to the brink of ruin. When he was just going to sink under his ill fortune, not having the necessary qualities to surmount it, some certain conjunctures, as happy as they were unforeseen, deliver'd him from the dangers his wrong steps had brought him into. He had much less courage than artifice and cunning. Ambitious he was and enterprising, but not capable of carrying on his undertakings. He made himself neither lov'd nor fear'd enough by his subjects, some of whom despis'd him, and others out of compassion to him and full of jealousy at their equals, took his side. His reign, as well as that of his father, was the reign of the Bishops, to whom however he began not to be so complaisant after he was Emperor. The boldness or rather the tyranny of the particular Lords, whose counties or governments became hereditary, was very much encreas'd under so weak a reign. He is prais'd for having lov'd letters and learned men, and for having sent for them into *France* from the most distant countries, and encourag'd them with great rewards. In this he is even prefer'd before his grandfather *Charlemagne*; but it is in a panegyrick address'd to himself. It is probably from the favours he bestow'd upon these learned men, that he is dignified with the title of *Great* in several ancient monuments. He surviv'd all his brethren and several of his nephews. He was the most powerful of all those Princes, if we measure his power by the greatness of his dominions; and after him none of *Charlemagne's* line in *France* had so extended a sovereignty. He might by this means have restor'd the splendor and dignity of the *Imperial* family, if he had had leisure to have done it, and at the same time had been endued with such courage, resolution and prudence as was proportion'd to the bigness of his empire.

After

Henr. Mon.
Eoist. ad
Car. Imp.

Vide Mabill.
in an. lectis.
T. I.

After his death his body was embalm'd in order to be carried to St. *Denys*; but the poison had corrupted it to that degree, that they were forc'd to bury it under ground at *Nantua*, a monastery belonging to the diocese of *Lyons* in *Bresse*. Some time after his bones were remov'd to St. *Denys*. At least we see his tomb in the middle of the choir of that noble and famous abbey, but certainly it does not belong to that age.

Charles, before he died, put into the Empress's hands an instrument seal'd with his own seal, in which he declar'd his son *Lewis* his successor, who was the only one left of all his male children. He join'd with this instrument the sword which was call'd St. *Peter's*, without doubt because it had been bless'd and presented by the Pope, and he order'd that it should be girt upon his son when he was declar'd King; whether it was that this was a custom already establish'd, or whether it was a particular piece of devotion in *Charles* towards St. *Peter* and the holy See. Besides this sword, he committed the royal mantle, the crown, and scepter to the Empress's charge, giving her orders to return into *France*, as soon as she saw he was expir'd, and put his son in immediate possession of all those marks of the royal dignity.


An. 877.

Annal. Ber-
tiniani &
Metenses.

LEWIS II. surnam'd the STAMMERER, King of France. CARLOMAN, King of Bavaria. LEWIS, King of Germany. CHARLES, King of Allemania.

LEWIS, two months after the death of his father, was anointed and crown'd at *Compiègne* in the beginning of *December* by *Hincmar* Archbishop of *Rheims*. But it was not till after the Lords had caball'd very much among themselves, with a design to keep in their own families the counties and duchies where they commanded. The condescension which *Charles the Bald*, partly through weakness, and partly through the ill condition of his affairs, had shew'd

Annal. Ber-
tiniani ad an.
877.
Coronation of
Lewis the
Stammerer.

An. 877.  several of those Lords in allowing their governments to be hereditary, made the others pretend to the same privilege, which prov'd in the sequel the ruin of the state and royal family, and which in time left the successors of *Charlemagne* nothing but the empty title of King without any power.

The Empress *Richilda* entred with them into this combination, for the establishment of Duke *Boson* her brother, whose interest she prefer'd before that of the King, being only his mother-in-law: and it was very happy for him, that the son of this Princess, who was born after the defeat at *Andernach*, did not live; for according to all appearance she would have prevail'd by the great power she had in the kingdom to have gotten the crown for him.

And she would the more easily have compass'd her end, because *Lewis* had no fine qualities to recommend him, was very infirm, and an impediment in his speech, which gave him the surname of *Stammerer*, made him somewhat contemptible to the *French* Lords.

However, the small merit this Prince had, contributed to raise him the more easily to the throne. For as the only end of the Lords was to maintain themselves in their usurpations, they saw very well that under so weak a reign they might strengthen their power and that of their families with much more ease, than if they should choose out of the other branches of the royal family a master more capable of forcing them to obedience and keeping them within the bounds of their duty.

As the affairs of *Italy* depended very much on those of *France*, the unexpected death of the Emperor, and the effects which follow'd from it in that kingdom, threw the Pope into great uneasiness. He had depended upon a *French* army to keep the *Saracens* at a distance from *Rome*, and to restrain the violences of the neighbouring Dukes and Counts: and just when he was upon the point of receiving this assistance, he found himself out of hopes of obtaining it. This unhappy conjuncture redoubled the boldness of the *Saracens* and turbulent people. The *Saracens* march'd up to the gates of *Rome*; and the Pope was forc'd to treat with them, and submit to a tribute, to prevent the utter ruin

ruin of the adjacent parts: but he had no less to fear from the Christian Lords of *Italy*, than from the *Saracens* themselves. An. 877.

Lambert Duke of *Spoletto* carried his ambition so high as to pretend to the empire, and he was seconded by *Adelbert* Marquis of *Tuscany*. On the other hand *Carloman* King of *Bavaria* made likewise some pretensions to the *Imperial* crown. The Pope had no mind either for this Prince or the Duke of *Spoletto*; but all his inclination was for the King of *France*, whom he had conjur'd to march immediately into *Italy* with an army. But neither this Prince's health nor the condition of his affairs would permit him to go out of the kingdom.

The Pope durst not refuse to open *Rome* to the Duke of *Spoletto*, who seiz'd his holiness; but he escap'd, and got to *France* by sea. He held a council at *Troyes*, where he anointed the King again, and put the crown upon his head, not the *Imperial* crown, as some authors have written, but only the regal crown. Annal. Bertiniani ad an. 878.
Lewis was not Emperor

After the council the Pope return'd to *Rome*, without any hopes of having succours from *France*, because of the several rebellions which were then rais'd, and of the incursions of the *Normans*, who began again to ravage the kingdom. He was conducted back by Duke *Boson*, who made great court to him, in hopes of being supported by his authority in the vast designs he had form'd and afterwards executed.

In the mean time, as the King was marching his troops against *Bernard* Marquis of *Languedoc*, he was seiz'd at *Troyes* with a mortal distemper which took him off some days after at *Compiègne*, whither he order'd himself to be carried. He died on the tenth of *April* after a reign of one year and six months. A weak Prince, surnam'd in history the *Do-nothing*, because nothing memorable happen'd during his government, and he was sick almost all the time. Ibid. ad an. 879.
His death.

Besides his two sons *Lewis* and *Carloman*, whom he had by *Ansgarda* his first wife, Queen *Adelaida* when he died was big with child of a Prince. It was he, who was afterwards surnam'd *Charles the Simple*. As soon as *Lewis* found he was given over by the physicians, he order'd *Odo* Bishop of *Beauvais* and Count *Aluin* to carry the crown and sword, and all

An. 879. the other marks of royalty to his eldest son *Lewis*, and recommended to them to get him anointed and crown'd King as soon as possible.

It was the Bishop's and the Count's intention to execute this last will of the King; but a considerable faction of Lords, who had a mind to transfer the crown to *Lewis* King of *Germany*, was an obstacle not easy to be overcome. The King of *Germany* was moderate in his ambition, but not to that degree as to refuse a crown when it was offer'd him. In short after a great many delays and intrigues this Prince contented himself with that part of the kingdom of *Lorain*, which *Charles* the *Bald* had possess'd; and the *French* Lords join'd together again to preserve the crown in the late King's house, but not exactly according to his intentions; for it was resolv'd to place on the throne *Lewis* his eldest son, but not by himself as his father had desir'd, but *Carloman* was to be rais'd thither also. It was Duke *Boson*, whose daughter had married this Prince, who got the affair terminated in this manner. They were both of them carried to the abbey of *Ferrieres* in the *Senonois*, where *Ansegise* Archbishop of *Sens* anointed and crown'd them. The division of the dominions was made afterwards: *Lewis* had *France* and *Neustria*, and *Carloman* had *Aquitain* and *Burgundy*, and therefore I shall call him King of *Aquitain*.

LEWIS III. *King of France.* CARLOMAN, *King of Aquitain and Burgundy.* CARLOMAN, *King of Bavaria.* LEWIS, *King of Germany.* CHARLES, *King of Allemania.*

THE dismembring of that part of *Lorain* which I just now mention'd, was less prejudicial to the crown of *France*, than that which was made immediately after the raising the two Princes to the throne.

Duke

Duke *Boson*, brother to the Empress *Richilda*, had An. 879. been made governor of *Provence* by *Charles the Bald* his brother-in-law, and had married *Hermengarda* daughter to the Emperor *Lewis II.* This Princess often said to her husband, that it was not fitting an Emperor's daughter should live always subject to a King of *France.* *Boson* did not want for inclination to satisfy her on this head; and *Ingelberga* his mother-in-law, widow to the Emperor *Lewis II.* had us'd all her endeavours with Pope *John VIII.* to procure the kingdom of *Lombardy* for her son-in-law; but in this he had been prevented by *Carloman* King of *Bavaria*, who had got into possession of it.

It was necessary therefore that Duke *Boson's* ambition should strike at something else. He was a man of very cunning management, winning in his behaviour, and had the art of making himself beloved. He had very much endear'd himself to the Lords and Bishops within his government; and he knew how to make use of this affection they had for him to arrive at the point which his own ambition, as well as that of his wife and mother-in-law, aim'd at.

The Bishops of *Provence* and several Bishops of the neighbouring countries met in council at *Mante*, a town between *Vienne* and *Tournon*; and jointly with the Lords of the country they chose Duke *Boson* for their King, under pretence that they were left expos'd to their enemies by the Kings of *France.* We may know the extent of this kingdom by the sees of the prelates, who assisted at the council: they were the Archbishop of *Lyons*, the Archbishop of *Vienne*, the Archbishop of *Tarantaise*, the Archbishop of *Aix*, the Bishops of *Valence*, *Grenoble*, *Vaison*, *Die*, *Morienne*, *Gap*, *Toulon*, *Cbalons* upon the *Saone*, *Lausanne*, *Agde*, *Macon*, the Archbishops of *Arles*, and *Besançon*, the Bishops of *Viviers*, *Marseilles*, *Orange*, *Avignon*, *Uzex*, and *Riez.* So that *Boson's* kingdom comprehended *Provence*, *Lyonnois*, which we now call *Dauphiny*, *Savoy*, *Franche-Comté*, part of the duchy of *Burgundy*, and reach'd as far as into *Languedoc.* It is this kingdom which is call'd sometimes in our history the kingdom of *Arles*, because the Prince's residence was fix'd at *Arles*, or the kingdom of *Provence*, as it had been already nam'd when it had one of the Emperor *Lothaire's* children for its King.

Erection of
the kingdom of
Arles or Pro-
vence.

Councilum
Mantalensi
T. III. Conc.
Gall. an. 879.

Its extent.

Such

An. 879.



Such an encroachment as this extremely provok'd all the Princes of the royal house of *Charlemagne*; and they all join'd heartily together to revenge it, and to root the *Normans* out of all the *French* empire, who had began again to commit more dreadful ravages than ever. A third enemy had likewise appear'd for some time. It was *Hugh* bastard son of *Lothaire* King of *Lorain*, and the famous *Valdrada* his mistress; and he pretended to no less than the kingdom of *Lorain*, and was at the head of an army to back his pretensions to his father's succession.

The two *French* Kings had a conference immediately with *Charles* the Big, King of *Allemania* at *Orbe* beyond the lake of *Geneva*; and being return'd into the quarters of the *Loire*, they defeated there a great body of the *Normans*, most of whom were either put to the sword or drown'd in the river of *Vienne*.

Ibid. ad an.
880.

Afterwards they came to an accommodation with *Lewis* King of *Germany*, and renew'd the treaty by which that part of *Lorain* was yielded to him, which I have already mention'd so often; however he held it as a fee depending on the crown of *France*. This Prince, after the conclusion of the treaty, march'd against the *Normans*, who having made a descent upon the coast of *Flanders*, were advanc'd as far as the forrest of *Ardennes*, pillaging all the way they came. He attack'd them near *Thin*, and made a great slaughter among them. A party of them having thrown themselves into *Thin*, which was a royal palace, he order'd it to be storm'd, and the assault was handsomly sustain'd. *Hugh* his natural son was kill'd there, and the *Normans* in the night divided themselves into small companies, and got to their ships again.

Defeat of the
Normans.Annal. Me-
tenses.Annal. Ful-
denfes.

But much about the same time another body of *Normans* made an invasion upon *Saxony*, and there cut this Prince's army in pieces. Two Bishops and a very great number of Lords and commanding officers were slain. This oblig'd him to pass the *Rhine* again, in order to prevent the consequences of this defeat.

An. 880.

Death of
Carloman
King of Ba-
varia Regino.

During these transactions *Carloman*, King of *Bavaria* died on the twenty second of *March* of a palsy, with which distemper he had been troubled a long time. He was a Prince, whose valour, prudence, and other good qualities did honour to the blood of *Charlemagne*.

This

This Prince's succession, who left no legitimate children behind him, must naturally occasion great disputes in *Germany* between his two brothers, *Lewis* and *Charles* the Big. But these Princes resolv'd to pursue their design of continuing in union with one another, and with the Kings of *France*, and therefore treated together in an amicable manner. *Lewis*, King of *Germany*, succeeded to the kingdom of *Bavaria*, and to all *Carloman's* dominions; and to make amends to *Charles* the Big, he renounc'd all the pretensions he might have to the kingdom of *Lombardy*, and title of Emperor, and promised him, that so far from opposing him in the pursuit of his rights over *Lombardy* and the Imperial crown, he would second him with all his might. Moreover to prevent every thing that might occasion a civil war, he yielded *Carinthia* to *Arnulph*, *Carloman's* natural son.

In *June* *Charles* the Big, the King of *France*, and the King of *Aquitain* met at *Contreville*, a royal palace near *St. Meneboud*, to consult about proper measures for the common interest of the royal family; and the King of *Germany* being fallen sick, deputed some Lords of his court to go thither in his stead.

Annal. Ber-
tiniani ad
an. 880.

At this conference the two *French* Kings confirm'd the cession they had made of *Lorain* to the King of *Germany*, renounc'd all the right they might pretend to over *Italy* in favour of *Charles* the Big, and it was resolv'd to begin to execute the resolution which had been taken of acting in concert against the enemies of the state and the royal family.

The King of *Germany*, who had an army on foot, gave it to the two *French* Kings, who march'd against *Hugh* the bastard of the late King of *Lorain*, whose troops were cut in pieces. Afterwards they turn'd towards *Burgundy* to drive *Boson* out of that part, and sent off only some detachments to cover *France* against the *Normans*, who had gotten possession of *Gant*, from whence they made inroads into all the Low-countries and *France*.

At the end of *July* the two Kings came into *Burgundy*, where *Charles* the Big join'd them. They attack'd *Macon*, and took it by storm. The government of it was given to *Bernard*, surnamed *Hairy* Plant.

An. 880.

Planta Pilosif
From

An. 880.

From thence the three Princes march'd and laid siege to *Vienne*, where *Boson* had left *Hermengarda* his wife with part of his troops, and was retir'd with the rest into the mountains. This siege lasted longer than it was hop'd it would; and *Charles the Big* was oblig'd to leave it to go to *Rome* to be there on *Christmas* day, the day he had appointed to receive the imperial crown from the hand of the Pope.

The forces of the besiegers were again diminished by the departure of the King of *France*, who was obliged to go to stop the conquests and pillages of the *Normans*.

Chron. de
gestis Norm.
ad an. 880.

They had surpriz'd *Tournay* in *December*, and got more strength at *Courtray*. The day after *Christmas* day they storm'd *St. Omers*, and afterwards took *Teroüane*, *St. Riquier*, *St. Valery*, *Amiens* and *Corby*. They committed most horrible ravages all about; and now the *Gauls* were in a condition just like that they were in three ages before, when the *Goths*, *Burgundians*, and other barbarians came upon them, and destroy'd those fine countries and so many flourishing cities. All this was done before the end of *January* in the year 881. They took *Arras* likewise in *February*, and pillaged it, after a terrible slaughter of the inhabitants.

An. 881.

The King of *France*, with the body of his army, took long journies, and advanc'd towards this province, which has since been call'd *Picardy*, and for some months he kept on this side the *Somme* to cover *Paris*. But the *Normans* having pass'd that river in *July*, he run the hazard of a battle, which he won, and nine thousand *Normans* were killed upon the spot. Of this number was *Guaraimond*, to whom they gave the title of King. The rest of the *Normans* repass'd the *Somme*, without being pursued very briskly, for the King was apprehensive of coming to a second battle, because he had also lost a great many soldiers in the first.

Defeat of
the Nor-
mans.

Annal. Ful-
denfes &
Metenses.

The King of *Germany* on his side was as much pester'd as the King of *France* with other *Normans*, who after having ravag'd part of *Frisia*, had made themselves masters of *Nimeguen*. He attack'd them there, and was repuls'd; but as they saw, that notwithstanding the rigour of the season, he was resolv'd to continue the siege, they quitted the town by capitulation. But

But another much more numerous army of *Normans*, under the command of two chiefs, *Godefroy* and *Sigefroy*, to whom history gives also the title of Kings, came and posted themselves upon the *Meuse* in a place called *Haslou*. They attack'd *Liege*, which they took and burnt. They took likewise *Mastric* and *Tongres*, and committed the like barbarities there. *Cologne*, *Bonne*, *Zulpic*, *Juliers*, *Aix-la-Chappelle*, and several other places were sack'd, and never was seen such dreadful desolation. The inhabitants of the towns and villages in the *Ardenne*s, having join'd in a body to oppose the ravages they were threatned with, were cut in pieces. And, to compleat the misfortune, *Lewis* King of *Germany* died at this unhappy juncture; and his army, which was upon the march, having heard the news of his death, disbanded itself.

An. 881.



Ravages of
the Nor-
mans.

Death of
Lewis, King
of Germany.

The *Normans* made use of this accident. They took *Treves* upon *Holy Thursday*, and reduced it to ashes. They march'd from thence towards *Metz*. *Venilo*, who was Bishop of that place, and Count *Adehard*, met them with an army which was cut in pieces, and the Bishop kill'd. Notwithstanding which, the *Normans*, as victorious as they were, did not pursue their design of attacking *Metz*; for they separated; and one part march'd towards the sea, to get to their fleet, and load it with the prodigious booty they had taken in all the cities I have nam'd, and the other return'd to the camp at *Haslou* upon the *Meuse*.

An. 882.

After the King of *Germany*'s death, *Metz* and the other cities of *Lorain*, which had been yielded to that Prince, offered themselves to the King of *France*, and desir'd him to take them under his government; for they could receive no assistance from the Emperor *Charles* the Big, who was still in *Italy*. The King's council did not think it convenient for him to accept of this offer, lest it should occasion a breach with the Emperor at a time when the union of the Princes of the royal family was mote necessary than ever: but they sent some troops to assist the people of *Lorain*, under the command of Count *Theodoric*.

The King, after having detach'd this body, march'd with the rest of his army, towards the *Loire*, to join the Duke of *Britanny*, in order to go together and fight the *Normans*, who had posted themselves upon

that

An. 882. that river. But he fell sick at *Tours*; and being carried to the abbey of *St. Denys*, he died there in *August*, being between one and two and twenty years of age. This young Prince had valour, conduct, and application; but according to some historians he was a debauchee, and they say his irregularities occasion'd his death.

Annal. Ber-
tiniani ad
an. 882.
Death of
Lewis, King
of France.

When the King died, *Carloman* his brother was still at the siege of *Vienne*, which had lasted two years. The *French* Lords sent a deputation to him to assure him of their fidelity, and desired him to leave one of his generals at the siege, and come and put himself at the head of them to go against the *Normans*. He departed immediately, and join'd the army upon the *Loire*. He was not there long before he heard of the reduction of *Vienne* by capitulation. One of the articles was that *Hermengarda* should have the liberty of going from thence to *Autun*, where *Richard*, *Boson's* brother, commanded. She was conducted thither; and very proud she was of having held out a siege of two years, and of having by this obstacle cool'd the ardor of the *French*, whose first fury had put her own and her husband's fortune in great danger.

Carloman being ready to march against the *Normans* upon the *Loire*, *Hasting* their general sent to him and desir'd peace. The King would hear nothing about it, but upon condition that this general and all his *Normans* should quit *France*. *Hasting* consented to it, and retreated to his fleet with all his troops.

The taking of *Vienne*, and the retreat of the *Normans* upon the *Loire* out of the kingdom, gave good hopes of King *Carloman's* government: and so much the more, because the Emperor being return'd from *Italy* set himself about pushing the *Normans* to the utmost; and to that end he rais'd one of the largest armies that had for a long time been seen in the *French* empire. He march'd directly to the camp at *Haslou*, where the principal army of the *Normans* was. His design was to surprize them there, before they had recalled the detachments they had sent out to pillage on all sides; but he was betrayed by some ill-affected people in his army, who gave advice of it to *Godefroy* and *Sigefroy*, the two Kings I mentioned before. So that when the Emperor came up the *Meuse*, he found almost

almost all the *Norman* troops got together again in their entrenchments at *Haslou*; and his business was either to force their lines or starve them. An. 882.

Several accidents which happened, but especially the contagious diseases that were rife in the *Imperial* camp, made this design miscarry. As the *Norman* troops were no less destroy'd by the contagion than the *French* and *German*, they came to a treaty, and peace was concluded upon the following conditions. First, that a large sum of money should be immediately given to *Sigefroy*. The second was, that he should be allow'd to continue in the place where he was encamp'd; and thirdly, that he should make no attempt upon the dominions of the empire during the Emperor's life. Fourthly, as to *Godefroy*, that he should have the lands in *Frisia*, which *Roric*, a *Norman* Prince, had formerly possess'd by donation from the Emperor *Lothaire*. Fifthly, that *Hugh*, bastard of *Lothaire*, King of *Lorain*, should be comprehended in this treaty, renouncing his pretensions to the kingdom of *Lorain*, and that upon two conditions. The first, that he should have the revenue of the Bishoprick of *Metz*, during the vacancy of that see. The second, that the Emperor should consent to the marriage of *Godefroy* with *Gisela*, sister to *Hugh*, and natural daughter likewise of *Lothaire* and *Valrada*. *Sigefroy* offered over and above both for *Godefroy* and himself to turn Christians immediately, and receive baptism without delay. After this treaty the Emperor withdrew to *Coblens*, where he stood godfather to the two *Norman* Kings, who received baptism, and immediately after he disbanded his troops. Annal. Ber-
tiniani, Met.
& Fuld. ad
an. 882.

There never was a peace more dishonourable and more prejudicial to the kingdom than this, which established two *Norman* Princes upon the *Meuse* and in *Frisia*, and brought *Hugh* the bastard into an alliance with those Princes. The King of *France* was very much dissatisfied with it, and letting his chagrin get the better of him, he sent shortly after to demand of the Emperor the part of the kingdom of *Lorain* which had belong'd to the Kings his predecessors.

In the mean time a civil war broke out beyond the *Rhine* in *Turingia*, where the Lords of the country took up arms against one another. *Italy* was in great

An. 883. er disorder than ever, and the Counts or Governors there paid obedience no longer either to the Pope or the Emperor.

Charles the Big, to remedy this last evil, which he thought the most pressing, went into *Italy*. Upon his arrival there he found Pope *John VIII.* dead, and *Marinus*, a man made famous by being thirce legate to *Constantinople*, in the pontifical chair. They had several conferences upon the affairs of *Italy*, but to little purpose, for want of forces and authority; and the plague, which made sad havock in the country at that time, obliged the Emperor to return over the *Alps*.

An. 883.

Chron. de
rebus gestis
Norm.

As soon as the *Normans* knew the King of *France* had fallen out with this Prince, with whom alone they had made peace, they began again to make their incursions into the kingdom. Those at the camp at *Haslou* advanced as far as *Laon*, *Soissons*, *Noyon*, where they put all to fire and sword. The King hastened to the assistance of that country, gain'd several advantages over the *Normans*, and among others one near the river *Aisne*, where there were a thousand killed upon the spot.

An. 884.

But these victories, which always cost the conqueror a great deal of blood, weaken'd the kingdom: on the other hand these obstinate enemies seem'd to multiply by their losses. They return'd up the *Somme* with such numbers of forces, that the King durst not stay till they came up, but was obliged to repass that river. They seiz'd again upon *Amiens*; and the terror of them spread every where in such a manner, that this Prince was forc'd to desire peace of them, which yet he obtained not but by means of money.

Death of
Carloman,
King of
France.

Annal. Met-
tenses ad
an. 884.

He was putting himself into a condition of opposing them in case they should renew the war, when he was wounded by a wild boar as he was hunting, or, as some relate it, by one of his own people, who intending to pierce the boar, had the misfortune to wound this Prince in the thigh, of which he died seven days after.

The annalist of *Metz*, who reports the two ways this story was told, relates one thing which clears up this fact, and does honour to the memory of this Prince; it is that he himself, to save the man's life who had wounded him, caused the report to be spread that he was wounded by the wild boar. This

An. 884.



This single action shews us the good nature of this Prince, who had already given evident proofs of his courage upon several occasions. It looks as if the hand of God had for some years been heavy upon *Charlemagne's* family, out of which, in the space of seven years, died seven Sovereigns, namely, *Lewis*, King of *Germany*, who was soon followed by *Charles the Bald*, the two sons of the King of *Germany*, namely, *Lewis* and *Carloman*, *Lewis* the *Stammerer*, son of *Charles the Bald*, and afterwards *Lewis* and *Carloman*, sons of *Lewis* the *Stammerer*.

Carloman died without children; and there was none left of the *Carlovinian* branch in *France*, but a child of five years of age, son of *Lewis* the *Stammerer*, and his second wife *Adelaida*, whom he left, when he died, big with child of this little Prince, whose name was *Charles*. But a King of that age, in the distracted circumstances of the kingdom, could give no hopes of sufficient assistance against the enemies abroad, or of authority enough against the factions at home. A new invasion which the *Normans* were preparing to make as soon as they heard of the King's death, did not allow the *French* Lords to deliberate any longer. They had recourse to that Prince of *Charlemagne's* family, who was the most capable of saving *France*, now upon the brink of ruin.

This was the Emperor *Charles* the *Big*, to whom they sent and offered the crown of *France*, desiring him to come immediately and take possession of the kingdom, that he might defend it against the enemies who were ready to enter upon it again.

Charles came without delay to *Contreville*, and received homage and oaths of allegiance from his new subjects; and by this encrease of his dominions he was one of the most powerful Princes that had ever worn the crown of *France*. Emperor, King of *Italy*, Master of all *Germany* and *Pannonia*, of all *France*, and beyond the *Pyrenean* mountains as far as the *Ebro*, for that part of *Spain* was then subject to the *French*. The wars, which were always carrying on between the petty Christian Kings of those quarters and the *Saracens*, kept *France* in possession of

Charles the Big recognised King of *France*.

An. 884. what might very easily have been taken from her, either by the one side or the other.

CHARLES *surnamed the BIG,*
Emperor and King of FRANCE.

IF the capacity of the Prince had answered to the extent of his empire, nothing could have been more advantageous to *France* than the reunion of all these dominions under one single head. *Charles* might by this means have fallen on all sides upon the *Normans* and have crush'd them: but a great state is a great weight, too heavy to be sustain'd by a little genius and such was *Charles's*.

The two first enemies he had upon his hands, after he was plac'd upon the throne of *France*, were *Godefroy*, that *Norman* Prince who had turn'd Christian, and to whom had been yielded part of *Frisia*; and *Hugh* the bastard, whose sister *Godefroy* had married. They agreed together, that *Hugh*, notwithstanding the renunciation of the kingdom of *Lorain*, which he had made at the last treaty, should demand it again of the Emperor; and that upon his refusing it, which he would not fail to do, an army of *Normans* should enter *France*. But they were prevented; for the Emperor got *Godefroy* assassinated at a conference, to which he was drawn under pretence of making a new treaty of peace; and a few days after *Hugh*, by such another piece of artifice, was taken prisoner at *Con-treville*. His eyes were put out, and he was shut up in the monastery of *St. Gal*. Afterwards he was carried to the abbey of *Prum* in the forrest of *Ar-dennes*. *I my self*, says *Regino* the historian, *was then Abbat of that monastery, and cut off his hair, a short time, after which he died.*

Regino ad
884, 885.

The *Normans* did not always seek for pretences for breaking the peace, but they did not fail to make all the advantage they could of the treachery that had been practis'd upon *Godefroy*. *Sigefroy*, whom I have
already

already mentioned on occasion of the treaty of *Haslou*, An. 885. made himself master of *Louvain*; and in revenge of *Godefroy's* death, he committed dreadful ravages in the Low-countries, and in all the kingdom of *Lorain*: but he turn'd his greatest efforts to the side of *France*.

He pass'd the *Somme*, advanc'd as far as *Pontoise*, forc'd it to capitulate; and at last being join'd by several bodies of *Normans*, he came and laid siege to *Paris* with a numerous army, and above seven hundred boats which covered the *Seine* for the space of two leagues. Count *Udo* or *Eudes*, who was afterwards King, commanded that place. He had a great number of brave Lords with him; and the citizens, animated as well by the example of their Bishop *Goslin*, who was wounded during the siege, as by his exhortations, fought with all the valour imaginable. The siege lasted two years at least, during which time the several *Norman* chiefs divided their work in this manner, whilst some attack'd the town, others with their troops made excursions into the Provinces to seek for victuals, forage, and booty; and afterwards they return'd to the camp to relieve their fellow countrymen, who in their turn went out to pillage some other part of the kingdom.

All the machines then us'd at sieges, were employ'd in this, as well on the attacking as on the defensive part. There were assaults, repulses, and skirmishes. The city was twice succoured and supply'd with provisions. And at last the Emperor being come up in person, and encamp'd at *Montmartre* with a great number of forces, as he saw it was very dangerous to attack the *Norman* trenches, he entred into a treaty with them. They rais'd the siege for a large sum of money, which he gave them upon condition they should go out of *France* in *March*, till which time he allow'd them quarters in *Burgundy*. This he did with the less difficulty, because most of the Lords of that country had hitherto refus'd to acknowledge him for King of *France*. Afterwards this Prince turn'd towards *Germany* with more disgrace than if he had been beaten.

This unworthy treaty compleated his ruin by entirely destroying his reputation in the minds of the people, who from contempt easily pass'd to disobedience and

Abbo. de
obfid. Paris.
Siege of Pa-
ris by the
Normans.

It is rais'd
by a disho-
nourable ca-
pitulation.
An. 887.

An. 887. rebellion in all parts of the empire. Uneasiness and vexation threw him into a sickness at *Tribur*, between *Mentz* and *Oppenheim*. His spirit was weakened to that degree, that he was judg'd incapable of the government; and the people of *Germany* put in his place *Arnulph*, Duke of *Carinthia*, natural son to *Carloman*, the late King of *Bavaria*. He was a brave and an active Prince, who knew how to make his advantage of the contempt which was shewn to *Charles*. The esteem that he had gotten in *Germany*, and the affection which the people had for the blood of *Charlemagne*, rais'd him to the throne.

Annal. Metzenses & Fuld.
Charles the Big dethron'd in Germany, and Arnulph put in his place.

As soon as he was proclaimed, *Charles*, in less than three days, was so much abandon'd as to have hardly any one left with him to tend upon him in his sickness; and he would not even have had any thing to live upon, if it had not been for the Archbishop of *Mentz*, who took care to furnish him. *Arnulph* afterwards granted him some lands in *Germany*, which he did not long enjoy; for ten months after he died on the fourteenth of *January*, in the year 888, reduc'd to the condition of a private person, after having been master of almost all the great empire of *Charlemagne*. A station too much above his genius for him to maintain himself in, at a time when the single title of King or Emperor lawfully possess'd would not supply all the rest.

Annal. Metzenses & Fuldenses ad an. 888.

The deposition of the Emperor in *Germany*, and the fortunate ambition of *Arnulph*, were strange patterns for the Lords of *France* and *Italy*. *Charles* the posthumous son of *Lewis the Stammerer*, of about eight years of age, was look'd upon as the lawful and natural heir to the crown of *France*; but the necessities of the kingdom, which was besieged or rather invaded and usurped by the *Normans*, made the rights of this young Prince to be forgot. *Endes*, Count of *Paris*, who had just defended that capital of the kingdom with so much glory, was plac'd upon the throne to the exclusion of several pretenders, who aspir'd to the crown, because they were of the royal house of *Charlemagne* by the woman's side. *Guy*, Duke of *Spoletto*, son of Duke *Lambert*, and a daughter of *Pepin*, King of *Italy*, got himself crown'd King of *France* at *Rome*, and immediately after pass'd the

Endes, Count of Paris, King of France.

Alps

Alps with an army to dispute the crown with *Eudes*. An. 888-
 But the latter had form'd his party so well, that the Duke of *Spoleta* was obliged to give up, *Eudes* having gotten *Arnulph*, King of *Germany*, on his side, who at first seem'd willing to espouse young Prince *Charles*.

As for *Italy*, *Beranger*, Duke of *Friuli*, who was by his mother's side grandson to the Emperor *Lewis* the *Debonnaire*, got himself acknowledged as King by a great part of the people of that country.

Rodolph, Duke of *Transjuran Burgundy*, who was grandson to *Conrad*, brother of the Empress *Judith*, wife to *Charles* the *Bald*, aspir'd likewise to the crown; but finding himself not strong enough, he contented himself with being secur'd of his government, whilst *Lewis*, son of *Boson*, lately dead, thought also to maintain himself in the kingdom of *Provence*, which his father had usurp'd. Such was the condition of *France* at this time, at the mercy of four tyrants, who tore it in pieces, whilst the *Normans* ravag'd it in several places with impunity by reason of these confusions.

In short, *Eudes* remain'd in possession of the crown of *France*; and it is without reason that some of our historians have written that he did not take the title of King, but only that of governor of young *Charles*. For besides several historians, who speak of his coronation and anointing, we have likewise other monuments, which incontestably prove it.

See Baluf.
T. 2. capit.

There are two silver pieces of money or medals, on which he has the name of King, one struck at *Toulouse*, and the other at *Angers*. They are both of them in the cabinet of medals belonging to the college of *Lewis le Grand* at *Paris*, and may be seen in our larger history.

EUDES, *King of France.* ARNULPH, *King of Germany.* LEWIS, *Master of the kingdom of Arles.* GUY and BERANGER *acting as King of Italy.*

An. 888. **E**UDES being rais'd to the throne of *France*, found the kingdom in a strange condition, ravaged on all sides by the *Normans*, and full of factions and troubles. The Counts and Dukes, who now more than ever look'd upon themselves as little Sovereigns, made war upon one another with impunity, fill'd all places with murders, and committed most horrid devastations upon the lands of their enemies.

Abbo l. 2.

Annal. Metzenses.

Rodolph, who had fortified himself in *Transjuran Burgundy*, took upon him the title of King. It does not appear that *Eudes* oppos'd him in this, either for want of power, or because *Rodolph* was his nephew; but *Arnulph*, King of *Germany*, knowing that he solicited under hand the Lords and Bishops of *Lorain* to put themselves under his government, march'd with a great number of forces to attack him. *Rodolph* was not in a condition to keep the field before so powerful an enemy; but he made good use of the mountains, of which his dominions were full. *Arnulph* could never force him from thence, and at last a peace was struck up.

AR. 888.

What made *Arnulph* more easily come into it, was the design he had upon *Italy*, whither he march'd this same year with an army. He found there the Duke of *Friuli* beaten by the Duke of *Spoletto*; and whether it was that he did not see peoples minds dispos'd to acknowledge him for King, or whether some other affairs call'd him back, he only lent a helping hand to the weakest of the two rivals, hoping in time they would destroy one another; and so he came back into *Germany*.

Luitprand. l. i.

Eudes

Eudes in the mean time had the *Normans* upon his hands, and that on all sides, as well in *Aquitain* as upon the *Marne*, and upon the river of *Aisne*. It was against these last that he turn'd his arms, and did an action which signaliz'd the beginning of his reign, and contributed very much to establish him.

An. 888.



Abbo 1. 2.

An army of ten thousand *Normans* being got into the narrow lanes near the town of *Montfaucon*, he came out of a wood, where he was laid in ambuscade with a thousand horse, and charged them with so much courage and conduct, that he entirely routed them. This action happened on St. *John Baptist's* day, in the first year of his reign.

Eudes de-
feats the
Normans.

An. 888.

But in the mean while some other *Normans* sack'd the city of *Meaux*, and did not retire till they had rais'd a large sum of money upon the country lying upon the river *Marne*. From thence they went into *Cotentin*, where they sat down and besieged St. *Lo*, which they destroy'd, whilst other troops of the same nation laid waste the countries upon the *Somme*, the *Meuse*, and the *Schelde*, and the parts adjacent to the towns near which they pass'd.

Chiron. de
Norm. gestis
ad an. 839.
890.

The King of *Germany* seeing them coming towards the lower *Lorain*, advanc'd on that side, and *Eudes* on the side of *France* in order to hem them in; but few of them fell into their hands. They only receiv'd some loss near *Amiens*, and gain'd a great advantage over the *French* troops in the *Vermandois*. History just mentions likewise the destruction of the cities of *Troye*, *Toul* and *Verdun* by the troops of that nation, as well as a second and third siege of *Paris*, in which they did not succeed.

Those who had taken St. *Lo* in *Cotentin*, carried their arms into *Britanny*, where the Dukes *Alan* and *Judicael*, who had divided that duchy between them, were continually warring against each other. However it was necessary for them to unite against this common enemy. They took the field, and *Judicael* having march'd first, beat the *Normans*; but as he was endeavouring to storm a town, into which a large number of the conquered were retreated, he was slain. Duke *Alan* pursued them; and having attack'd a body of fifteen thousand men, he gain'd so great a victory, that scarce could four hundred of the enemy get to their fleet and save themselves

But

An. 892.



But defeating an army of this nation seem'd to be like cutting the *Hydra's* head off. The same fleet that carried back the remains of the two battles in *Britanny* to *Denmark* or *Norway*, brought again into the Low-countrys some months after much larger numbers of troops to ravage the kingdom of *Lorain*.

Annal. Me-
tenses ad
an. 891.

The King of *Germany* sent his soldiers to the defence of this country; but one of his generals was surpriz'd near *Aix-la-Chappelle*, and routed. The *German* army was also beaten some days after near a place called *Gulia* by our historian; but towards the end of the campaign the King of *Germany* storm'd the *Norman* camp upon the river *Dyle* in *Brabant*, and made the greatest havock and slaughter among them that had been seen for a long time.

Annal. Me-
tenses ad
an. 892.

In the mean while a revolution happen'd in *France*. Several Lords revolted, and resolv'd to place young *Charles*, son of *Lewis* the *Stammerer*, upon the throne. He was then in the thirteenth year of his age. Count *Valgaire*, tho' a relation of *Eudes*, set up the first standard in this revolt: but it cost him his life, for *Eudes* came up without delay, oblig'd him to shut himself up in *Laon*, storm'd the place, took him prisoner, and had his head cut off.

Another Lord, called *Eble*, rais'd likewise part of *Aquitain* in *Charles's* favour. *Eudes* march'd thither; but scarce had he taken measures to bring this country to obedience, before he was oblig'd to return into *Neustria*, where a great number of Lords, and among the rest *Herbert*, Count of *Vermendois*, one of the most powerful, and *Foulk*, Archbishop of *Rheims*, had not only taken up arms, but likewise proclaimed the young Prince King of *France*. He was crown'd at *Rheims* by the Archbishop, and all that part of *France* acknowledged him for their Sovereign. So that for the future I shall give him the title of King.



EUDES and CHARLES *the SIMPLE*
reigning in France.

EUDES upon this news repass'd the *Loire* in all haste, and appear'd in *Champaign* much sooner than was expected. This speedy diligence of his disconcerted the young King's party, and dispersed it, and he was obliged to beg protection of the King of *Germany*.

It would be a decisive stroke either for *Eudes* or for *Charles* to get that Prince into their interest. *Foulk*, Archbishop of *Rheims*, who, by reason of his noble birth, as well as for the great number of his vassals, was at the head of *Charles's* party, pleaded strongly in his favour to the King of *Germany*, representing to him that he was the lawful heir to the crown, the only one remaining in *France* of the male line of *Charlemagne*, and that the cause of his being excluded from the throne for some time, which was his age, now subsisted no longer.

Ep. Fulcon.
ap. Flodoard.
l. 4.

Eudes on his side remonstrated to the King of *Germany*, that he had been recognized King by the consent of all the nation, that he himself had approv'd of his election, and that the treaties which they had made together oblig'd him to support him, or at least not to declare against him: but this Prince was irresolute, and sometimes seem'd to incline to *Charles's* side, and sometimes to that of *Eudes*.

After all, the latter, who knew *Arnulph's* projects upon *Italy*, and the uneasiness in which he was kept by the people of *Germany* his tributaries, who were always ready to revolt, saw well enough that he would make no strong attempts in favour of *Charles*. For which reason he resolv'd to drill on time, and came up to the river *Aisne* to keep at a bay the troops which *Charles* had newly rais'd, and the *German* ones which *Arnulph* had sent to that young Prince. He avoided fighting, and his only care was to hinder *Charles* from proceeding any farther.

Annal. Me-
tenfes.

What he foresaw came to pass. The *German* troops, and the others which *Charles* had with him, were

An. 894. were tired with this doing of nothing, and desired *Charles* to discharge them, since there was no hopes of deciding the difference by a battle. He could not help granting what would have been refus'd them in vain. *Charles* retir'd into *Burgundy* with a very small retinue; and *Eudes* seeing the enemy's army broken up, went directly to *Paris*.

Arnulph in the mean time was got into *Italy*, where he had made himself master of the greatest part of *Lombardy*; and being secure of *Milan*, he went no farther. He return'd into *Germany*, where he found *Hermengarda*, who waited for him at the Monastery of *Lauresheim*. She had gotten her son *Lewis* crown'd King of *Provence*, as successor to *Boson* his father in the dominions which he had usurp'd from the crown of *France*. She offer'd the King of *Germany* to lend him her son's troops against *Rodolph*, King of *Transjuran Burgundy*, provided that the towns they took from that Prince should be united to the kingdom of *Provence*. *Arnulph* accepted of the offer, but *Rodolph* defended himself so well, that *Lewis* could not take any place from him.

An. 895. In the year 895. *Eudes* came to *Arnulph* at *Wormes*, where he held a diet, and managed his point so well as to engage him to abandon the protection of *Charles*. But it appeared by the sequel that he promis'd him at that time what he had no intention to perform; for *Zuentibold*, this Prince's natural son, made afterwards King of *Lorain* by his father, came with an army to assist *Charles*, and besieged *Laon*, which he could not take.

Annal. Metzenses.
Luitp. l. 1.
c. 8.

It was about this time that *Arnulph* being call'd to *Rome* by Pope *Formosus*, to whom the *Roman* Lords gave a great deal of trouble, went thither with an army, took the city, and had himself crown'd Emperor.

Annal. Fuldenfes ad
an. 896.

In the mean while the affairs of *France* grew worse and worse. The *Normans* renew'd their ravages under the command of *Rollo*, a great captain, whom we shall often have occasion to mention in the course of this history. They entred by the *Seine*, and afterwards went up the river *Oise*; and then dividing, they spread themselves likewise in *Aquitain*.

Chron. de
geis Norm.

Ep. Fulcon.
ap. Flod.
l. 4.

All these confusions, and the continual revolts which happened sometimes on one side, and sometimes

times on another, and the resolution which Charles An. 896
was just upon the point of taking, of making an alliance with the Normans, oblig'd Eudes to hearken to the counsel of those who advis'd him to an accommodation, and to divide the kingdom with that young Prince. France, from the Seine to the Pyrenean mountains, remain'd to him, and he yielded to Charles all the rest, acknowledging him at the same time for his Sovereign, with regard to the part which he reserv'd for himself.

France divided between Charles and Eudes.

After this peace France began to breath again. Eudes An. 897.
died in a little more than a year after it was made at la Fere upon the third of January, in the year 898, which was the tenth of a very troublesome reign; An. 898.
but which probably would have been more happy for the people, and more easy to him, if times and circumstances would have permitted him to have made use of the great talents which nature had given him for government.

He left a son behind him named Arnulph, whom some people proclaimed King; but he died shortly after, which made the French Lords recognize Charles as King of all France. And thus the crown was restor'd to Charlemagne's family.

Vita Sancti Censuli.

CHARLES the SIMPLE.

OUR historians have never been less exact in An. 898.
the detail of great events, than in their accounts of this reign, especially of the first twelve years of it, that is to the year 910 and 911.

Foulk, Archbishop of Rheims, Richard, Duke of Burgundy, Herbert, Count of Vermandois, and Robert, brother to the late King Eudes, seem to have been at that time the most powerful Lords of the kingdom. Robert in process of time signaliz'd his ambition, which he kept hid with great care, and Herbert his treachery. The first by robbing his Sovereign of the crown, and the second by betraying that Prince in the most unworthy manner.

An. 898. The first memorable thing in *Charles's* reign was the cession he made to the *Normans* of that part of the kingdom of *Neustria*, which was afterwards call'd *Normandy* from their name. This cession was made upon the occasion, and in the manner I am going to relate.

Rollo, the best general the *Normans* had ever yet had at their head, had already ravaged *France* in divers parts, and kept it in continual alarms by the troops which he march'd or detach'd sometimes towards one province, and sometimes towards another. And tho' he had been beaten and repuls'd in several skirmishes, as at *Tours* and at *Chartres*, which he could not take, yet he was become so formidable, that his ever being sent out of the kingdom was quite despair'd of.

Dudo. l. 2.

Deputations from the people came from all sides to the King, desiring him to buy peace of *Rollo* at any rate. Upon this the *French* Lords met together, and in that assembly it was resolved to treat with this general.

He had made himself master of *Rouen* some time before, and *Franco*, Archbishop of that city, had found the way to get his favour. They made use of this Prelate for the negotiation; and, as they knew by his means that *Rollo's* design was to establish himself in *France*, and that it would be in vain to treat, if the article of his settlement was not part of the treaty, the Archbishop was commission'd to make *Rollo* the three following proposals.

The first, that they would yield to him all that part of *Neustria* as far as the sea, which lay North of the *Seine*, taking it from the river *Andelle* to three leagues above *Rouen*, and from the river *Epte*, which runs thro' *Gournay*, *Gisors*, and *St. Clair* (this is that part of *Vexin*, which is call'd at this day *Norman Vexin*) and more than this the country beyond the *Seine*, which was of a much larger extent, for it comprehended all that lay between *Maine*, *Britanny*, and the ocean.

The second proposition was relating to the Princess *Gisela* the King's daughter, whom this Prince offer'd to *Rollo* in marriage; and the third, that he should turn Christian.

Rollo signified to the Archbishop, that he liked the propositions; and when he laid them before his army, they were receiv'd with great applause. A truce of three months was immediately agreed upon, during which time things might be more particularly regulated. An. 898.

Some days after, the King and *Rollo*, each with his army, met at *St. Clair* upon the river *Epte*, where the treaty was sign'd; and another very important article was added there, without which *Rollo* would never have consented, which was, that he should have *Britanny* for some time, by reason that *Neustria* being entirely ruin'd, he must have a country from whence he might get provisions, till the peace had put that, the possession of which was granted him, into a condition of furnishing him.

Duke *Robert*, who from that time entred upon great designs, omitted nothing to gain the affection of this new Prince. He gave him to understand, that he was oblig'd to him for the cession of *Britanny*, which was true; and to make the union between them more close and secure, he desir'd him to allow him to be his sponsor at baptism, to which *Rollo*, who was rejoic'd to have a friend so powerful as *Robert* was, at the court of *France*, readily consented. Dudo loc. cit.

This grand affair was finish'd about the end of the year 911. and shortly after the country yielded to *Rollo* began to bear the name of *Normandy* because of its new inhabitants, as it is call'd at this day. An. 911.
Cession of
part of Neu-
stria to the
Normans.

In the beginning of the next year he was baptiz'd. Duke *Robert* gave him his name at the baptismal font. And after this *Rollo* is commonly call'd in our histories *Robert I. Duke of Normandy*. Almost all his army follow'd his example, and the officers and soldiers were baptiz'd. An. 912.

The ceremony of baptism was soon follow'd by that of the marriage of the Princess *Gisela*, which was as it were the band of peace between the two nations: and the new Duke apply'd himself entirely to govern his dominions according to the laws which he made; And he succeeded so well in this, that he was look'd upon to be as great a politician as a general. I must now dispatch in a few words the things that relate to *Charlemagne's* family, which we are going to see extinc

An. 912. *tinged in Germany and Italy, and subsist no longer any where but in the French branch.*

Death of the
Emperor
Arnulph.

Annal. Me-
tenfes.

Duchefne
T. 2. p. 585.

Death of
Lewis King
of Germany.

Male line of
Charlemagne
extinct in
Germany.

The Emperor *Arnulph* died three years after he had receiv'd the *Imperial* crown. He left two sons behind him, *Zuentibold*, who was a bastard, and whom he had made King of *Lorain*, and *Lewis* seven years old, who was legitimate and was crown'd King of *Germany*. The people of *Lorain*, to whom *Zuentibold* had made himself odious by his rugged usage and oppression, put themselves under the dominion of the King of *France*, but he was not in a condition to maintain his right. *Zuentibold* subdued the people of *Lorain*, and was kill'd some time after in a battle with the partisans of his brother, who added the kingdom of *Lorain* to that of *Germany*. He had even the title of King of the *Romans*, as we may see by his epitaph. This young Prince, after a reign very much disturb'd by civil wars, died the same year that the peace was concluded between the King of *France* and the *Normans*; and as he left no male issue behind him, the Lords of *Germany* proceeded to the election of a King of another family, who was *Conrad* Duke of *Franconia*. So that the male line of *Charlemagne* was extinct in *Germany*.

And thus there being no longer any *French* Prince upon the throne, either beyond the *Alps* or beyond the *Rhine*, this history will for the future be confin'd to the affairs of *France*.

As to the kingdom of *Arles* or *Provence*, *Lewis* son of the usurper *Boson* disputed some time the kingdom of *Italy* with various success. However he carried his point so far as to be crown'd Emperor, but four months after he fell into the hands of his enemy, who had his eyes put out, and he died probably under this punishment, at least there is no more mention made of him in history from that time. Only some time after we meet with *Charles Constantine* his son with nothing but the title of Lord of *Vienne*, and *Hugh* son of *Thibaud* Count of *Arles* with the title of King. So that the usurpation of *Boson* did not descend in his family as far as the second generation; and this *Hugh* whom I just mention'd, having resign'd his dominions in the year 926 to *Rodolph II*, King of *Transjuran Burgundy*, this kingdom of *Arles* did not continue

in

in all but about 47 years. I return now to *Charles An. 912.*
the Simple. He got an equivalent for the cession of *Normandy* by the acquisition of the kingdom of *Lo-*
rain, to which the Lords of the country call'd him
 as soon as they heard of the death of *Lewis* King of
Germany; but the untowardness of his subjects plung'd
 him soon again into greater misfortunes than those he
 had hitherto met with.

The favour of one *Hagano*, a man of a mean birth,
 whom he had made his minister of state, was the pre-
 tence for their revolt, which they carried so far as to
 come to a resolution of putting themselves under the
 dominion of a new master. The thing was almost
 concluded at *Soissons*, where several disaffected Lords
 were assembled: but a Count nam'd *Hugh*, who was
 strongly in the King's interest without letting it appear,
 suspended the execution of it for some time, and re-
 concil'd the King to the Lords, upon condition that
 he would banish *Hagano* from court. The exile of
 this minister depriv'd the King of the only man he
 could depend upon to be inform'd of the intrigues of
 the factious, but it did not make them abandon their
 criminal designs. This determin'd the King to recall *Hagano* that he might be near his person.

Flod. Chr. 22
 an. 922.

Duke *Robert*, who was at the head of the rebels,
 made use of this to rekindle them, and took the field
 with them. The King, who had recover'd several
 Lords to his side, and among others *Herbert* Count
 of *Vermandois* one of the most powerful, found him-
 self able to oppose him. There were several attempts
 on both sides with various success; but Duke *Robert*
 by the correspondence he had with the King's army,
 debauch'd the greatest part of his troops, who desert-
 ed, and the Count of *Vermandois*, so famous in our
 history for his perfidiousness, left him and join'd the
 rebels.

They waited for nothing but this treachery of the
 Count to proceed to the last extremities. They met
 together, declar'd *Charles* unworthy to be their King,
 and rais'd Duke *Robert* to the throne. They carried
 him as it were in triumph to *Rheims*, where he was
 crown'd King on the thirtieth day of *June* in the
 year 922. But Archbishop *Hervé* had no time to
 taste the fruits of his infidelity, for he died three days
 after.

Ibid. ad an.
 922.
 Robert usur-
 per of the
 crown.

Charles

An. 922. *Charles* had no assistance left but what came from the Lords of *Aquitain*, who for the most part continued faithful to him, and rais'd an army for him, with which he took the field the next year, and march'd up to *Robert* as far as *Soissons*, where a bloody battle was fought. The King and the usurper signaliz'd their courage upon this occasion; but *Robert* was kill'd, according to some historians, by Count *Fulbert*, who carried the royal standard, and according to others by the King himself with his lance which he darted in his mouth.

Death of
Robert.
Chr. Magd.
Chr. S. Med.
Chr. Flod. ad
an. 923.

Of whatever importance the death of the chief might be to the success of the battle, it did not however give the victory to the King's side. *Hugh* the *White*, thus nam'd because of the whiteness of his countenance, and call'd likewise *Hugh* the *Great* upon the account of his high stature, *Robert's* son, reanimated the troops; and charg'd the King's army so briskly, that he quite routed it, and oblig'd the King himself to betake him to flight.

Under this new disgrace, he had recourse to the Duke of *Normandy*, *William* call'd *Long-Sword*, son and successor to Duke *Rollo* or *Robert*, who had been dead some time. This Prince promis'd to assist him with all his forces; but the rebels took such good measures, that it was impossible for *Charles* and the *Normans* to join together. So that after several attempts in vain, the King was oblig'd to retreat beyond the *Meuse*, where he had still some small weak remains of his party.

As soon as the rebel Lords had receiv'd advice of his retreat, they consider'd upon putting themselves under the dominion of a new King. They offer'd the crown to *Hugh* the *Great*, *Robert's* son, who would not accept of it, but procured it for *Raoul* or *Rodolph* Duke of *Burgundy*, who had married his sister and was *Robert's* son-in-law. We must not here confound this *Rodolph*, as some of our historians have done, with *Rodolph* King of *Transjuran Burgundy*.

Herbert Count of *Vermandois* help'd also very much to secure the crown to *Rodolph*, but it was by a piece of conduct as base and unworthy of a man of his rank and blood, as that of *Hugh* the *Great* had been generous and handsome. For having given *Charles* to under-

Raoul Usur-
per.

understand, that he intended to declare for him, he An. 923.
persuaded him to come into his county of *Vermandois*; and having gotten him within *St. Quintin*, he seiz'd him and shut him up in a prison at *Chateau-Thierry*.

As this imprisonment of *Charles* ended in his death, and as *Rodolph* always possess'd the kingdom without any body's disputing it with him, he is plac'd in our history in the number of our Kings, and the years of his reign are begun to be reckon'd from the year 923. An. 923.
in which all these things happen'd. There appear'd no more among the *French* any remains of *Charles's* party: and Queen *Ogiva* his second wife, who was daughter to *Edward* King of *England*, made her escape into her father's kingdom with the little Prince *Lewis* her son, who was but three years of age.

RAOUL or RODOLPH reigning in France.

WE have hardly met with a reign more full of troubles and disturbances than this of *Rodolph*. He was almost always in war, always in action, always negotiating treaties. He had something to do with *Henry* King of *Germany*, who sometimes under pretence of the dethron'd King being oppress'd, sometimes out of a desire of getting again in possession of the kingdom of *Lorain*, proclaim'd war against him or threatned to do it. *William* Duke of *Aquitain* would not at first acknowledge him for King of *France*. The Duke of *Normandy*, to whom King *Charles* for the sake of his assistance had promis'd to grant some new lands, would not let the raising of *Rodolph* to the throne take off the hopes he had conceiv'd of increasing his dominions. And lastly, *Herbert* Count of *Vermandois*, who had the King in his power, and would never let him go out of his hands, kept the usurper always in uneasiness, and demanded large rewards of him for his treason.

The first enemies that *Rodolph* had to oppose, were the *Normans*, as well those who were settled in *Normandy*,

An. 924. *mandy*, as those belonging to general *Reynold*, who was arriv'd from the *North* some time before. They had just ravag'd the country lying upon the river *Oise*, and afterwards *Artois*; but they were beaten every where.

Flod. Chr. ad an. 923.

A truce was agreed on, and afterwards a peace which did not last long, and the *Normans* renew'd their hostilities. *Rodolph* made a diversion on the side of *Bayeux*: There were several skirmishes between the two parties; but at last peace was made again with the *Normans*, who had money given them, and the Count of *Vermandois* got the Archbishoprick of *Rheims* for his son, who was only five years of age, in recompence for the services he had done *Rodolph* in this war, there being a good understanding between them at this time.

But the war that *Henry* King of *Germany* declar'd against *Rodolph* for the kingdom of *Lorain* cost him dearer; for that Prince, after some endeavours, which did not succeed very well at first, together with force of arms made use of promises and presents to gain the Lords of *Lorain*, and he manag'd so well, that at last almost all the kingdom submitted to the crown of *Germany*.

An. 924,
& 925.

As to *William* Duke of *Aquitain*, *Rodolph* took the opportunity of a truce of three months, which he had made with *Henry* King of *Germany* and the *Normans*, to go and reduce him to obedience. This expedition was over in a few days. *William* paid him homage, but it was upon condition that *Rodolph* should re-unite to the duchy of *Aquitain* *Bourges* and its dependencies, which he had caus'd to be dismembred from it whilst *Charles* the *Simple* was upon the throne. But the greatest piece of uneasiness that *Rodolph* had hitherto had, came from *Herbert* Count of *Vermandois*. This man, who was as ambitious as he was knavish, thought that *Rodolph* could never reward him enough for the treason he had committed in his favour against the King his lawful master. Not content with the share that *Rodolph* allow'd him in all business, and with the large estates which he had added to his county, he demanded of him for his son *Odo* or *Eudes* the county of *Laon* vacant by the death of Count *Rotgaire*. *Rodolph* refus'd him, and gave it to one of the sons of the deceas'd Count.

Herbert

An. 927.



Herbert being angry at this refusal resolv'd to revolt; but before he did so, he took measures to be well supported. He got *Hugh the Great* over to his side, treated with the King of *Germany*, who promis'd him assistance, and afterwards with *William Duke of Normandy*, to whom he gave his daughter in marriage; and to engage these two Princes to second him the more readily, he told them his design was to restore King *Charles* to the throne.

As soon as he was secure of these powerful allies, he pull'd off the mask, and march'd to *Laon* to seize it, but was prevented by the troops which *Rodolph* sent thither. Having mist his blow, he went to *Chateau-Thierry* where he kept King *Charles* a prisoner, and told him that he came with a resolution to restore him to the throne. This Prince agreeably surpriz'd at so unexpected a change of fortune, willingly forgot all the perfidiousness and treachery of the Count, and promis'd him the greatest rewards.

This blow confounded *Rodolph*, who apprehending a sudden revolution, went in all haste into *Burgundy* to raise an army there. *Herbert* did the same on his side, and having join'd the Duke of *Normandy* at the city of *Eu*, both of them did homage there to the King for their dominions. The Duke sign'd a treaty of alliance with the King and *Herbert*, and then great part of what was call'd the country of *France* declar'd openly for *Charles*.

An. 928.

The two armies were in the field, and ready to engage upon the banks of the river *Oise*, when *Hugh the Great*, whom *Rodolph* had gain'd again to his side, came and offer'd his mediation to the two chiefs. They accepted of it, and agreed upon time and place to come to an accommodation in the presence of *Hugh*.

In the mean while *Charles's* faithful servants had taken heart again, and in secret set other springs on work to promote his restoration. They apply'd to Pope *John X.* and represented to him how unworthily their Prince was treated, and the Pope wrote a very smart letter to *Herbert* upon this occasion, threatening him even with excommunication if he kept the King a prisoner any longer.

An. 928. *Herbert*, who was disturb'd at this letter, came to *Rheims* with *Charles*. He wrote back to the Pope, that he labour'd with all his might for the service of that Prince, and that it was not his fault he was not immediately restor'd. But this did not hinder him from continuing to treat with *Rodolph*, and at last the agreement was concluded. *Rodolph*, who was resolv'd to make it at any rate whatever, gave *Herbert* the county of *Laon*, which had been the occasion of the quarrel.

This was all that *Herbert* aim'd at when he pretended to support the interest of the dethron'd King. Unhappily for this Prince, Pope *John* was himself at this time driven from the pontifical See, and *Herbert* by that deliver'd from the fear of excommunication. He went with *Hugh the Great* to meet *Rodolph*, paid him new homage for his dominions, and put the King again in prison.

The King of *Germany* did not trouble himself at all with the promise that *Herbert* had given him of restoring *Charles* to the throne. The Duke of *Normandy* indeed was not so easy at this breach of faith, but a man must have a great deal of generosity to support an unfortunate and abandon'd Prince without any other interest. The Duke did not think he was oblig'd to expose himself to a dangerous war for *Charles's* restoration. Some time after, *Rodolph* granted this Prince the revenues of the royal palace of *Attigni* upon the river *Aisne*, and this was done probably to give some degree of satisfaction to the Duke of *Normandy*.

An. 929.

Æthelstan King of *England*, upon the hopes of *Charles's* restoration, had already sent back into *France* Prince *Lewis* his nephew and this Prince's son, after having provided against his falling into the hands of his father's enemies; but as soon as he heard the news of the accommodation between *Herbert* and *Rodolph*, he sent for him over sea again.

Death of
Charles the
Simple.

Charles did not long enjoy the small alleviation of his captivity, for he died some months after at *Peronne* where he was then in prison. The surname of *Simple* which was given this King, sufficiently shews his character, and points out the cause of his misfortunes.

By his death *Rodolph* was deliver'd from a great deal of uneasiness, and from a competitor who tho' not very dangerous in himself, yet was always to be fear'd as long as he was in the hands of the Count of *Vermandois*. Being freed from this incumbrance, he acted with more liberty and authority. He made a terrible slaughter among the *Normans* upon the *Loire*, and the descents of the pyrates of that nation were less frequent in his reign afterwards. He oblig'd the people of *Gascony* and *Provence* to give him homage, a duty which many of them had for some years neglected to pay as much as they could. An. 929.

He took some pains to put an end to the private wars, which the Lords made upon one another; the beginning of which as it appears to me may be fix'd to the reign of *Charles the Simple*. The infeoffed Lords look'd upon it afterwards under the third race of our Kings as a right and prerogative of their fiefs, to have this power of making war upon their neighbours; and our Kings for several ages endeavour'd in vain to abolish this pernicious custom. An. 930.

The Count of *Vermandois* revolted again against *Rodolph*, and engag'd on his side *Arnulph* Count of *Flanders*, the King of *Germany*, and *Gilbert* Duke of *Lorain* that Prince's *Vassal*, but it was to his disadvantage. *Rodolph* took several places from him and among others *Rheims*, of which city he caus'd *Artald*, a Monk of the abbey of *St. Remy*, to be elected Archbishop in the room of *Herbert's* son, who had been nam'd to that Archbishoprick six years before, and was now but in the eleventh year of his age. This affair was the occasion of a great deal of trouble and confusion afterwards. The revolt of the Count of *Vermandois* continued four years longer, being from time to time interrupted by several truces. It was put an end to by the mediation of *Henry* King of *Germany* and *Rodolph* II. King of *Transjuran Burgundy*; and some of the towns which had been taken from *Herbert* were given to him again. An. 931.

Rodolph died the year after upon the fifteenth of *January*, or according to others upon the eleventh of *July*, without leaving any male children. The continual wars maintain'd generally with success; almost all the vassals of the crown, the most powerful and the most distant from the centre of the government, An. 932.

In Manusc.
psalt. Emmae
Reginae apud
Mabill. in
Diplom. l. 2.
c. 26.

An. 934.

An. 935.

An. 936. oblig'd to acknowledge him for their sovereign; a reign of thirty years upon an usurped throne, which he kept possession of to the end of his life; *France* in peace, notwithstanding so many uneasy turbulent spirits, who had been accusom'd to independency: all these things are most certain evidences of his prudence, his courage, his resolution, and that noble genius which makes great men and heroes. So that tho' we must necessarily blame his ambition and usurpation, yet we cannot help placing him in the number of the most illustrious Princes, who have ever govern'd the *French* monarchy.

Death of
Raoul or Ro-
dolph the
usurper.

As soon as *Rodolph's* death was known in *England*, Queen *Ogiva*, *Charles the Simple's* wife and *Lewis* her son, who had retir'd thither, set the partisans whom they had still in *France* on work to get the crown to return into *Charlemagne's* house. *Aethelstan* King of *England*, the Queen's brother and uncle to Prince *Lewis*, engag'd *William* Duke of *Normandy* to use his good offices with *Hugh the Great* and the Count of *Vermandois* in favour of this young Prince. He succeeded in it; and *Hugh the Great*, who as *Robert's* son, who had born the title of King of *France*, and by his great power and merit might have pretended to the throne to the exclusion of every one else, yet upon this occasion prefer'd the honour of disposing of a crown before that of possessing one: and in an assembly of Lords he got it concluded, that Prince *Lewis* should be recall'd and plac'd upon the throne of his ancestors.

Flod. Chr.
ad an. 936.

Return of
Lewis Ultra-
marine son of
Charles the
Simple.

Upon this ambassadors were sent into *England*, one of whom was *William* Archbishop of *Sens*. The Prince was brought back into *France*. He landed at the port of *Bologne*, and was receiv'd at his coming out of the ship by *Hugh the Great* at the head of the *French* Lords, who swore allegiance to him upon the spot: From thence they conducted him to *Laon*, where he was crown'd and anointed by the hands of *Artald* Archbishop of *Rheims* in the presence of twenty Bishops and a great number of Lords at the end of *June* An. 936. in the year 936.

LEWIS IV. *surnam'd* ULTRA-MARINE.

LEWIS the fourth of that name, commonly call'd *Lewis Ultra-marine*, because he return'd from *England* into *France* to ascend the throne by right of birth, was but sixteen years old when he was recogniz'd King after thirteen years of banishment. Queen *Ogiva* his mother remain'd in *England*, and he was deliver'd up alone to the discretion or rather the caprice of the great ones, who let him exercise no greater a degree of absolute government, than his last predecessors of the house of *Charlemagne*.

As *Hugh the Great* was the person to whom he was most oblig'd for his crown, and as this Lord in quality of Duke of *France* was the most powerful in the kingdom, he relied upon him and made him his minister of state. And during the remainder of this year *Hugh* had even the title of governor to the King because of this Prince's youth.

They march'd together with some troops into the duchy of *Burgundy*, where *Hugh* surnam'd the *Black*, brother to the late King *Rodolph*, seem'd to have a mind to set up a government of his own, and make himself independent; but as soon as the army drew near, *Burgundy* submitted, and *Hugh the Black* obtain'd peace upon condition that he should divide *Burgundy* with *Hugh the Great*.

The more the power of this Lord increas'd, the more it seem'd necessary to keep fair with him: but some time after the King did a very bold action for a Prince of his age. He declar'd he would no longer be treated as a pupil, nor continue under the government of *Hugh the Great*, and he sent for Queen *Ogiva* his mother from *England* to assist him with her advice.

This resolution was worthy of the young King, but it cost him dear by the troubles which it occasion'd in his dominions. *Hugh* look'd upon himself as disgrac'd; but without much minding that, his only design was to make himself be fear'd. He made a league with the Count of *Vermandois*, who was always ready to rebel against his sovereign, and who had a particu-

Ibid. ad. an.
937.

League of the
great ones
against the
King.

An. 937. lar reason for discontent; which was that the King supported *Artald* Archbishop of *Rheims*, who was put in the place of *Hugh* the Count's son, the election of whom to that Archbishoprick, when he was but five years old, was entirely against the canons.

The Count was first in the field, and by private management took *Chateau-Thierry*, which he had lost in his preceding rebellions.

The King was under a necessity of coming to an accommodation with *Hugh* the Great, who was afterwards *Herbert's* mediator to restore him to the good graces of his Sovereign, but that did not continue. The new enterprises of this Count oblig'd the King to take up arms again. He took *Laon*, and gave that county to *Odo*, *Herbert's* son, who had left his father, and join'd his army; but upon some suspicion he had of him he took it from him shortly after.

Hugh the Great, regain'd by *Herbert*, made a new league with him. *Gilbert*, Duke of *Lorain* join'd them. *Herbert* engag'd the Duke of *Normandy* his son-in-law in his quarrel, and *Hugh* the Great, whose wife, sister to the King of *England*, was dead, having demanded the daughter of *Otho*, King of *Germany*, in marriage, obtain'd her, and with her the protection of that Prince against the King.


Ibid. ad an.

939.

An. 939.

Arnulph, Count of *Flanders*, and *Hugh* the Black, Duke of part of *Burgundy*, came to the King's assistance, who being join'd by his other vassals, march'd to meet the enemy. Several Bishops whom he took along with him, excommunicated the Duke of *Normandy* and the Count of *Vermandois* immediately. The Duke, who was a very religious Prince, was struck at this excommunication; and the Count, tho' much less scrupulous, was not without apprehensions of its consequences. This made *Hugh* the Great, who was now afraid of being abandon'd by his allies, propose an accommodation to the King, and a truce was concluded on for some months.

During these transactions, *Gilbert*, Duke of *Lorain*, revolted from the King of *Germany*, and put himself under the dominion of the King of *France*, who march'd to that side, and made himself master of almost all *Alsatia*: but the King of *Germany* having gain'd a great victory over the rebels to his government,

vernment, and *Gilbert*, Duke of *Lorain*, being slain An. 939.
in that battle, he proceeded to reconquer *Lorain*. 

The King was advanced on that side, and had married *Gerburga*, Duke *Gilbert*'s widow, to secure himself the party he had in that country. But as soon as *Otho* appear'd with his troops the people of *Lorain* return'd to him, and he reconquered this duchy in almost as short a time as he had lost it.

He made new alliances with *Hugh* the Great and An. 940.
Herbert. The Duke of *Normandy* came again into the league. *Hugh* and *Herbert* besieged *Rheims*, and made themselves masters of it by the treachery of those whom the King had plac'd there to maintain the siege. Archbishop *Artald*, to save his life and his liberty, was forc'd to surrender his Archbishoprick, and resign it to *Hugh*, *Herbert*'s son, from whom it had been taken for the reasons I mentioned above.

The rebels did not stop here; for *Otho* having entered *France*, and penetrated as far as *Attigni*, they recogniz'd him there for their King, and did homage to him, as did also *Rotgaire*, Count of *Doñay*. *Hugh* the Black was forc'd to do as much out of fear of seeing all his lands ruin'd; and the King was in great danger of being dethron'd as his father was, if *Henry*, *Otho*'s brother, who had been Duke of *Lorain*, had An. 941.
not by his revolt oblig'd that Prince to withdraw his troops out of *France*. This accident produc'd a truce between the two Kings.

The truce was no sooner expired but *Hugh* the Great and the Count of *Vermandois* took the field again and besieged *Laon*. The King march'd to its succour; but being unexpectedly surprized, his army was defeated, and he had like to have been taken himself. *Laon* however defended itself so well, that the enemy was oblig'd to raise the siege.

The King, in the extremity he was in, having none to rely on any longer but the Lords of *Aquitain*, who had always been faithful to him, had recourse to the Pope, who was then *Stephen* the eighth of that name, who sent Bishop *Damasus* into *France* with the title of legate.

This prelate, according to his orders, acted briskly against the rebels in favour of the King, and threatned them with excommunication if they did not lay down their

An. 941. their arms, and if they refus'd to pay their Sovereign the obedience which they owed him.

Dudo. l. 3.
Flod. Chr.
ad an. 942.

These menaces had their effect the more easily, because *Otho*, King of *Germany*, out of generosity and compassion for a young Prince whom he saw in great danger of losing his crown, left the rebels party, and consented to come to a treaty of peace, upon condition that *William*, Duke of *Normandy*, for whom he had a great respect, was the mediator. The Duke willingly took this mediation upon him. He immediately got a truce concluded between the King and the rebels, which was to last from the fifteenth of *September* to the fifteenth of *November*; and afterwards having form'd a plan of the peace, he sent it to the King of *Germany*. The two Kings agreed upon an interview near the mountains of *Voga*. The King of *France* went thither, and was treated by *Otho* with all possible kindness and friendship. The Heads of the rebels came thither likewise, and the accommodation was soon concluded, the King demanding nothing on his side, but that his subjects should renew their oath of allegiance to him; which they did, after the King of *Germany* had releas'd them from that which they had taken to him at *Attigni*.

Herbert agreed willingly enough to the peace, because at the same time that the legate had threatned him with excommunication, the Pope had confirm'd his son in the Archbishoprick of *Rheims*, and sent him the pall.

Guill. Ger-
met, l. 3.

The two Kings parted good friends; and the King of *France*, that he might acknowledge the obligation he lay under to the Duke of *Normandy* for a peace, which was so necessary for him, desired he would stand godfather at *Laon* to the Prince his son, who was born the year before, and was named *Lothaire*.

An. 943.
Dudo. l. 3.

The death of this Duke, who was assassinated some time after by the orders of *Arnulph*, Count of *Flanders*, after a conference held at *Peguigny* upon the river *Somme*, gave occasion to a great many intrigues and motions in *France*. He left *Richard* his son a very young child his successor.

The King express'd a great deal of grief upon this occasion, and going to *Rouen*, he assur'd the *Normans* he would severely revenge their Duke's death; but besides this he had another design, which was to secure the young Duke, and if all circumstances concurr'd, to drive the *Normans* out of *Normandy*. They had some mistrust of the project of taking away the Duke, and there was an insurrection of the people, in which the King run the risk of his life: but he quieted it by the assurances he gave them of his good intentions, and of a speedy vengeance of the late Duke's death. He knew so well how to turn the minds of the *Normans*, that they consented to let him take their Prince and educate him at his own court.

Some time after, the King taking the young Duke along with him, put himself at the head of an army, and advanc'd as far as *Laon*, as if he was going to lay siege to *Arras*, and from thence to ravage all *Flanders*.

Count *Arnulph* left no stone unturn'd to calm this storm. He sent embassadors to the King to clear him from the death of the Duke of *Normandy*; and they did their duty so well, that they not only dissuaded him from making war upon their master, but they reviv'd his first thoughts and hopes of driving the *Normans* out of *France*, by the offer which they made him of all the Count's forces to assist him in the execution of that design. Upon which he found some pretences to suspend the *Flanders*'s expedition, and continued at *Laon*, without going any farther.

Hosmond, governor of the little Prince, div'd into the mystery of this intrigue, and sent advice of it to *Rouen* to the administrators of that duchy who suspected it themselves as soon as they saw the *Flanders* expedition stopt. They were perfectly convinc'd of it, when they heard that endeavours were us'd underhand to gain some *Norman* Lords, and more especially when the King came to *Rouen*, and plac'd a *French* governor there, who was *Herluin*, Count of *Ponthieu*.

The King acted now with the more openness in this affair, as he was seconded in it by *Hugh* the Great, and as he got rid at this time of another man, who might have been the most able of any one to have thwarted

An. 943.

Flod. Chr.

ad an. 943.

An. 943 thwarted his designs, I mean *Herbert*, Count of *Ver-*
mandois, who died this year. When he was dying
 Death of the he was so stung with the treason he had committed
 Count of against *Charles the Simple*, that at every moment he
 Vermandois. sigh'd, and repeated these words: *We were twelve*
who betray'd the King. He left behind him several
 children by his wife, sister to *Hugh the Great*, name-
 ly, *Albert*, Count of *Vermandois*, *Odo* or *Endes*,
 Count of *Ham* and *Chateau-Thierry*, *Robert*, Count
 of *Troye*, *Herbert*, Count of *Meaux*, and *Hugh*,
 Archbishop of *Rheims*.

These Lords gave the King not much less trouble
 than their father had done. He was often
 oblig'd to take up arms against them. *Hugh the*
Great supported them, and afterwards made him-
 self the mediator of peace. But what disconcerted
 the King the most, was the escape of the Duke of
 Dudo l. 3. An. 944. *Normandy*, whom *Hesmond*, his governor, disguis'd
 in the habit of a groom, carried away one evening
 upon his shoulders in a great truss of hay, and con-
 vey'd him to *Coucy*, and from thence to *Senlis* to
 Count *Bernard*, the Duke's uncle by the mother's
 side.

This *Bernard*, Count of *Senlis*, seeing his nephew
 at liberty, concerted measures with another *Bernard*,
 called the *Dane*, to defend themselves against the King.
 They engaged *Hugh the Great* in their design, and a-
 greed together that the *Normans* should seem to be
 very submissive to the King, and that *Hugh* should
 pretend a mighty zeal for his service, till they had
 brought him into some straight, and then they might
 force him to renounce absolutely all his pretensions to
Normandy: and in the mean time *Bernard the Dane*
 sent a man he could trust privately into the North to
 a Prince called *Haigrold*, a relation of Duke *Richard's*,
 desiring him to come with an army to the assistance
 of this Prince.

Haigrold promised to do as he was desir'd. He
 arriv'd some time after with a fleet in the mouth of
 the river *Dive* in the lower *Normandy*, and there
 landed his army. *Bernard the Dane* gave advice of it
 to the King with zealous forwardness, conjuring him
 to come with an army, and put himself at the head
 of the *Norman* Lords against this new enemy. The
 King

King made no delay, but arriv'd a few days after at *An. 944*
Rouen, with the Count of *Ponthieu* and a great number of troops.

Haigrold in concert with those who betray'd the King, propos'd an interview, to lay before him the reasons which made him come into *France*. He consented to it, and came with his army up to the river *Dive*.

The two armies being in sight of each other, the King and *Haigrold* advanc'd between, to confer together: but a quarrel which had been contriv'd by the *Normans*, happening between some soldiers of both parties, and in which the Count of *Ponthieu* was kill'd, the conference broke up.

The surprize of the *French*, who expected nothing so little as to fight, gave the *Normans* a great advantage, and the King's army was soon routed. Unfortunately for this Prince, his horse's bridle was cut in the fight, so that he could not manage him any longer. *Haigrold*, who did not lose sight of him, pursued him and took him prisoner.

The King is made prisoner by the Normans.
Flod. Chr.
ad an. 945.

Some hours after, the guards which were put upon him, being desirous of having a share in pillaging the baggage of the *French* army, rambled too far. He took the opportunity of this moment, mounted one of their horses, and made his escape; but in his flight he was known by a soldier of *Rouen*; and as he had no arms, he was forc'd to surrender himself again to him. The soldier however was gain'd by the large promise which the King made him. The business was to get to *Laon*; but *Bernard* the *Dane* had given such good orders, and plac'd such strong guards at all the passes, that there was no safety in keeping that road. So that the soldier thought he could do nothing better than conduct him as near *Rouen*, whither they would never imagine the King would go, and hide him in an island in the *Seine*, till despairing to find him they should leave off looking for him.

He continued there some time, but I know not how it came to pass, the soldier was suspected. *Bernard* the *Dane* had him taken into custody, seiz'd upon his goods, his wife, children, horses, and all that he had, threatening to confiscate every thing, if he did not discover where the King was hid. The soldier being frightened,

An. 945. ned, confess'd all; and the King was retaken and put in prison again.

He is releas'd out of prison. He was not releas'd from thence till after several negotiations, in which *Hugh the Great* seem'd always to act in concert with the *Normans*. The result was making the King swear, that he yielded anew and confirm'd to *Richard* all that had been yielded to *Rollo* his grandfather. Besides which several lands were granted to him; and it was stipulated, that neither he nor his successors should owe service for all the country to any but God alone. So that all the subjection of the Duke was reduc'd to simple homage. However things were chang'd afterwards as to this particular.

Addit. ad
Guill. Gemet.

When all this was done, *Haigrold* content with having so gloriously re-establish'd his relation, went on board his fleet again, and return'd into *Denmark*.

An. 946. This treaty was not sign'd upon the river *Epte* till the year after the King was deliver'd out of the custody of the *Normans*. The Duke had *Carloman* the King's second son for an hostage, and this little Prince, who was then in his cradle, died in this interval.

What defer'd the conclusion of the treaty, was the treachery of *Hugh the Great*, who had no sooner taken the King out of his prison in *Normandy*, but he put him in another under the guard of *Thibaud* Count of *Chartres*, surnam'd in our histories the *Trickster* or *Cheat*; and this was to oblige this Prince to part with the city of *Laon*, which was almost the only strong place he had in his dominions, with which he kept the Count of *Vermendois* in awe.

Sainte Mar-
the. l. 1. p. 240.

Edmund King of *England* and *Otbo* King of *Germany* were extremely provok'd at this proceeding. The first made powerful instances with *Hugh* for the King's liberty, and the other would not see that Lord, who went as far as *Lorain* to pay his compliments to him. But all this produc'd no effect. The King was forc'd to give up *Laon*; and *Hugh the Great* gave it to the Count of *Chartres*, who according to our genealogists was son to a *Norman* Lord nam'd *Gerlo*, who was related to *Rollo* or *Robert I.* Duke of *Normandy*.

Hitherto *Hugh the Great* had possess'd the first place in *France* without envy, and the great ones look'd upon him as their chief without disturbance; because in labouring

labouring for his own greatness, he took care at the same time of that of his friends: but the violence he had done to the King's person in putting him in prison to make him give up the city of *Laon*, shock'd several of them, and made them fear that he had some higher designs in view, and that he aspir'd to the crown. An. 946.

The marriage of his daughter *Emma*, whom he espous'd to the Duke of *Normandy*, tho' neither of them were marriageable, increas'd this suspicion. The King and the Count of *Flanders* having heard this news, were very much disturb'd at it, and resolv'd to take their measures in concert, the Count against the Duke of *Normandy*, who was his declar'd and personal enemy, and the King against *Hugh the Great*.

They resolv'd to get *Otho* King of *Germany*, into their interest. The Count of *Flanders* took the negotiation upon him. The Queen, *Otho's* sister, wrote pressing letters to him upon this occasion, and the treaty was concluded upon condition that the King of *France* should renounce all his right to the kingdom of *Lorain*, which for a long time had been the subject of difference between the two states.

In a short time after *Otho* pass'd the *Rhine* and entered *France* with an hundred thousand men. The King join'd him with his army near *Cambray*, and they march'd together and besieg'd *Rhiems*, where Archbishop *Hugh*, son of the late Count of *Vermendois* and nephew of *Hugh the Great*, had shut himself up to defend the place; but being frighted at the numerous army which besieg'd it, he surrendred it by capitulation after a siege of three days. Archbishop *Artald*, who had been turn'd out from thence some years before, return'd thither and was re-plac'd in his See by *Robert* Archbishop of *Treves* and *Frederick* Archbishop of *Mentz*. The taking of this place, and the ravaging of the duchy of *France*, and of the county about *Rouen*, were all the consequences of this great armament. Flod. Chr.
ad an. 946.

Otho did not judge it convenient to come into *France* again the next campaign; so there was more equality between the two opposite parties. They both of them made several attempts upon the enemy's fortified places; but they did not succeed, and this made them think of peace. *Otho* was the mediator of it, and a treaty was concluded, which was to last till after a council

was

An. 947. was over, which was call'd at *Verdun* to meet in November, to put an end to the differences between the two Archbishops of *Rheims*, which had been for a long time one of the principal causes of the war.

This council was held, in which *Hugh* son to the Count of *Vermandois* lost his cause; but he did not submit to the sentence, and *Marinus* Bishop of *Dormarzo* sent by Pope *Agapetus* II. consented, according to the advice of several Bishops, that a national council should be assembled.

Flod. Chr.
ad an. 948.

The legate had it in charge, not only to decide the affair of the two Archbishops; but the Pope at the King's desire had likewise order'd him to hear the complaints of this Prince against *Hugh* the Great, and to proceed against that Lord by ecclesiastical censures, if he found him blameable, and if he continued to disturb the kingdom. The council was held at *Ingelheim* near *Mentz*. The two Kings *Lewis* and *Otho* assisted at it. The judgment of the council of *Verdun* given in favour of Archbishop *Artald*, and the depolition of Archbishop *Hugh* were confirm'd. *Hugh* the Great was excommunicated, but the sentence was as yet only comminatory; and immediately after, the King assisted by *Otho's* troops besieg'd *Monson* and afterwards *Montaign*, which were taken by capitulation after a long resistance. Archbishop *Hugh* lately depos'd defended the first, and *Thibaut* Count of *Chartres* the other.

After these two advantages, the Bishops, who with their vassals had contributed a great deal to the taking of *Montaign*, came with their troops before *Laon*; and quitting the helmet to take up the mitre, they assembled in council in a church near the city dedicated to *St. Vincent*. There they excommunicated the Count of *Chartres*, who was in possession of *Laon*, and cited *Hugh* the Great in their own name and in the name of the Pope's legate to come before them and give an account of all that he had done against the King and the Bishops.

Hitherto the King, supported by the Bishops and the Pope and the *Lorain* troops which *Otho* had left him, was the strongest, but the *Lorainers* were tired, and desir'd to be discharg'd, which could not be refus'd them. Then *Hugh* the Great took the field and
laid

laid siege to *Soissons* and afterwards to *Rouci* upon the river *Aisne*. By good fortune he succeeded in neither. This ill success made a great number of gentlemen quit his party; and the legate taking advantage of the occasion began to act with yet more authority and resolution than he had hitherto done. An. 948.

He held a council at *Treves*, where, after having observ'd the usual formalities, he excommunicated *Hugh the Great* as a rebel against his King, and for all the other irregularities of which he had been accus'd. After which he return'd to *Rome*, where the Pope confirm'd all that had been done at *Ingelheim* and *Treves*: he excommunicated *Hugh the Great* over again, and declar'd that this Lord should never have absolution unless he submitted to the King.

Hugh did not surrender for this. The next year a prodigious deal of devastation was committed on both sides. The King and the Count of *Flanders* made themselves masters of the city and castle of *Amiens*. There were some short truces, which were ill observ'd, till at last peace was made by the interposition of the King of *Germany*. It was concluded in the open field upon the river *Maine*. *Hugh the Great*, in the sight of the two armies, paid homage to the King, acknowledg'd him anew for his sovereign, and deliver'd up *Laon* to him. Thus the King return'd into peaceable possession of this place, the loss of which, together with the differences between the two Archbishops of *Rheims*, had been the cause of the last war. Flod. Chr.
ad an. 949.

He made use of the time of peace to go and shew himself in *Aquitain*. There he receiv'd a bare ceremonious homage from most of the Lords, who would not have paid it so willingly, but because he did not disturb them in their usurpations.

One thing which happen'd at this time gave a great deal of vexation to the King, which was this: Queen *Ogiva* his mother, who could not be young, being fallen in love with *Herbert* Count of *Meaux*, got the people belonging to that Count to run away with her from *Laon*, and married him against the will of the King her son. An. 951.

This Prince after having reign'd three years longer, always insulted by *Hugh the Great*, always plagued with a thousand vexations which he could not avoid,

An. 951. and for which he could get no satisfaction, died in the year 954, in *September*, of a fall from his horse which happen'd to him as he was hunting a wolf upon the banks of the river *Aisne*.

The King's death.
Flod. Chr.
ad an. 954.

The condition in which the descendants of *Charlemagne* for above an age found the kingdom at their coming to the crown requir'd a man of that great Emperor's character to settle it and restore order and obedience to it. Some of them had been great Princes enough in a more orderly and quiet realm, and *Lewis Ultra-marine* would not have been one of the least of them. He had courage and policy; but to raise the royal Majesty, debas'd and trampled under foot as it then was, requir'd something more than common abilities. This Prince reign'd but a little above eighteen years, and liv'd but thirty three. He had by Queen *Herberga* two daughters and five sons. Of the five sons three died young. The eldest of the other two, whose name was *Lothaire*, was at the most but between thirteen and fourteen years of age. The youngest nam'd *Charles* was not much above a year old. *Lothaire* succeeded to his father's kingdom, without the younger brother's having any part of it, contrary to the custom which had to this time been commonly observ'd under the first and second race, but which was never after follow'd. The people of *Germany* had already set the *French* the example of this new method, so advantageous to realms and states; for *Otho* succeeded alone to the kingdom of *Henry* his father, and *Henry* his younger brother was oblig'd to be contented with the title of Duke.

Epist. Lud.
Transmar. in
cod. manuscr.
Bibl. Sanger.

Custom of dividing dominions among the children abolish'd.

LOTHAIRE.

An. 954. **H**OWEVER powerful *Hugh the Great* was, and whatever desire he probably had of bringing the crown into his family again, he durst not undertake it. First, because the late King, three years before his death, had wisely taken care to make

Lothaire his eldest son his colleague * in the government, An. 954. and to have him recogniz'd as King of *France*. Secondly, because the Lords beyond the *Loire* were firmly attach'd to the royal house. Thirdly, because the Queen mother *Herberga* was strongly supported by *Otho* King of *Germany* her brother, and by *Bruno* Archbishop of *Cologne* and Duke of *Lorain*, who was also her brother. So that *Hugh* chose rather to preserve to himself the power of a King, than to dispute for the title: and when the Queen-mother sent to him to desire his protection after the death of the King her husband, he promis'd it to her, assuring her he would immediately have *Lothaire* proclaim'd King of *France*.

The ceremony of the coronation was perform'd at *Rheims* upon the twelfth of *November*; and at the same time *Hugh*, as had been promis'd him, was made Duke of *Aquitain*. He was already Duke of *France*, Count of *Paris* and *Orleans*, and Duke of *Burgundy*; and this new duchy, if he had got peaceable possession of it, would have made him master of almost all *France*. But the title of Duke of *Aquitain* was for a long time as it were fix'd to the family of the Counts of *Poitiers*. *William* the second of that name, who was depriv'd of it, resented it strongly and revolted.

Next year *Hugh* carried the King and Queen into *Aquitain* with an army, to make the Lords of the country pay homage to this Prince, and to put himself into possession of the duchy. He besieg'd *Poitiers*, An. 955. which he could not take; but as the Count of *Poitiers* was pursuing him upon his retreat, he turn'd gave him battle, and totally routed him.

He repast the *Loire* however without undertaking any thing; and as he was preparing for a new campaign, he died at *Dourdan* in *June* the next year.

The kingdom by his death lost a great man commendable for his prudence and courage. No one was more easily comforted than the King, and the Queen his mother. He was a heavy yoke upon them, from which they now saw themselves delivered. He left four legitimate sons behind him, namely, *Hugh* surnam'd *Capet*, whom he recommended before he died

Flod. Chr.
ad an. 954.
Lothaire
crown'd King
of *France*.

Death of
Hugh the
Great.
An. 956.

* This association is prov'd by father *Chiflet*, in his history of the abbey of *Tournus*, page 287.

An. 956. to *Richard Duke of Normandy*, who had for his division the county of *Paris* and that of *Orleans*, till in progress of time he became *Duke of France*, and afterwards King.

The second son of *Hugh the Great* was *Otho*, who succeeded him in the duchy of *Burgundy*. The two others were *Eudes* and *Henry*, who, after the death of *Otho*, were likewise successively *Dukes of Burgundy*. As to the government of *Aquitain*, it did not continue in his family, but return'd into that of the Counts of *Poitiers*.

After all, the King gain'd nothing by his death but the advantage of being deliver'd from the fear of seeing himself every day upon the point of being oppress'd. A great number of his vassals had more towns and estates than himself, for he was almost reduc'd to the single city of *Laon*. The only means of re-establishing his power wou'd have been to have seiz'd upon *Hugh's* territories, and have reunited the county of *Paris*, that of *Orleans* and the duchy of *Burgundy* to his crown; but the other Lords of the kingdom would all have oppos'd it. The right of succeeding, which the Kings his predecessors had suffer'd them to usurp, being a common interest, it would not have been safe for him to have struck at it. So that one of his chief employments during his reign was to be the spectator and sometimes the arbiter of many petty wars, often very bloody ones, which all these Counts and Lords were continually making upon one another, and that more frequently now than in the preceding King's reigns, under whom these disorders began. Sometimes they surpriz'd a city, sometimes they made themselves masters of a little town that belonged to their neighbour. Sometimes this neighbour, by way of reprisal, sent whole companies of robbers upon the estates of him who had attack'd him to pillage them. The King himself was insulted in the same manner, and defended himself likewise the same way; and sometimes took part with one and sometimes with the other.

The Lords of a lower rank, and, who were also vassals to the more powerful ones, did the same amongst themselves in proportion to their strength. The historical memoirs of this time are full of these tiresome accounts of private wars. The only use
of


of those memoirs is to give us a lamentable Idea of the government, and to make us guess at the miseries which all these little tyrants brought upon the people in all parts of the kingdom.

What was yet more inconvenient and troublesome to these last Kings of the second race, was, that having very few cities and estates which depended immediately upon themselves, and it being the establish'd custom from the beginning of the monarchy, for the royal armies to be made up of none but troops belonging to the Lords; these Kings lay at their discretion upon this account, and were often forced to buy their assistance at the price of some city or castle that stood conveniently for the vassal whose troops were demanded. These cessions continually diminish'd the crown lands. In this condition we have seen *Lewis Ultra-marine*, and in the same we find *Lothaire* his successor, reduced to have almost no other estate where he was master, except some royal palaces and the city of *Laon*.

In the mean while the Queen-mother *Gerberga*, who was a woman of good abilities, and had great views in her head, was impatient at seeing her son's power confined to so narrow a compass. She considered in good earnest of extending it another way, which would give no jealousy to the *French* Counts and Lords, but would be even a kindness to some of them. It was by getting possession, if she could, of the duchy of *Normandy*, according to the project which the late King had formed.

Her design was not to make open war with Duke *Richard*. She thought of a shorter method, which was to surprize and seize his person. Several traps were laid for him, but he escaped them all. They came to an open war, which was carried on only by ravages on both sides, which continued for several years. They were carried so far, that in some parts of *France* the country people left their habitations, and all their lands were uncultivated.

Some Bishops met in council, and deputed the Bishop of *Chartres* to desire peace of Duke *Richard*, and the King did not oppose it. *Richard* hearken'd to the proposals which were made to him, and the peace was concluded, upon condition that *Evrenx* should be re-

An. 956.  stored to him, which the King had seiz'd upon, and that this Prince should confirm the possession of *Normandy* to him and his successors, agreeably to the other treaties made upon that subject.

The peace was perfectly settled between the two nations and lasted a long while. It was concluded at a good time for the King, who took the advantage of it, and reunited the county of *Flanders* to his dominions upon the occasion I am going to relate.

Arnulph the second of that name, Count of *Flanders*, surnam'd the young, had succeeded his grandfather *Arnold* called the old, before the peace was made between *France* and *Normandy*. The King summoned this young Count to do him homage; it is not said that he refus'd it, but only that he refused to acknowledge the obligation he lay under to furnish the Kings of *France* with troops in time of war. He was desirous of putting himself upon the same foot with the Duke of *Normandy* in this particular; but the King would not suffer it, and he found himself in a condition of forcing him to his duty.

He entered *Flanders* at the head of an army, took *Arras*, *Douay*, and all the fortified places as far as self *Lis*: so that the Count of *Flanders*, finding himself reduced to the last extremity, begg'd a peace. The Duke of *Normandy* interceded for him with the King, and this Prince, out of regard to the Duke, gave him *Arras* again. *Hugh Capet*, son of *Hugh the Great*, was in this expedition. He was much beloved by the King; for tho' he was no less ambitious than his father, as he shewed afterwards, yet he had not his pride and haughtiness; but on the contrary affected to shew all the submission, respect, and affection, that a subject ought to have for his sovereign.

An. 966. The King upon his return from the *Flanders* expedition, went to *Cologne* with Queen *Gerberga* his mother, where they had an interview with *Otho* King of *Germany*, who had been crown'd Emperor some time before. There the King's marriage was concluded with *Emma* daughter of *Lothaire* the Second, King of *Italy*, who had been dead between fourteen and fifteen years; and there the Emperor *Otho* married *Adelaida* for his second wife. This marriage was consummated some months after.

The

The reign of *Lothaire* was afterwards very quiet for several years; and it is one of this Prince's great commendations, that he knew how to preserve tranquillity so long in a kingdom so disturb'd as his had hitherto been. But in the year 976. the differences relating to *Lorain* were the occasion of new wars, the consequences of which were very fatal to the house of *Charlemagne*.

An. 966.

The quiet reign of Lothaire.

Otho the first, King of *Germany* and Emperor, the greatest Prince that had born these two titles ever since *Charlemagne*, died in the year 973. and had for his successor his son *Otho* the second, whom in his life-time he had caused to be crowned King of *Germany* and Emperor. *Bruno*, Archbishop of *Cologne* and Duke of *Lorain*, had a long time before deprived Count *Raynier*, call'd in history *Raynier the long necked*, of the county of *Haynault*, which belonged to the lower *Lorain*.

Longi col.

Lambert and *Raynier*, the two sons of this Count, had fled to the court of *France* for refuge, and waited there for some opportunity of returning into that country, of which two other Lords, *Garnier* and *Raynold*, had been put into possession by Archbishop *Bruno*.

As soon as *Otho* the first was dead, they took the field with some *French* troops; their two competitors met them near *Peronne*, where there was a bloody battle, in which *Garnier* and *Raynold* were defeated and killed. The two brothers enter'd *Haynault*, and plundered all the lower *Lorain*; but without gaining any great conquests, because *Otho* the second came to the assistance of that country. This Prince gave the county of *Haynault* to two other Lords, one of whom was called *Godefroy* and the other *Arnulph*.

Sigeb. Chr. ad an. 974.

Two years after, *Lambert* and *Raynier* returned with a greater number of forces into the county of *Haynault*. *Charles* the King's brother and *Hugh Capet* were at the head of this army. They besieged *Mons*; *Godefroy* and *Arnulph* advanced to succour the place; upon which there was another obstinate battle, in which great numbers were kill'd on both sides. Each party challenged the victory to themselves, but the siege was raised. The war continued, and at last *Lambert* and *Raynier*, supported by *France*, got possession again of the county of *Haynault*.

An. 976.

Chr. Nang.

An. 976. This conquest astonish'd and confounded the Emperor, and made him apprehensive of worse consequences from the tranquillity which *France* enjoyed at that time; in short the King resolv'd in good earnest to reconquer what had been so long called the kingdom of *Lorain*, which had been dismembred from the crown during the civil wars in the last reigns.

Glaber. 1. 1.
c. 3.

The Emperor had a great deal of business upon his hands in *Italy*, where the Counts and Dukes were not very obedient to him. The tributary nations to the kingdom of *Germany* on the side of the *Danube* gave him also much uneasiness by their frequent revolts. If the King of *France* had attack'd him at this juncture, he would have found himself very much embarrassed; for which reason he resolved at any rate whatever to prevent this war, and for that purpose he took a step which was in appearance much against his interest, but which in reality was a very fine stroke of politicks. He offer'd *Charles* the King's brother the duchy of the lower *Lorain*, upon condition that he would pay him homage for it, and hold it as depending upon the crown of *Germany*.

Otho foresaw very well that *Charles*, who had had no share in the succession to the kingdom of *France*, would be tempted at the sight of so handsom a present; that the title of vassal to the kingdom of *Germany* would give him but little disturbance, since he was only a subject and vassal to the King his brother with a very small revenue for a person of his rank, and that he would easily quit a court where he met with very little regard and a great deal of vexation; for the

An. 977. Queen could not bear him, and he could not bear the Queen.

The Emperor was not mistaken in his conjecture. *Charles* receiv'd his offer with joy; but by accepting it he fell out with the King his brother, and render'd himself odious to all *France*; for it was with indignation that the kingdom saw the King's brother make himself a vassal to the King of *Germany*.

This misunderstanding was one of the things which the Emperor had in view, hoping by this means, says the ancient historian, to deliver himself from the continual insults that *Charles* offer'd him, and to oppose him to the vast de
signs

signs of the King of *France* his brother. But *Otho* shortly after had like to have been the Dupe in this affair; for *Lothaire* provoked at this treaty's being made without his knowledge, march'd suddenly into *Lorain*, was received at *Metz*, where a great number of Lords did him homage; and going from thence he came with prodigious speed to *Aix-la-Chappelle*, where he was not in the least expected. He arrived there when the Emperor was just going to sit down to table: they were so little upon their defence, that the Emperor had only time to make his escape. The King of *France* was receiv'd in *Aix-la-Chappelle*, where he din'd upon what was prepared for the Emperor. Afterwards he went over all the country, plundering it, and returned into *France*.

Chr. Nang.
ad an. 978;

Glaber. l. 1.
c. 3.

The Emperor revenged these ravages with those he made in *Champaign*, which he entered with an army of sixty thousand men, and came up to *Paris*, and burnt part of its suburbs. He continued three days incamp'd within sight of the city; but having learn'd that *Lothaire*, *Hugh Capet*, and the Duke of *Burgundy* were marching with an army to stop his return, he decamp'd. The King having under him *Hugh Capet*, and *Geoffroy*, commonly called *Grisegonnelle*, Count of *Anjou*, attack'd his rear at the passage over the river *Aisne*, kill'd him a great many men, and took part of his baggage. He pursued him for three days as far as the forrest of *Ardennes*: and the Emperor having got the *Meuse* between him and the *French* troops, the campaign ended by the retreat of both armies.

The Emperor
defeated by
the King.

Next year each one thought of nothing but saving his own country, without going upon any enterprize: and afterwards peace was concluded upon these conditions; that the possession of *Lorain* should remain to the Emperor, but that he should acknowledge the right of the crown of *France* over that country, and should possess it only as the King's Incumbent. *Otho* dying in *Italy* four years after, the King took upon him to defend that Prince's son, young *Otho* the third of the

An. 980.
An. 984.
Epist. Gerberti.

In beneficium.

name

An. 984. name against *Henry*, Duke of *Bavaria*, who aim'd at seizing upon the kingdom of *Germany*. *Lothaire*, upon this account, or under this pretence, made himself

An. 985. master of *Verdun*. If he had at this juncture resumed the design of conquering *Lorain*, he would not have had time to have executed it; for he died himself soon after at *Rheims* upon the second of *March* in the year 986. the thirty second of his reign, in the vigour of his age, for he could not be above forty six years old.

Gerb. epist.

74. an. 986.

Death of
King Lo-
thaire.

An. 986.

Duchefae

T. 2.

Epist. 74.

Nothing was a greater glory to this Prince, as I have already observed, than the praise which is given him in his epitaph, of having been able to unite the minds of the *French* Lords, and to keep them intirely obedient to his orders. The famous *Gerbert*, Archbishop of *Rheims*, afterwards of *Ravenna*, and at last Pope, as devoted as he was to the Emperors, speaks of *Lothaire* as a Prince distinguished among the Sovereigns of his time.

The experience of things past made this Prince take a cautious step, which his father had set him the example of, and which several of his successors did not fail to imitate. It was the having his eldest son *Lewis* recognis'd as King during his life-time; and when he died he recommended him to *Hugh Capet*, as to him of all the Lords, who was the most capable of supporting him by his interest and power.

LEWIS V.

An. 986.

In codice

Gerb. ep.

75.

LEWIS the fifth of that name was again saluted King by the Lords of *France*. He could not be then at most above nineteen years of age, the King his father not having married Queen *Emma* till the year 966.

There was soon a misunderstanding between the mother and the son. The many alliances which this Princess

Princess had with the court of *Germany* were either the causes or the consequences of it. I mean, that of two things one was true, either that the King broke with the Queen his mother, because he knew she kept too much correspondence with the court of *Germany*, or else that she seeing herself threatned with disfavour and disgrace for other reasons which the historian does not mention, took care to provide for her assistance from that quarter, in order to support herself against her son. *Adalbero*, Archbishop of *Rheims*, by nation of *Lorain*, was very forward in these intrigues, for which he was obliged to quit the kingdom.

The King march'd, intending to surprize him at *Rheims*. Some skirmishes happened between the King's troops and those of the Archbishop. The city was taken, but the Prelate escap'd. *Charles*, Duke of the lower *Lorain*, who was always a declared enemy to the Queen-mother, did not fail to exasperate *Lewis* against her. It was upon this occasion that he had it reported, or continued to have it reported, that she had been too familiar with the Bishop of *Laon*. Upon these quarrels the Emperor was just entring into a war with *France*; but things were accommodated in a conference which was held at *Montfaucon*, near *Verdun*. *Lewis* died after a reign of one year and three months.

An. 987.
Death of
King Lewis
is V.

It has been thought that he was poisoned, and an historian lays it to the charge of *Blanche*, this Prince's wife, who did not love him, and who had even left him once, and return'd into *Aquitain*, from whence she came.

Adem. chr.

This Prince left no children behind him, and was the last King of *France* of the race of *Charlemagne*, which ended thus, in the three parts of the *French* empire, with three Princes all bearing the name of *Lewis*; that is, with the Emperor *Lewis* the second of that name in *Italy* beyond the *Rhine*; with *Lewis* the third of that name, King of *Germany*, and at last with *Lewis V.* of whom I am speaking.

End of the
race of
Charle-
magne.

Charles, his uncle, Duke of the lower *Lorain*, was his heir, and according to nature he should have ascended the throne after him. He used all his endeavours

An. 987. yours for that purpose; but *Hugh Capet* carried the crown from him, and begun the third line of our Kings after the second had continued two hundred and thirty seven years. The manner of his getting the crown, the wars he maintain'd to surmount all the obstacles which he met with in so great an undertaking, and all that pass'd in so famous a revolution; these are particulars which I shall endeavour to unfold in the sequel of this history.

The End of the Kings of the Second Race.

THE
ABRIDGMENT
OF THE
History of FRANCE.

The Third Race.

HUGH CADET.

THE aversion and contempt which the *French* An. 987.
had conceived against *Charles*, founded up-
on his making himself a vassal to the King
of *Germany*; the hatred of the Queen*,
whose reputation he had blackened with most outragi-
ous detraction; the unexpected death of the young
King; the affection of the Lords for *Hugh Capet*,
whose valour and prudence had gain'd him every bo-
dy's esteem in the two preceding reigns, were the
principal causes of the raising this Lord to the throne
of *France*, and of the exclusion of the natural heir
to the crown.

*Hugh Capet
rais'd to the
throne of
France.*

* She was called *Emma*. Others give her the names of *Blandina*, *Blanche*,
and *Constantia*.

An. 987. *Charles* was very much surprized to learn, that very soon after the death of King *Lewis*, *Hugh* had been proclaim'd at *Noyon* with the consent of most of the Lords of the kingdom. The difficulty of raising forces, or his slowness in doing it, gave *Hugh* time to pass the *Loire*, and march against *William IV.* Duke of *Guyenne*, who had at first refused to acknowledge him. He defeated this Duke in battle, and oblig'd him to do him homage, and swear allegiance to him.

He defeats
the Duke of
Guyenne.
In cod. Ger-
berti ep.

107.
Chr. Adem.
Glab. l. 2. c.
1. an. 988.

He makes his
son Robert a
partner with
him in the
government.
Sigeb. chr.

This victory was a decisive stroke for *Hugh* in the situation of his affairs. He afterwards obtained the consent of the Lords to make his son *Robert* a partner with him in the government, and by that means to secure to him the succession of the crown.

In the mean while *Charles* made his preparations, and being enter'd *France*, he laid siege to *Laon*; he carry'd that place, one of the strongest there was then in the kingdom; and in it he took prisoners the Queen-mother and Bishop *Adalbero*, who was likewise called *Ascelin*, his most declared enemies.

Hugh came and besieged them some time after: *Charles* defended himself like a hero: and after a siege of several weeks he put himself at the head of almost all the troops he had in the city, and under the walls, and attack'd the camp of the besiegers, forced it, and cut *Hugh's* army in pieces, who had like to have been killed himself. He took *Montaignu*, a strongly fortified place, ravaged all the *Soissonois*, and surprized *Rheims*. But what *Hugh* could not do by open force, with regard to *Laon*, he brought about by stratagem and cunning.

He is defeat-
ed by Charles
his rival.

He surprizes
Laon, and
takes Charles.

For some time the Bishop of *Laon* had more liberty allow'd him, and was not so closely observed: he gave *Hugh* notice of the negligence with which the guard was kept in the place: and upon this advice *Hugh* took his measures so well, that he surprized it upon *Holy Thursday* the second of *April*, in the night. Prince *Charles* being surrounded in his quarters was taken prisoner with his wife, and *Arnulph*, Archbishop of *Rheims*, who, after having betray'd *Charles* to get that Archbishoprick, came over to this Prince's side again, and had delivered up his city to him. They were all three carried to *Orleans*,
and

and put into close prison, where *Charles* dying some time after, *Hugh Capet* remain'd the peaceable possessor of the kingdom; and thus the civil war was finished at the end of three or four years. An. 988.

Hugh Capet, to whom for the future I shall give the title of King, since it was never after contested, took into consideration how to strengthen his government. Being master of the duchy of *France*, of the county of *Paris*, and that of *Orleans*, which he had united to the crown in his own person, and secure of the duchy of *Burgundy*, which his brother *Henry* possess'd; he found himself less obliged than his predecessors to be much afraid of his vassals. From the beginning of his reign he let them fight with one another, especially on the other side of the *Loire*, without troubling himself much about it.

He began upon another affair, and push'd it briskly, because he thought the repose and security of his government depended much upon it. It was the canonical deposition of *Arnulph*, Archbishop of *Rheims*, for treason and rebellion, in delivering that city to *Charles's* troops. This prelate was King *Lothaire's* natural son. The King assembled a council of thirty bishops in the abbey of *St. Basil* near *Rheims*, in which *Arnulph*, after having confess'd his crime, was deposed and sent back to his prison at *Orleans*. The famous *Gerbert*, who was afterwards Pope, by the name of *Silvester II.* was put in his place.

He gets the
Archbishop
of Rheims
depos'd.
Acta conc.
Remensis.
An. 991.

The Prelates of the council had acted in this more out of complaisance to the King than agreeably to their own sentiments: and *Arnulph* had a great many partisans, who applied themselves to Pope *John XV.* They touched him in the most sensible part, and represented to him that the Bishops of the council of *St. Basil* had gone upon their own authority in deposing a metropolitan, without waiting for the Holy See.

The Pope in reality found the thing very wrong: and the King, who in this juncture of coming newly to the government, had no mind to fall out with him, endeavoured in vain to pacify him. He proposed to have an interview with him at *Grenoble*, which the Pope refused. He even suspended all the Bishops who had deposed *Arnulph*, and said he would send a legate

Ep. Hugon.
ad Joan. Pap.

An. 991. legate to deliver him out of prison, and to assemble a council at the metropolis of *Rheims*, in which *Gerbert* should be deposed, that *Arnulph* might be restored to his place.

In cod. Gerberti, & T.
9. conc.

This answer frightened the King and the Bishops. *Gerbert*, the most celebrated person in this affair, did all that he could to hearten and encourage them. He wrote several letters to the Bishops and Abbats against the Pope, and among them there are some very sharp ones upon the subject. The legate, who was *Leo*, Abbat of the monastery of *St. Boniface*, was no sooner arriv'd in *France* but he published the interdict he brought against the Bishops. The King, that he might not irritate the Pope, did not oppose the legate's conduct so vigorously as *Gerbert* wished. A great deal of time was spent in negotiations, without coming to a final decision, because the King drew things out into a length on purpose.

There was besides another important affair to be managed between the Pope and the King. The young King *Robert* had married *Bertha*, daughter of *Conrad*, King of *Burgundy*, and widow of *Eudes* the first of that name, Count of *Chartres*, *Tours* and *Blois*. There was some relation between her and *Robert*, tho' the degree was distant enough. But besides this *Robert* had stood godfather to one of *Bertha*'s children by her first husband, which had made him contract what we call a spiritual affinity with her. These were two impediments to the marriage that required a dispensation, which was not easily granted at this juncture.

This incident was a great prejudice to *Gerbert*'s affairs; for the legate having given Queen *Adelaida Robert*'s mother some hopes of getting the marriage approved by the Pope, brought her off from that prelate's interest; and at last in a council which was held at *Rheims* upon the first of *July* in the year 995. the sentence of deposition was pronounc'd against *Gerbert*, and *Arnulph* was acknowledged as Archbishop of *Rheims*.

The Archbishop is restored by the Pope.

An. 995.

As to *Robert*'s marriage, the legate, who thought he had done enough for the honour of the holy See, in bringing about the deposition of *Gerbert*, wou'd not enter upon this other affair: it was not resumed till after the death of *Hugh Capet*, from whom the legate could never obtain *Arnulph*'s liberty.

This Prince died the following year, which was the tenth of his reign. His management and prudence were more conspicuous than his valour; he ascended the throne and maintained himself in it with more majesty, authority and power, than many of his predecessors; and he placed his posterity in it, who are still sitting upon it to this day. This single action shews us a great man, and the distance of time has caus'd some circumstances to be forgotten, which made more impression then upon those, who were more concern'd for the interest of *Charlemagne* than we are at this time. They treated him as an usurper, and now we give him nothing but the glorious title of Head of the third line of our Kings. This is the effect of time thus to change our ideas.

By uniting the duchy of *France* to the crown, he established again the ordinary residence of our Kings at *Paris*, where *Clovis* had fix'd it, but where it had not been during all the second race, and under the Kings of the first commonly call'd *Do-nothings*.

An. 996.

Vid. suppl.
diplom. c. 12.
Hariiulfus l.
c. 12.
Death of
Hugh Capet,
and his cha-
racter.

R O B E R T.

R O B E R T at the death of the King his father was between five and six and twenty years of age. He was a Prince of a great deal of wit and sense, who had had a happy education, which the study of the *Belles Lettres*, tho' then not much in fashion, had cultivated and improved. He was very well made, of a high stature and majestick port, but had nothing churlish or proud about him. On horse-back, on foot, upon the throne, every where he appear'd a King. He was kind, familiar, pleasing to the people, honourable, agreeable in conversation, and yet always more obliging in his actions than even in his words. But besides all this, he had a great deal of religion and piety. This is the character we have of this Prince from contemporary authors, or those who lived very near that time. It were much to be wish'd, that they had given us as

An. 996.
Character of
King Robert.

Helgald. in
vica Rob.
Reg.

An. 996. particular an account of his actions as his manners: but there is hardly any reign, the memoirs of which are more trifling and less exact in their relations, and especially in chronology.

Robert with so many fine qualities, formed by the hand of the King his father, and already accustomed to government, knew how to bear the weight of it; his greatest uneasiness came from the side of *Rome*. He knew the temper of *Gregory* the Vth. successor to *John* the XVth. his resolution and zeal in maintaining the pontifical authority. He did not doubt but this Pope would press him to set *Arnulph* Archbishop of *Rheims* at liberty, who had been all along kept in prison, notwithstanding the sentence of the legate and council, who had restored him to his archiepiscopal See. But he was still more concern'd as to the business of his marriage, upon which the legate had pronounced nothing.

Conc. Rom.
t. 1. Spicileg.
Acheriani.

An. 998.
The King's
marriage annul'd.

Some troublesome affairs, which the Pope at that time had upon his hands at *Rome*, suspended the blow which the King apprehended: but as soon as those affairs were finish'd, the Pope in a council annulled the King's marriage. And this Prince, not submitting to the decree of the council, was excommunicated: but at length by the persuasion of *Abbo* Abbat of the monastery of *Fleury*, he separated from *Bertha*, and shortly after married *Constantia* daughter of *William* Count of *Arles*. He was forc'd also, notwithstanding it was so much against his inclination, to release *Arnulph* Archbishop of *Rheims*, who passed from his prison of *Orleans* to his archiepiscopal throne.

This Prince, who had nothing in view but the quiet and happiness of his subjects, did not think much of extending the bounds of his dominions: and excepting one occasion, which I shall mention by and by, he always lived in peace with his neighbours; but he had some vassals, whom it was necessary to chastise, either for their enterprizes which they undertook against him, or against other vassals of the crown.

An. 999.
He chastises
the Count of
Chartres.
Chr. Floria.

Eudes the II^d. of that name, Count of *Chartres*, *Tours*, and *Blois*, was one of the first who obliged him to take up arms. This Count surprized *Melun*, which belonged to *Burcard* Count of *Corbeil*: the latter demanded justice of the King, who upon the Count's refusal to

restore

restore the place march'd and besieged it with his troops and those of the Duke of *Normandy*, who was already at war with the Count of *Chartres* upon the account of the castle of *Dreux*. He took it by storm, and hanged a gentleman named *Gautier*, who deliver'd it up to the Count of *Chartres*; afterwards the King obliged this Count to make peace with the Duke of *Normandy*.

An. 999



This war, undertaken by the King for the defence of one of his vassals, was succeeded by another which he entred into for his own sake, occasioned by the death of *Henry* Duke of *Burgundy* his uncle and brother to *Hugh Capet*. *Henry* died without children. *Otho William*, son of *Henry's* wife *Gerberga* by a first husband, pretended that the Duke had adopted him; and in virtue of that adoption he seized upon several places in the duchy, which stood very conveniently for him; for he was Count of *Burgundy*, that is of almost all that country which is now call'd *Franche-Comté*.

Aimoini
contin. l. 5.
c. 46.

An. 1000.

This war lasted some years, but at length the King remained master of the duchy. He put his second son *Henry* into possession of it, who afterwards yielded it to *Robert* his younger brother. This Prince *Robert* was the head of the first royal branch of the Dukes of *Burgundy*, which continued for near three hundred and sixty years, till in 1361. this duchy was re-united to the crown by King *John*, who gave it to *Philip* his fourth son.

An. 1005.

Robert was concern'd likewise in the war that was carried on in the Low-countries, between *Baldwin* Count of *Flanders* and *Arnulph* Count of *Valenciennes*, from whom *Baldwin* had taken that city: the King of *Germany* Saint *Henry* the II^d. of that name espoused the cause of the Count of *Valenciennes*, who was his vassal, and the King that of the Count of *Flanders* for the same reason. *Henry* besieged *Valenciennes*, and was obliged by the *French*, the *Normans*, and the *Flemings* to raise the siege. They came to an accommodation the next year, and *Henry* parted with *Valenciennes* to the Count of *Flanders*, upon condition that this Count should do him homage for it.

Sigeb. ad
an. 1006.
War in
Flanders.

An. 1007.

France enjoyed peace for many years, and the King had nothing more important to take care of than securing the crown to his posterity. It was with this

An. 1007. view that he made *Hugh* his eldest son, a Prince of
 Robert makes his son Hugh partner in the government. very great hopes, partner with him in the government.
 From this time to the year 1016, nothing that we know
 of happened that was considerable in matters of war,
 except the battle of *Ponlevoy* between the *Loire* and
 the *Cher*, in which *James* Count of *Anjou* gained the
 An. 1017. victory over *Eudes* Count of *Chartres*, from whom
 Glab. l. 3. c. 9. he afterwards took *Saumur*.

Our Kings, since the usurpations of the vassals, often
 took'd with indifference upon the private wars which
 arose among them. They were to them as foreign wars,
 because they happened in dominions of which they
 were no longer masters. They were even sometimes
 glad of them, because they weaken'd those petty Prin-
 ces, and generally speaking they did not intermeddle,
 but when some particular interest or opportunity of
 encreasing their authority engaged them to it. But the
 King three years after this war between the Count of
Anjou, and the Count of *Chartres*, was obliged to
 take up arms against the latter upon the following oc-
 casion.

An. 1019. *Stephen* Count of *Troye* and *Meaux* being dead with-
 out children, the Count of *Chartres*, who was his
 cousin, seized upon those two cities: the King was de-
 sirous of driving him out of them, probably to re-unite
 them to the crown as fiefs depending upon it. We
 know nothing of the particulars of this war, but it is
 certain that *Eudes* continued in possession of these two
 places, and I believe it was from this time that he and
 his successors took the title of Count of *Champaign*.
 It is at least certain, that this Count *Eudes* is surnam'd
 the *Champenois* in our histories; and there seems to be
 no other reason for it.

This war being finish'd, a religious affair, which might
 have had its consequences, took up the King's attenti-
 Glab. l. 3. c. 8. on. It was an abominable heresy, which had some
 agreement with that of the *Manicheans* in the tenet,
 and even with the infamies of the *Gnosticks* in the
 practice.

This heresy was introduc'd into the kingdom by an
Italian woman, who had art enough to seduce not
 only many simple people, but likewise a pretty large
 number of the most learned amongst the clergy. The
 King executed justice upon it in a severe manner. He

had the ring-leaders of the sect taken up; they were examined in a council assembled at *Orleans*, in which he was present himself. There they were convicted and afterwards condemned to the flames. Several of the like executions were done in the quarters about *Toulouse*: and by this severity, which was used towards the heads of this execrable faction, it was intirely root-
ed out of *France*; at least it was thought to be so, till above a hundred years after some remains of it were still to be seen, which, as it seems to me, gave birth to the sect of the *Albigenses* and afterwards to bloody wars.

An.1019.



Hereticks
condemn'd to
the flames.

The tranquillity which the King kept up in his dominions was a little disturbed by the young King *Hugh*, who was forced to quit the court thro' the pride and haughtiness of Queen *Constantia* his mother, an imperious woman if ever there was any. He was soon at the head of a number of malecontents, and the King was obliged to march against him with an army. But this disturbance did not continue; for the King reclaimed the young Prince by mildness and good nature.

Rebellion of
young King
Hugh.
Glab.l. 3. c.9:

The only foreign Prince, who was then powerful enough to attack *France*, was the Emperor *Henry* King of *Germany*, he was naturally valiant and ambitious, and of himself intent enough upon his interest to be a dangerous neighbour: but he moderated these two passions by the laws of Christianity, of which he was an exact observer, insomuch as to merit the title of Saint. The King's inclinations were pretty much the same: so that they almost always lived in good correspondence together. However to make it the more firm and lasting, they desired to have an interview with each other the year after the council of *Orleans* which I just now mention'd. Accordingly it was had upon the *Meuse*, and in the most frank and cordial manner in the world. For without having any regard to the formalities which had been agreed on, namely, that the two Princes should come upon the *Meuse*, each in a boat, and stand at an equal distance from the two shores, the Emperor passed the river, and came to the King's lodgings; and the next day the King, to shew him the like degree of confidence, went to see him in his camp. They treated together of ways and means to confirm and strengthen the peace between the two kingdoms, made
Z 3 magnificent

An.1023.
Glab.l. 3. c.2.
Sigeber. ad
an. 1023.

Interview be-
tween the
King and the
Emperor
Henry.

- An. 1023. magnificent presents to each other, and resolved to go together to *Pavia* to make Pope *Bennet* the VIIIth. sign certain articles, which they had agreed on in relation to some contested rights. But the Pope's death, which happened the next year in *February*, prevented this journey, and the Emperor himself died the same year in the month of *July*.

His death shewed the esteem the King was in all over *Europe*. The Emperor *Henry*, who died without children, had in his last sickness engaged the most considerable Lords of *Germany* to make *Conrad* Duke of *Wormes* his successor, who was matched into his family: but several others did not joyn in the design; and the *Italians*, who were tired with the government of the *Almans**, came and offered the empire and kingdom of *Italy* to *Robert* either for himself or for his son King *Hugh*.

The empire is offer'd to King Robert.

He refuses it.

This Prince always preserving his character of moderation, did not suffer himself to be tempted by so handsome an offer, because he foresaw that if he accepted of it, he could not avoid a very bloody war which would ruin his subjects. But upon this opportunity he proposed to make himself master of *Lorain*, which had been dismembred from the crown during the troubles in the last reigns: but he did not succeed in it.

Death of young King Hugh.

- An. 1026. About this time the King had a loss which sensibly affected him, his eldest son King *Hugh*, a very promising Prince, died in the flower of his age, not being above eight and twenty years old. His death happened upon the 17th of *September*, and made room for *Henry Robert's* second son, whom this Prince resolved immediately to make his colleague in the royal dignity to secure the succession to him.

Epist. Fulb. cannot. 50.

Robert makes his son Henry his colleague.

The association was actually performed some months after, notwithstanding the intrigues of Queen *Constantia*, who used all her efforts to get her third son *Robert* preferred before *Henry*; and, who finding most of the Lords to be against that wild project, endeavour'd to persuade the King to associate neither the one nor the other. This attempt was likewise vain, for Prince *Henry*

- An. 1027. was anointed and crown'd King of *France* in the year 1027.

* This name of *Almans* began in this century to be the common appellation of all the people of *Germany*, and therefore I shall make no difficulty for the future to use it in that sense.

She took her revenge in missing no opportunity of vexing the young King, without sparing Prince *Robert*, who refused to favour her passion. She carried her spleen so far that she obliged them to quit the court, and afterwards to take up arms. A civil war was kindled, and the King was forced to march at the head of an army against his two sons: but a reconciliation was brought about by the means of a holy Monk *William Abbat of St. Benigne*.

An. 1027.

A civil war.

An. 1030.

This was the last memorable thing in *Robert's* reign, he died at *Melun* the year following in the month of *July*, being sixty years of age. He was bewailed by his subjects, whose advantages he had always prefer'd before his own glory. He was a very good Prince and full of piety. The good works which he employed himself in, without neglecting his several duties, and above all his great charity to the poor, gave him the surname of devout, and his moderation that of Saint. He took a voyage to *Rome* out of devotion, and this was in the first years of his reign. But he suffered himself to be too much govern'd by Queen *Constantia* his wife, whom he feared much more than he loved.

An. 1031.

Glab. loc. cit.

Vid Mabill.

in diplom.

p. 202.

Helgald. in

vita Rob.

Reg.

Death of

King Robert.

Ep. Bened.

Papæ VIII.

t. 9. Conc.

Chr. Cent.

l. 4. c. 2.

Robert, besides the three sons I have mention'd, had likewise a fourth called *Odo* or *Eudes* by one of our ancient historians; he had likewise two daughters, one of whom is not mentioned in history, the other was *Alix* or *Adela*, who married to her first husband *Richard III^d*. Duke of *Normandy*, and to her second *Baldwin* the fifth Count of *Flanders*.

Chr. vetus

t. 7. Spicileg.

p. 203.

H E N R Y I.

THE Queen-mother *Constantia* quitted neither her desire nor her hopes of succeeding one day in her unjust enterprises, against King *Henry* in favour of *Robert* his younger brother. Soon after the late King's death, she formed so large a party, that a great number of towns revolted and declared for her. *Eudes* Count of *Champaign* was one of her

An. 1031.

Frag. Hist.

Franc. t. 4i

Duchefae.

A civil war.

An. 1031. her most zealous partisans, and this conspiracy broke out so suddenly, that the king was obliged to make his escape from *Paris*, and take shelter with *Robert II. Duke of Normandy*.

The King takes shelter with the Duke of Normandy.

The King's victories.

This Duke received him with all possible honour and cordial friendship: and protested that out of duty, tho' more out of inclination, his person, his troops, and all his duchy should be at his service: and indeed he was of great service to him, in employing the rebels forces by the continual inroads which he made upon their lands; and in the mean while the King having gotten a considerable army together of his faithful vassals, retook some of the places which he had lost, and defeated the Count of *Champaign* in three skirmishes. These advantages made several of those, who had engaged with the Queen-mother, quit her party. She was forced to desire peace, which the King granted at the request of *Foulk Count of Anjou*, who was the mediator. She died at *Melun* the next year according to some, and according to others two years after the peace, too late for the quiet of *France*.

Death of Constantia the Queen-mother.

The King receiv'd his brother *Robert* into favour, and yielded or confirmed to him the possession of the duchy of *Burgundy*. He acted with more vigour than ever against the Count of *Champaign*, and obliged that obstinate vassal to submit and abandon the rest of the rebel Lords, some of whom were forc'd to leave *France*, and the others to live peaceably there, upon such conditions as their sovereign was pleas'd to impose.

Glab. 1. 4. c. 8.

Vippoin vita Conradi.

Chr. Fiscan.

The King's gratitude to the Duke of Normandy carried too far.

The King being become master in his dominions by so many victories, renewed the ancient treaties of peace and alliance with the Emperor *Conrad*, which had been made between their predecessors. To render them more firm, he married *Maud* this Prince's daughter: and to shew how much he thought himself oblig'd to the Duke of *Normandy*, he augmented his duchy with the cities of *Gisors*, *Chaumont*, *Pontoise*, and with all the *Vexin*. This was bringing him very near *Paris*. But the kindnesses of our ancient Kings were often not so much regulated by politicks as by their own generosity.

Eudes Count of Champaign being engaged in a war with the Emperor *Conrad* was killed in a battle which he

he lost near *Bar* in *Lorain*. His death delivered the King from a dangerous enemy: but he left two sons behind him, *Thibaud* and *Stephen*, both of them pretty like their father in genius and temper. *Stephen* was Count of *Meaux* and *Troye*, and *Thibaud*, Count of *Chartres* and *Tours*. They gave up their father's pretensions to the kingdom of *Burgundy*, but this was only to raise new troubles in *France*.

Eudes the King's brother was at court, much discontented at living there in a private manner without authority and without dominion. He treated underhand with *Stephen* and *Thibaud*. He took the field with them, and committed great ravages in the kingdom.

The King march'd immediately against the rebels. He beat them every where, took *Eudes*, and put him in prison at *Orleans*: some time after there were troubles in *Normandy*, of which I must say something, because King *Henry* could not help concerning himself in them.

Robert II. Duke of *Normandy*, following the impulses of a piece of devotion that was then very much in fashion, even among the Princes and great Lords, resolved to go a pilgrimage to *Jerusalem*. He had no legitimate children, but only a natural son called *William*, nine years of age, so famous afterwards in the histories of that time, under the name of *William the Bastard* and *William the Conqueror*. He loved him tenderly, and had him recogniz'd as his successor to all his dominions by the Lords of *Normandy*. He likewise entred into measures with the King, who gave him his consent, and promised him to protect the young Prince.

These precautions were not unnecessary, for Duke *Robert* died at *Nice* on his return from his pilgrimage. However, they did not prevent the troubles that had been foreseen: there were several pretenders to *Robert's* succession. The different parties and the private wars, which the *Norman* Lords made upon one another, put this duchy into a combustion. The young Duke fell out even with the King, but a good understanding was soon restored: and some time after the Duke obtained assistance from the King against a Lord whose name was *Guy*, who founded his pretensions to the duchy of *Normandy*, upon his being son to a daughter

An. 1031.

Eudes the King's brother rebels.

The King subdues the rebels.

Guill. Gemet. l. 6. c. 12.

Glab. l. 4. c. 6. Guill. Malmsh. l. 3. c. 1.

Death of Robert II. Duke of Normandy.

An. 1031 ter of Duke *Richard* the second. The King went in person to join Duke *William*: they met the enemy in the valley of *Dunes* between *Caen* and *Argentan*, where a bloody battle was fought, in which the King run the risk of his life, being dismounted and thrown to the ground by a Lord called *Haymon* and surnamed *Le-Dentu*, a famous Knight of that time. Some *French* Knights placed themselves before the King, to give him time to mount again, and *Haymon* being wounded in many places, died upon the spot. The King after the battle was over, out of respect to this Lord's courage and bravery, had him interred with a great deal of pomp.

Guill. Gemet.
l. 7. c. 17.

Guill.
Malmsh. l. 3.
c. 7.

An. 1046. However, notwithstanding the enemies vigorous resistance, their army was cut in pieces. *Guy* was wounded; and Duke *William* having besieged him in *Brionne*, forced him to surrender himself, and then banished him out of *Normandy*.

This victory, which the Duke knew how to make use of, by taking that opportunity to reduce a great many rebel Lords to obedience, gained him a great deal of reputation and authority. Afterwards he assisted the King with his troops in the taking of *Herle*, a strongly fortified place in *Anjou*, against *Geoffroy Martel* Count of *Anjou*, who pretended to it. But *William* having fallen out again with the King for some reasons not mentioned in History, soon saw other enemies rise up against him, and a new pretender to the duchy of *Normandy*.

William of *Arques*, Count of *Tello* or * *Talon*, took up arms, after the King had assured him, that he would support him in his enterprize. He was son of *Richard* the second, Duke of *Normandy* by his second wife, and as such claimed the succession to the late Duke.

Duke *William* marched and besieged him in *Arques*. The King came to his assistance, and having forc'd the lines sent a convoy of provisions into the place which the besieged stood in need of; but another part of his army fell into an ambuscade and suffered considerably. After which he retreated towards *Paris*. The Count of *Talon*'s provisions being spent, he was oblig'd

Guill. Gemet.
l. 7.

* This is the name which at that time was given to part of the country of *Caen*, wherein are *Dieppe*, *Arques*, the city of *En* and the country about it.

to surrender, and go to *Eustachius* Count of *Boulogne*, where he passed the rest of his life without ever being able to obtain his pardon of the Duke.

An. 1046.

As far as appears this victory put an end to the revolts of the Duke's subjects. There were few insurrections of any consequence after this time, and he kept the reins intirely in his own hands. The heroick qualities which began to shine in him, and which render'd him the most famous Prince of his time, caused the blemish of his birth to be quite forgot.

William
Duke of Nor-
mandy be-
comes formi-
dable.

Some years past without *William's* having any quarrels with the *French*: but in the year 1054. the war was renewed by the solicitation of some *Norman* Lords, who were discontented at the Duke's keeping them so strictly to their duty. They engaged the King in this war, which was not happy for him.

An. 1054.

He attack'd *Normandy* in two places. He was at the head of one of his armies himself, and the other was commanded by his brother *Eudes*, whose rebellion he had pardoned after having kept him some time in prison. *William* march'd against the King, and sent *Robert* Count of *Eu* and *Roger* of *Mortimer*, with another body to defend the country against *Eudes*. This Prince came to an engagement in the country of *Caux* near *Mortimer*: the battle was very bloody, but the victory fell to the *Normans*, and ended the war.

The King's
army is de-
feated by the
Normans.

From this time the King never entered *Normandy* again, as the Duke himself informs us in the fragment of a piece which is given us by an *English* author.

Fragm. de
Guil. Cong.
ante Histor.
Walsing.

In the year 1059. the King finding himself in a very unsettled state of health, followed the example of his predecessors, and had his eldest son *Philip* crowned, who was then but seven years old. The coronation was performed at *Rheims* by the Archbishop *Gervase*. This precaution, which was still thought necessary, was taken at a very proper time; for King *Henry* died the next year upon the fourth of *August* at *Vitri* in *Brie*, being the thirtieth year of his reign from the death of his father.

An. 1059.
The King
makes his son
Philip his
colleague.
Conv. Rem.
t. 9. Conc.
An. 1060.
Death of
King Henry I.

He seems to have governed his kingdom with authority enough, which had for a long time been difficult to do in *France*. He was a man of temper and valour: some annals relate of him, that being angry with the Emperor *Henry* III. who had taken under his

pro-

An. 1060. protection *Thibaud* Count of *Champaign* a vassal of the crown, he sent this Prince a challenge, like that which *Francis* the first sent *Charles* the fifth to fight him in a duel. The thing came to nothing, and the two Emperors shew'd each of them in their time as much wisdom as the two Kings of *France* did courage. The foundation of *St. Martins* in the fields, which was then pretty far beyond the walls of *Paris*, is a monument of *Henry's* piety.

P H I L I P I.

An. 1060.

Baldwin
Count of
Flanders re-
gent of the
kingdom.
Frag. Hist.
Franc.

THE late King *Henry*, before he died, appointed a regent of the kingdom during the minority of his son *Philip*, who was *Baldwin* the fifth Count of *Flanders*, surnamed of the island, to whom he had married his sister *Alix*; and his office of regent is express'd in a contemporary author by the title of Marquis of *France*.

Sigeb. in cod.
Lipiano.

Chr. Malliz.
ad an. 1062.

His conduct during his regency justified the wisdom of *Henry's* choice of him for that employ. He subdued the *Gascons*, who had prepared for a rebellion. He let the Duke of *Guyenne* and the Count of *Anjou* fight it out with one another, as nothing but their own private interest was concern'd in the case. The Duke of *Guyenne* after the end of this war, seeing the kingdom quiet, march'd with an army of *French* belonging to his duchy, and some *Normans* to the assistance of *Alfonso* the VIth. King of *Castile*, and took *Balbastro* from the *Saracens*.

Fragm. de
Guil. Cong.

Guil.

Anapub. l. 5.

Four years after a much more important affair called for the attention of the regent of *France*. It was the conquest which *William* Duke of *Normandy* made of the kingdom of *England*, which he subdued with a success equal to his prudence and valour. *S. Edward* the III^d. of that name King of *England*, had declar'd him his successor. *Harold* son of *Godwin* Earl of *Kent*, notwithstanding this last will of *Edward*, had seized upon the crown. And during the time that *William* was making his preparations for passing the sea,

sea, *Foulk* Count of *Anjou* surnamed *Rechin*, *Gautier* Count of *Meulan*, and *Conan* Duke of *Brittany* entered upon his territories with some troops. The regent of *France*, who foresaw the consequences of this increase of power, gave *Tostig* *Harold's* brother leave to take all the ships he cou'd find in the ports of *Flanders* to go over with him into *England*. This was not in reality for *Harold's* assistance. For *Tostig* had a mind to get into the throne himself; but he was a new enemy upon Duke *William's* hands, to whom notwithstanding the King promised the investiture of the duchy of *Normandy* for his son *Robert*, in case he succeeded in his *English* expedition, which most people look'd upon as a rash enterprize. *William* surmounted all these obstacles; and having passed the sea with a numerous army, and gained a great battle in which *Harold* was kill'd, he took possession of the kingdom. An. 1066.

This conquest of the Duke of *Normandy* could not be agreeable to the King of *France*, who was not so much affected with the honour of having a King for his vassal, as with the fear of a vassal become a King. From this time we always find in history the *French* joyning with the *Scots* in raising disturbances in *England*; these two nations conceiving now that it was their interest to keep up a good understanding against a state, whose power was become formidable to them. And it was this common interest which united them so closely afterwards, and occasioned so many treaties of alliance offensive and defensive against the King of *England*. Sigebertus.

Whilst the new conqueror was employed in securing to himself the possession of his realm, *France* had a great loss in the death of *Baldwin* the fifth Count of *Flanders* and regent of the kingdom, which he had governed with a great deal of prudence, application and impartiality. The King was then in the fifteenth year of his age. The death of the Count soon caused a war in *Flanders* betwixt his sons, in which the King thought himself obliged to be concerned. An. 1067.

Baldwin left two sons, *Baldwin* VI. who succeeded him in his dominions, and *Robert*, who after several adventures came to marry *Gertrude* of *Saxony*, widow of *Florent*, Count of *Frisia*, who governed that county as regent and guardian to her son *Thierry*, who Lambert
Schafnab. de
rebus Germ.

AN. 1070. who was as yet very young. It is from hence that *Robert* was surnam'd the *Frisian*.

The King's
army defeat-
ed by the
Frisians.

Baldwin his brother declared war against him, and was killed in a battle which he lost. *Robert* taking advantage of this, entered *Flanders* with his victorious army, and conquered it. *Richilda*, *Baldwin*'s widow, seeing her two young sons, *Arnulph* and *Baldwin*, deprived of their dominions, had recourse to the King of *France*, who received her at *Paris* with her children, and march'd some time afterwards into *Flanders*, in order to make *Robert* quit the country; but he was surprized, and his army cut in pieces, and young Count *Arnulph* was killed, being between thirteen and fourteen years of age.

This ill success made the King abandon the protection of the Countess *Richilda* and her son *Baldwin*. She was obliged to implore help of the Emperor *Henry IV.* and to buy it by yielding *Mons* to the Bishop of *Liege*.

The King being angry, probably that the young Count of *Flanders*, who was his vassal, should have recourse to the Emperor, took *Robert* the *Frisian*'s side; and with the assistance which he gave him put him into a condition of not fearing *Henry*. In short, things turned in such manner, that the Countess was obliged to come to an accommodation with *Robert*, who continued in possession of the county of *Flanders*. *Mons* was restored to young *Baldwin*, upon condition that he should hold that place as a fief from

AN. 1071. *Robert*, and as a mesne-fief of the empire. They left him likewise the rest of *Haynault*, which the Countess *Richilda* had brought the late Count *Baldwin* by marriage.

In the mean while *William*, Duke of *Normandy*, being become King of *England*, was continually in motion, passing sometimes from *Normandy* into *England* to suppress the rebellions there, sometimes from *England* into *Normandy* to observe the proceedings of his neighbours and vassals.

Malmsh. l.
3. Orderi-
cus Vital.
l. 4.

Foulk, Count of *Anjou*, *Hoël*, Duke of *Britanny*, and the *Manceaux*, who did not like his government, kept him always uneasy. He punish'd the latter severely by the ravages he made in their country with an *English* army which he brought thither, and afterwards

wards he turned against the Duke of *Britanny*, who An. 1076. had refused to pay him homage, and laid siege to *Dol*.

The Duke engaged the King of *France* in his cause, by declaring that *Britanny* was a fief immediately depending upon the crown, which *Charles* the Simple had only yielded by force to *Rollo* I. Duke of *Normandy*. The King marched with the Duke to the assistance of *Dol*, and the King of *England* was obliged to raise the siege. He was attack'd in his retreat, lost a great many men and all his baggage; afterwards a treaty of peace was made between the two Kings. He makes the King of England raise the siege of Dol. An. 1076.

Those who thought they could penetrate the farthest into mysteries of state, suspected *Robert*, the King of *England*'s eldest son, of being the secret author of the rebellion of the *Manceaux*. They said, that it was he who underhand prevailed upon the Duke of *Britanny*, the Count of *Anjou*, and the King of *France* to act as they did, and that he set all these springs on work that he might oblige the King his father to yield him the duchy of *Normandy*, and the county of *Maine*, and to content himself with the kingdom of *England*, where new troubles were continually raised as soon as they saw him on the other side the sea. What is certain, is that the contemporary historians speak in general of private leagues between the King of *France* and this young Prince, who one day signified his pretensions to his father in a pretty clear manner. He represented to him, that before his expedition into *England*, he had designed, in case that succeeded, to give him *Normandy*; and that he had obtained the King's agreement to this. That with his own consent the Barons of *Normandy* had already done him homage, and he beg'd him to be so good as to keep his word with him: but he could get no other answer, only that *it was not his custom to pull off his cloaths before he was ready to go to bed*. Order. Vital. l. 4.

Robert, being provoked at this answer, some time after made use of the pretence of an insult, which he said he had received from his two younger brothers *William* and *Henry*, to retire from court; and being followed by some male-contents, he intended to seize upon the castle of *Rouen*, but was repulsed. He retreated into the territories of *France*, made incursions into Fragm. de Guill. conq. Robert the King of England's eldest son rebels against his father. 1077. Walsing. in hypodigmatte Neultriz.

An. 1077. into *Normandy* with some troops which the King furnish'd him with, and this Prince even made him a present of *Gerberoy*, in *Beauvoisis* for a place of retreat.

He wounds
him in a
fight with-
out knowing
him.

The King of *England* march'd and besieged him. In a fall that *Robert* made he unfortunately met the King his father, against whom, without knowing him, he run his lance, which he had couched, wounded him in the arm, and knock'd him off his horse: but as soon as he knew him by his voice, he immediately jump'd to the ground, threw himself at his feet, made him mount his own horse, and let him return to his camp. There were upon this occasion a great many people kill'd on the King of *England's* side, and *William* his second son was likewise wounded. Notwithstanding this generous action of *Robert*, the King could not moderate his anger; and as he went off, he gave him his curse. Afterwards he raised the siege.

An. 1081.
Order. l. 5.

However two years after, by the mediation of several Lords, both of *Normandy* and *England*, and at the desire of the King and Queen of *France*, he consented to receive *Robert* into favour. But this reconciliation lasted but a little while; for this young Prince upon fresh subjects of discontent or under new pretences retired again from court.

Malsb. l. 3.

An. 1087.

The persuasion of the King of *England*, that it was the King of *France* who fomented the frequent rebellions of his son, enraged him furiously against this Prince; and if it had not been for the perplexity and trouble which *England* gave him, and the discontent of a great many *Norman* Lords, he would not have been long without revenging it. But at length, in the year 1087, the animosities between the two Kings broke out. *Robert* rebelled again, and was again received by the King of *France*. A jest which this King made upon the King of *England* compleated his rage, and he resolved to make war on him with all speed.

War between
France and
England.

He had been some time sick, and kept his bed. The King, as he was joking with his courtiers, said, that *that big man had lain a long while without being delivered*. Such a jest should have been despised; but *William*, who was naturally passionate, was irritated at it; and when he was told of it, he said, *I will soon get out of the straw, and will go and present so many lights*



to the King of France, that he shall repent of what he has said. He alluded to the custom of the women, who, when they are churched after child-bed, present a wax candle in the church; and this he applied to the fiery devastations he intended to make in the territories of France.

He kept his word but too exactly; for he came and laid siege to the city of *Mante*, after having ravaged all the country about it. He took it and laid it in ashes, without sparing so much as the churches.

The effect of his revenge was fatal to him, and the cause of his death. For having gone too near the flames, he found himself very much incommoded with the heat of the fire; and as he withdrew he spurred his horse to make him leap over a ditch, and not sitting firm enough upon his back, the pommel of his saddle gave him so hard a blow upon his stomach, that it hurt him, and caused an abscess within his body, of which he died at *Rouen*, whither he had ordered himself to be carried.

Death of
William the
Conqueror.
Matth. Par.
l. 2.

Before his death he divided his dominions among his three sons; and notwithstanding *Robert's* rebellion he did not exclude him from his succession. He gave this Prince the duchy of *Normandy*, and all his other dominions on this side the sea: *England* to *William*: *Henry*, besides a large sum of money which he left him, was put in possession of the goods and lands of Queen *Maud* his mother, who died some time before her husband.

These three Princes were not long without falling out with one another. The King of France was at first only a spectator of their quarrels, and afterwards took part, sometimes with one, sometimes with another. Their divisions were as advantageous to France as their union would have been formidable: and *Philip's* reign would have been very quiet, if an unhappy amour had not disturb'd the tranquillity of it. The thing made a noise all over Europe, and was to him the source of infinite vexation and trouble.

He had already had three children by *Bertha* his wife, daughter of *Florent*, Count of *Frisia*, namely, *Lewis Thibaut*, who was his successor, and known in history by the name of *Lewis the Big*: a daughter named *Constantia*, and another son called

An.1092 Henry, who died young. He took a disgust at this Princess, and repudiated her under pretence of affinity. Afterwards he took by force *Bertrade* of *Montfort* from *Foulk*, Count of *Anjou*, surnamed *Rechin*, who had married this Lady, after having put away two other wives, who were still alive.

An.1092. *Bertrade* consented to the thing, pretending that her marriage with the Count of *Anjou* was null; and as the King pretended, that his, which he had contracted with *Bertha*, was so likewise, they married each other.

At first many of the *French* Bishops opposed this scandalous marriage: but afterwards the greatest part of them grew easy. *Tvo*, Bishop of *Chartres*, shew'd a great deal of resolution and prudence throughout this whole affair. *Urban II.* sat then in *St. Peter's* chair. *Hugh*, Archbishop of *Lions*, by his order assembled a council at *Autun* to examine the matter; in which the King's marriage with *Bertrade* was declared incestuous, and this Prince excommunicated.

The death of Queen *Bertha*, happening during these transactions; was a circumstance that might have given room for condescension from the Pope. For it does not appear that the nullity of *Bertrade's* marriage with the Count of *Anjou* was called in question: but *Urban* did not judge it proper to give way upon this occasion, apprehending the dangerous consequences of such an example. He came into *France*, and held a council at *Clermont* in *Auvergne*, in which he excommunicated the King over again. But this Prince, having given him some hopes of conversion, the excommunication was taken off in another council which was held at *Nîmes*.

An.1095. The King not having kept the word he had given of separating from *Bertrade*, but having even gone so far as to make her be crown'd Queen of *France*, he was again excommunicated in the council of *Poitiers*, by the legates of *Paschal II.* successor to *Urban*, who died before this cause was quite finished. These repeated excommunications began to produce very ill effects in the state with regard to this Prince. His vices render'd him odious and contemptible, which he perceived very well; and this determined him to associate his son *Lewis* with him in the government, and accordingly he had him crown'd about this time.

Variz epist.
Yvonis Carn.
An.1094.
He is excommunicated.
Concil.
Æduen. T.
10. Conc.
Chron. S.
Vivi.

He associates his son Lewis in the government.

It

It appears that this young Prince, who was then between nineteen and twenty years old, but of a stature and maturity much above his age, took the government of the realm into his hands under the direction of his father. The histories of this reign mention nothing but his exploits, by which several busy troublesome people were kept within, or brought back to their duty, whom the King's excommunication seem'd to justify in their want of respect and obedience. He was always in the field with a little body of an army, sometimes in the neighbourhood of *Paris*, sometimes in *Champaign*, sometimes beyond the *Loire*. He made himself authoritative arbiter of all the differences, upon the account of which the private Lords took up arms against one another, and made 'em, as much as it was against their inclination, to stand to his decisions, by plundering the estates, and razing the castles of those who resisted. In this manner he acted towards *Bouchard of Montmorenci*, *Matthew of Beaumont*, *Ebale of Rouci*, *Thomas of Marle* Lord of *Couci*, *Humbald of St. Severe*, and *Guy*, Count of *Rocheford*, Lord of *Gournai* upon the *Marne*.

Activity of
the young
King.

Suger. in
Vit. Lud.
Gros.

Upon these occasions he often fought at the head of his troops, in a manner that gain'd him a great deal of glory and authority, and he defeated *Thibaut* Count of *Champaign* in battle. This vivacity of the Prince, who was always in action, gave him the surname of *Fighter*, because in these little wars he was always engaged with the rebels. They gave him also the surname of *The defender of the Church*, because most of these quarrels proceeded from the usurpations of the Lords over the abbeys and churches, to whom he obliged them to restore what they had taken.

All these victories, but more especially the association of *Lewis* in the government, were displeasing to *Bertrade*. She had already had two sons by *Philip*, one of whom bore the name of his father, and the other was called *Fleury*. Her ambition inspired her with the desire of seeing the eldest of her children placed upon the throne; and this was enough to make this wicked woman enter upon a design of destroying *Lewis*. She made use of divers means for this purpose; the last was some poison which she

Order. l. 11.
Bertrade poi-
sons the young
King.

An. 1100. caused to be given him. He had like to have died, and had not recovered but for some extraordinary remedies given him by a foreign physician, who happened then to be at court. He had all his life after a paleness in his countenance, which shewed that his constitution was very much altered.

The King reconciles them.

After such a wicked attempt as this, *Philip's* passion must have a strange mastery over his mind to hinder him from breaking intirely with *Bertrade*, and to suffer him to continue to sacrifice his most important interests to her, as he had done for so many years. He was himself the mediator of the reconciliation between his son and *Bertrade*. He conjur'd him to pardon her; and to appease him he gave him *Pontoise*, and all the *Vexin* to be his own property. *Lewis* yielded to the instances of his father, and the solicitations of a great number of Lords about him, whom *Bertrade* employed to obtain her pardon.

The advantage which was offered him seemed to him considerable enough to engage him at least to dissemble his hatred, and he promised to forget all that was past. In the mean while the Pope came into *France*, and the King began to fear lest he should push matters as vigorously against him, as he had against *Henry IV.* King of *Germany*, whose fate was to be at last dispossels'd by his own son. *Bertrade* herself made serious reflections upon the dangers to which she found herself exposed, being look'd upon as the only cause of so much disturbance and confusion, and become the object of the execration of the whole kingdom by the horrid enterprize she had undertaken against the life of the young King.

An. 1105.

The King is absolved from the excommunication.

Philip and she submitted to the judgment of some Bishops deputed by the Pope, who treated this Prince pretty roughly. They both received absolution in a council held at *Paris* upon the second of *December*, after having publicly promised upon oath to renounce all criminal conversation, and never to see one another, but in the presence of persons whose probity could not be suspected. We have no more of this affair in our ancient memoirs, except in a chronicle of *Anjou*, which gives us good reason to believe that *Bertrade's* marriage with the Count of *Anjou* was declared null, and that the King had a dispensation granted him

Chr. Andeg.
T. I. Bibli-
oth. MSS.
Labbei.

to marry her. I must now return to what passed in *An. 1098.*
France during the course of these broils. I begin with
the disputes which *Philip* had with the sons of *William*
the Conqueror.

These contests, which were neither very frequent, *Roger. de*
nor of very great consequence, were occasion'd at first *Hoved. l. 1.*
by the quarrels which these *Norman* Princes had a-
mong themselves. *Robert*, Duke of *Normandy*, hav-
ing fallen out with his brother *William*, King of *Eng-*
land, who took *Bray* from him, demanded assistance
of the King as his Lord; and this Prince march'd in
person, and besieged *Argentan*, of which *William* had
made himself master some years before. The garri-
son, which consisted of near two thousand men, sur-
rendred themselves prisoners of war, without any re-
sistance. After this expedition the King return'd to
Paris; and the war ended between the two brothers
by the proclamation of the holy war.

The Duke of *Normandy*, whose vivacity could not
long bear to be at rest, enter'd upon the crusade. He
sent and demanded of the King of *England* ten thou-
sand marks to equip him and raise some troops; and
for this sum he offered to mortgage his duchy of *Nor-*
mandy to him. The King of *England* agreed to it;
and the peace was concluded. The King of *England*
had already several places in *Normandy*: his brother
made him master as it were of that duchy by mort-
gaging it to him; and he was look'd upon there as
his presumptive heir, in case this Prince did not re-
turn after so long and dangerous a journey as he had
undertaken. Thus the *Norman* Lords were at his
disposal, and all devoted to his will. He laid hold of
this favourable opportunity to make good some ancient
pretensions which the Dukes of *Normandy* had to the
French Vexin, and sent to the King of *France* to de-
mand *Pontoise*, *Chaumont*, and *Mante* besides to be
put into his hands. *War between*
France and
England.

A war broke out upon this occasion, and lasted
two years. The first campaign ended in ravages
which were committed on both sides. Next year the
King of *England* besieged *Chaumont*, but could not
take it. Some troubles which were raised in *England* *An. 1098*
obliged him to make peace without any other advan-
tage than having fortified *Gisors*, which was afterwards

An. 1098. the arsenal and bulwark of the *English* and *Normans* against *France*.

Malsb. l. 3. *Henry, William's* brother, succeeded him in the kingdom of *England* in the year 1100, and had no dispute with *Philip*. The war was not renew'd between the two crowns till the reign of *Lewis the Big*, this Prince's successor. So that all that remains for me to give an account of in *Philip's* reign, is the famous expedition of the Christian Lords for the conquest of *Jerusalem*, and all the Holy Land. This is the first of the wars against the Infidels, and it was called by the name of crusade or croisade from the cross, which was put upon all the colours, and upon the shoulders of those who list'd in it.

C onc. Clar. It was at the council of *Clermont* in *Auvergne* that
T. 10. Conc. Pope *Urban II.* who presided there in person, preach-
An. 1095. ed the crusade to all Christendom, and an innumerable multitude of persons, of all states and conditions, took the cross upon them. The Kings were not carried away with this zeal, for there were none of them in this first expedition: but a great number of Princes and Lords, especially of *France*, and the countries depending upon that kingdom, entered upon the crusade.

The first crusade.

The most illustrious for his birth was *Hugh the Great*, Count of *Vermandois*, the King's brother, *Raymond*, Count of *Toulouse*, commonly called *Raymond of St. Giles*, *Robert II.* Count of *Flanders*, *Robert*, Duke of *Normandy*, son of *William the Conqueror*, *Stephen*, Count of *Blois* and *Chartres*, all vassals of the crown of *France*, join'd in this expedition. But of all the Lords who were in the crusade, he whose name has been the most celebrated by the writers of the history of these wars beyond sea, is the famous *Godefroy of Bouillon*, Duke of the lower *Lorain*. *Eustachius* and *Baldwin*, his two brothers, accompanied him, and an infinite number of Lords of a lower rank, and Gentlemen, animated by the example of those I have just named, followed their banners, or brought under their own a great many of their vassals and subjects. The Pope, that he might keep a good understanding among so many chiefs of different countries, named *Aymar of Monteil*, Bishop of *Puy*, his legate in the army, and delegated to him all his authority.

They

They begun their march the following year. The distance of the countries where they were going to make war, and the means of subsisting upon their march were the greatest difficulties that occur'd in the execution of this design; for besides those who went as soldiers, old men, women, children, priests, monks without number followed the army out of devotion. So that there were between seven and eight hundred thousand souls of all nations who undertook the journey.

An. 1096.

Great numbers of the crusaders perished in their march.

Near three quarters of them perished upon the road, or before any considerable enterprize was undertaken; part by sickness, part by hunger, and part by the sword; the people of the countries thro' which they passed, and in which they committed the greatest disorders, treating them as enemies, and falling upon them on all sides. But these were nothing for the most part but a mob of people, and ill arm'd, who had march'd before thro' *Hungary* and *Bulgaria*. Those who got to *Constantinople* obtained some ships of the Emperor *Alexis Commenius* to pass into *Asia*; and having engaged very foolishly in battle with the Infidels, were beaten again, and almost all massacred.

Guil. Tytius
l. 1. c. 18.
l. 2. c. 25,
26.

The Princes marched with more caution. *Hugh the Great* went thro' *Italy* with *Robert Duke of Normandy*, *Robert Count of Flanders*, *Stephen Count of Chartres*, *Raymond Count of Toulouse*, and *Aymar Bishop of Puy*. *Bohemond Prince of Tarentum* gave 'em quarters in his territories till spring, and then took the cross himself, together with a great number of *Norman Lords*, who were settled in *Italy*.

Guibert. l. 2.
c. 3.

Hugh the Great, intending to put himself at the head of the crusaders who were gone thro' *Hungary*, made no stay in *Bohemond's* dominions; but imbarcking with the few troops he had with him, he set sail for *Durazzo*, to go from thence to *Constantinople*; but most of his ships were destroy'd by a storm. He had like to have been lost himself, and was carried from *Durazzo* to *Constantinople* in a very indifferent condition, and was there handsomely receiv'd by the Emperor.

Godefroy of Bouillon went thro' *Hungary* and *Bulgaria*. As he observed exact discipline in his army,

The march of the Prince's was more orderly

An. 1096. the way lay open for him, and he arrived at *Constantinople* with his troops, who, notwithstanding the fatigues of such a march, were in good condition. *Bohemond* and the Count of *Flanders* went by sea as far as *Durazzo*, and joined him some time after; and lastly *Raymond*, Count of *Toulouse*, having taken his journey by land thro' *Dalmatia* with the Bishop of *Puy*, came likewise within sight of *Constantinople*. But before there was any rendezvous a great many things had happen'd between *Godefroy* of *Bouillon* and the Emperor *Alexis*.

When this Prince desired assistance of the Pope against the *Mahometans*, he did not think of such a hurly burly as was made all over *Europe*. He hoped to have some troops who wou'd follow his orders, and make part of his army as auxiliaries; but when he saw thirty and forty thousand men, who were only the forerunners of other much more numerous armies, commanded by the most famous captains of the West, he began to be afraid of these succours, and apprehended he should no longer be master at home when they were all arriv'd.

He was a politic, cunning, dissembling Prince, and after all had good reason to make such sort of reflections. He had been insulted by the *Norman* Princes of *Italy*, who had come even into *Thrace* and attack'd him. They had taken from his predecessors *Apulia*, *Calabria* and *Sicily*; and some of these Lords, when serving in the armies of the empire, had formerly projected to make themselves masters of all *Greece*. He knew the disorders which the first armies of the crusaders had committed in *Hungary* and *Bulgaria*, and his own eyes saw those which the second had again committed in the neighbourhood of *Constantinople*. So that from hence forward he took a resolution which he followed always afterwards, not only not to second the designs of the crusaders, but to oppose them as much as he could; and to use all sorts of methods to destroy these people, who were become as formidable to him as they were to the *Mahometans* themselves.

The Emperor
Alexis opposes the
designs of the
crusaders.

He endeavoured to starve Duke *Godefroy's* army. Afterwards he came to blows with him: but finding that artifice and open force were of no service to him, he consented to an accommodation. The other Princes being

being arrived, misunderstandings happened again, and a great many negotiations followed upon 'em: but after all they depended upon the Emperor. They must pass the straights to go and fight the Infidels; and they could not do this without his ships. He insisted upon one point which they had a great deal of difficulty to grant. It was that they should swear allegiance to him, and that the cities they should take should be restored to him, as having been dismembred from the empire. He would never give up this particular, and they were forc'd at length to comply with it. On his side he promised to furnish them with troops and victuals, to give them the assistance of his fleet when they had occasion for it, and to allow 'em the plunder of the towns, which they should either take by storm, or oblige to surrender at discretion.

He treats with them,

The treaty being signed, the troops passed the straights; and upon a review of the army on the other side, it appeared that they had a hundred thousand cavalry and a much more numerous infantry.

Guil. Tyr. l. 2. c. 22.

The first enterprize was the siege of *Nice* in *Bithynia*, a city very well fortified, and *Sultan Soliman's* usual place of residence. It was vigorously defended. *Soliman* came to its assistance, attack'd the camp, and was repulsed with the loss of four thousand men. Some time after the place capitulated, and was put into the Emperor's hands.

Nice in Bithynia is taken, l. 3. c. 4. An. 1097.

A few days after the taking of this town, the army marched to lay siege to *Antioch* in *Syria*, and by that means to open the way into *Palestine*. *Soliman*, with an army of above two hundred thousand horse, covered with the mountains, was always annoying the army of the crusaders. *Bohemond*, being encamped in a valley at some distance from the other troops for the conveniency of forage, was attack'd. He received a great loss, and must have perished if he had not been speedily succoured. Duke *Godefroy*, his two brothers *Baldwin* and *Eustachius*, *Hugh the Great*, and the Count of *Toulouse* came and joined him at the head of forty thousand horse. Their arrival gave new courage to his troops. The Infidels fled. They pursued 'em for two leagues, and made themselves masters of their camp, in which they found a great deal of riches, and abundance

c. 12, 13, 14. *Battle of Antioch in Syria.*

An. 1097. dance of provisions. This plunder comforted the army for the loss they had sustained, which was four thousand persons, as well soldiers as others who followed the camp.

Conquests of
the crusaders.

The army pursued their march. Several cities surrender'd. They sent out two detachments, one under *Tancred*, *Bohemond's* nephew, and the other under Count *Baldwin*, *Godefroy's* brother. *Tancred* made himself master of almost all *Cilicia*, and *Baldwin* of a great part of *Mesopotamia*; and by these conquests they facilitated the siege of *Antioch*, which was undertaken about the middle of *October*. It lasted till *June* the next year; and they would have been obliged to have raised the siege, if *Bohemond* had not kept a correspondence in the place with one of the principal inhabitants named *Pyrrhus*, who in the night delivered up to him three towers in the quarters where he commanded. There was a great slaughter among the *Mahometans*; and the place was yielded to *Bohemond* by the other Lords of the crusade.

An. 1098.

But scarce were they masters of it before *Corbagat*, the *Musulman* general, at the head of a more numerous army than had yet appear'd, came and besieged them themselves, and began with cutting off their provisions from 'em. They had no other way to take, but to go out and fight this army, notwithstanding the great inequality in numbers. But the necessity of dying or conquering supplied the place of every thing else. *Corbagat* was intirely routed, and they found in his camp provisions enough to victual both the city and the army. The distempers, which the scarcity had occasion'd, carried off a great many of the crusaders, and among the rest *Aymar* of *Monteil*, Bishop of *Puy*, the Pope's legate.

Another battle of
Antioch.

After so happy a victory, upon which the preservation of the army absolutely depended, the Lords sent to the *Greek* Emperor, to summon him to come and join 'em in person, as he had promised, declaring to him, that if he did not keep his word with them, they would not observe any of the other articles of the treaty which they had made with him, and which he had already broke in many points.

Open rupture
between
the crusaders
and the
Greek Em-
peror.

They chose *Hugh* the Great, and *Baldwin* Count of *Haynault*, to go upon this embassy. The latter was

was destroyed in the way, without any body's knowing after what manner. *Hugh the Great*, after having run thro' a great many dangers, and cunningly escaped a thousand ambuscades, which the *Mahometans* had laid for him, arrived at *Constantinople*. He laid before the Emperor the business of his journey, and from thence returned into *France*. This resolution which he took, for want of having wherewith to subsist on honourably in the army, where he had no longer any of his own people with him, very much tarnished the glory of the great actions he had done upon all the most dangerous occasions, in which he had always signalized himself.

An. 1098.

Gail. Tyr.

l. 7. c. 1.

The Emperor, who mistrusted the Princes, because they had all the reason in the world to mistrust him, and to be very much dissatisfied with him, would not go to join 'em in person, as they requested of him. He only sent embassadors to 'em, who made great complaints at their not giving him *Antioch* again. But the crusaders did not trouble themselves much about these complaints, but acted for the future intirely independent of him.

After the conquest of *Antioch* they took their measures for that of *Jerusalem*, which was the end of all the journey; and in the execution of this design they had nothing more to do with the *Turks*.

The Sultan of *Egypt*, from whom the *Turks* call'd *Selgiucids* had taken several provinces of his dominions, was overjoyed at the advantages which the crusaders had gain'd over them. He sent to congratulate the Princes, and to desire their friendship. But he had taken his advantage of the confusion among the *Turks*, and had march'd with his army, and had taken *Jerusalem* and several other places about. He had no mind to yield *Jerusalem* and *Palestine* to the Christians; but he offered them the liberty of passing thro' it to accomplish their vow, upon condition that not above three hundred at once should go into *Jerusalem*, and that they should lay down their arms before they enter'd.

The Sultan's embassadors were sent back with contempt; and they declared to them that the intention of the crusaders was to finish their pilgrimage all together, and in such a manner as should make the Sul-

An. 1099. tan repent of his conduct with relation to them. In short, they soon began their march, and went all along by the sea shore, attended with a fleet of *Venetians*, *Genoese*, *Flemings*, *Normans*, and *English*, which furnished them with provisions: and thus they arrived at last at *Jerusalem*. The sight of this city filled all the army with joy, and made them forget their former fatigues. The troops were animated with ardor, and pressed the generals to begin the siege immediately; but these Lords knew the difficulty of the undertaking better than the soldiers.

Cell. Tyr.
l. 8. c. 4.


Of between seven and eight hundred thousand persons who came out of *Europe*, there were not more than about forty thousand left in this army, and of this number there were but twenty one thousand and five hundred soldiers; namely, twenty thousand foot and fifteen hundred horse, the rest were destroyed either in battles or sieges or by distempers. Some had deserted, some continued with *Bohemond* at *Antioch*, others in *Mesopotamia* and *Cilicia* to guard the places they had taken. On the other hand, there were forty thousand men in the city to defend it. The Christians were all turned out of it. The *Saracens* had filled up all the wells and cisterns about it. There was no wood to be found about the town that was proper to make machines with, whereas the enemy had abundance of it, and the city wanted for nothing.

Siege of Jerusalem.

Notwithstanding all this, *Duke Godefroy* and the rest were resolv'd to fall gloriously or accomplish their vow. They settled their quarters: every one took his post about the city, which they could not invest intirely for want of troops, so that it remained open on the South side.

Five days after it was resolved to make a general assault upon the outer wall, which was done with so much vigour that they made themselves masters of it; and this brisk attack so astonished the besieged, that they thought the city would have been taken at the first assault, if they had had ladders with which to have scaled the second wall.

After this first action, which was a great step in the affair, they work'd with their machines. A *Genoese* fleet which arrived at *Joppa*, was of great service to them, not only by strengthening the army with the troops they

they brought, but more by the engineers and carpenters An. 1099.
 they supplied them with, who were much more skilful 
 than those in the camp.

As soon as the machines were ready, and the rolling castles, which they made use of at that time for storming, were built, they made their attack upon the wall with paterero's, ballista's, cattapulta's, and the battering ram. The assault lasted till night, which the besieged employed in repairing their breaches, and the besiegers their castles which were damaged by battering the city.

The next morning at break of day the assault was renewed, and continued till one a clock in the afternoon, when the Christian army being weary and dispirited with fatigue began to give way. Duke *Godefroy* perceiving it, cried out with all his might, that the heavens declared for them, and that he had just seen upon the mount of *Olivet* a horseman descending from the clouds with a buckler all sparkling with lightning, who by his gesture encouraged him to pursue his victory: and the Count of *Toulouse* said the same thing at his attack. *Assault made upon the city.*

Whether this were true, or only a piece of artifice in the generals, the noise of this vision went through all the army, who believ'd it, and did not doubt but it was *St. George*, who promis'd them victory. It revived the courage of the souldiery, and the battle began again with more obstinacy than ever. *Godefroy* having last gain'd an opportunity of driving his rolling castle against the wall, leaped upon it with Count *Eustachius* his brother, *Letold* and *Engilbert* of *Tournay*, and several other Lords, and made themselves masters of it. The Duke of *Normandy* almost at the same time forc'd the passage at his attack. Confusion and terror filled the minds of the besieged; and those, who defended the rampart against the Count of *Toulouse*, seeing their people scampering at a distance, took to their heels themselves.

The greatest part saved themselves in a kind of citadel, which was in the place where *Solomon's* temple formerly stood. *Tancred* pursued them thither, entered with them being followed by his troop, and made so terrible a slaughter there, that every thing swam in blood. It is said that in this place alone there were ten thousand *Mahometans* slain. It was upon *Friday* the fifteenth *It is taken.*

An. 1099. fifteenth of July in the year 1099. that the city of *Jerusalem* was thus taken, four years after the crusade had been publish'd in the council of *Clermont*. By this the most difficult part of the crusaders vow was accomplish'd; and after they had caused the massacre to cease, they thought of nothing but paying their devotions, and thanking God for the happy success of so hazardous an enterprize.

The army turn'd all at once from the fury of slaughter to the sentiments of the most tender piety: and nothing is more edifying and more moving than the particulars which the history of that time gives us of the works of devotion, which the generals and soldiers employed themselves in after the victory.

The week following the Lords assembled to elect a King of *Jerusalem*; and after some consultations, the crown was given to *Godefroy of Bouillon*, who had always been distinguish'd among all the crusading Lords for his courage and wisdom, his skilfulness in war, his probity and piety, his application, his high stature, extraordinary strength, and all the qualities that make not only a hero, but a Christian hero.

The Mahometan army defeated.

He signalized his reign a few days after by the defeat of the *Sultan of Egypt*, who came to succour *Jerusalem* with an army of above four hundred thousand men.

This victory having confirmed his conquest, the crusading Princes took leave of him. He made himself afterwards master of a great many places about *Jerusalem*; and the Emirs of *Ptolemais*, *Casarea*, *Antipatris*, and *Askalon* became tributaries to him. *Godefroy* lived but a year after he was raised to the throne, and was succeeded by *Baldwin* his brother, who, when he took possession of the crown of *Jerusalem*, gave the Earldom of *Edeffa* to *Baldwin of Bourg* his cousin.

The new King had wherewith to maintain himself by the arrival of a vast number of *Europeans*, most of whom were *French*, who upon the news of *Jerusalem's* being taken went into *Palestine*. *Hugh the Great* and the Count of *Blois* returned thither. The first died at *Tarsus*, before he could arrive at *Jerusalem*: several other Lords followed them, and signaliz'd their courage in their service to the King of *Jerusalem*, who during a reign divided between good and ill success in the

Wars

wars he maintained against the Infidels, conquered several cities with which he made a handsome addition to his dominions. An. 1099.

Thus was this new kingdom formed in *Palestine* about the end of the reign of *Philip I.* King of *France*, who however was no further concerned in it, than that he united to his government the county of *Bourges*, which Count *Herpin* sold him to enable him to go to the Holy Land.

We shall find in the course of the history, that the crusaders were the occasion of many such like unions, and for this reason we may look upon them as the beginning of the re-establishment of the power and dominion of our Kings.

From the time the peace was made with the King of *England* in the year 1098. *France* was free from war, and during the last years of *Philip's* reign the kingdom enjoyed profound tranquillity. He died at *Melun* in the 57th year of his age in the year 1108. upon the 29th of *July*, after having reigned forty eight years by himself, and above forty nine, if we reckon from the time that he was crowned at *Rheims*, during the life-time of King *Henry* his father. The death of King Philip.
An. 1108.

This reign has furnished history with a pretty copious subject, but in which the Prince was little concerned but by his irregularities. However he was not without some good qualities. He was well made, eloquent, agreeable, moderate, except in his pleasures and amours, to which he sacrificed his repose and the quiet of his realm; more ready for this reason to finish the wars he was engaged in, and in which he was not successful when he fought in person, than to maintain them with vigour and glory. He was interred in the monastery of *Fleuri*, which is at present that of *St. Bennet* of the *Loire*; and was succeeded by his son *Lewis* the sixth of that name, who was surnamed the *Big*. Epit. Philip.

LEWIS VI. surnamed the BIG.

Orderic. l. ii.
The King is
crown'd at
Orleans,
Suger. in vit.
Lud. Groffi.
Yvo Carn.
ep. 129.

LEWIS the sixth, call'd *Lewis-Thibaut* by an ancient historian, and surnamed the *Big*, because of his shape which grew very thick about the end of his reign, was at his father's death between eight and nine and twenty years of age, being born in 1081.

Tho' he had been crowned King in his father's lifetime, he would be crowned again at *Orleans* by *d'Aimbert* Archbishop of *Sens*, notwithstanding the opposition made by *Rodolph* Archbishop of *Rheims*, who pretended that the right of crowning the King belonged to him and no one else. But *Tvo* Bishop of *Chartres* plainly proved the nullity of this pretence, especially when the quiet of the realm required that the King should be crowned at some other place.

The reason why the coronation was not performed at *Rheims*, was because *Rodolph* after his election had taken possession of his See without waiting for the King's consent, for which reason this Prince had nominated another Archbishop called *Gervase*. But *Rodolph* was encouraged to maintain his pretended right by some discontented Lords, some of whom thought of nothing less than excluding *Lewis* from the crown, or obliging him to part with some of the royal demesne for their use and service. *Endes* Count of *Corbeil*, and *Philip* Count of *Mante*, a natural son of the late King and *Bertrade* his mistress, were of this number, and had with them *Amauri* of *Montfort* the second of that name, *Bertrade's* brother, *Thomas* of *Marle* Lord of *Conci*, and *Hugh* of *Puisset* in *Beauisse* Viscount of *Chartres*.

He subdues
the rebels.
Ibid.

The King was obliged to take up arms against them, and with his activity and usual diligence brought them to reason. He took *Mante*, *Montlheri*, *Corbeil*, and razed the castle of *Puisset*. These rebellions and expeditions happened at different times, and it is difficult to fix the years precisely: but the King had a more powerful and formidable enemy upon his hands.

It was *Henry* King of *England*, the youngest of *William* the *Conqueror*'s three sons, and he who was the most like him as to his prudence and ability in government. The absence of *Robert* his elder brother, who was gone to the holy war, gave him the opportunity of seizing the crown of *England* at the death of King *William* their brother. *Robert* after his return endeavoured in vain to dispute it with him, he even lost his duchy of *Normandy*; for being taken at the battle of *Tinchebray* which he lost, *Henry* put him in prison, from whence he was never delivered.


The occasion of the war between the two Kings was the fortress of *Gisors*. This place was upon the frontiers of *France* and *Normandy*; and for some years past it had been agreed that it should be sequester'd in the hands of a Lord called *Pagan* or *Payen*, who was to receive into it neither *English* or *Norman*, nor *French* troops; and in case it should fall into the hands of either of the two Kings, it was stipulated, that the walls should be razed within the space of forty days.

Suger. in vita
Ludovici
Grossi.

Notwithstanding this treaty, *Henry* seiz'd upon it. The King called upon him in vain to restore the sequestration, or raze the walls of the place: but they agreed to meet upon the river *Epte* to treat of this matter together. They both came thither with some troops, but could conclude upon nothing; and the King proposed to *Henry* to end the difference by a duel upon the bridge over the river that separated the two camps. *Henry* turn'd his challenge into banter. The King seeing it would come to a war, made himself master in the night of the bridge and some fords belonging to the river, and at break of day fell upon the *English* and *Normans*, who were driven by the *French* till they got under the walls of *Gisors*: After this the two armies removed from the river *Epte*. The King returned to *Paris*, and the King of *England* to *Rouen*, to prepare for the war: but at the same time the Count of *Blois* and *Champaign* made a troublesome diversion in favour of the King of *England*.

War with
England.

He was this Prince's nephew by his mother *Adelaida*, and intirely in his interest. He quarrelled with the King upon the account of a fief which he pretended belonged to him; and as soon as he saw the war de-

AN. 1108.  clared between the two Kings, he had the confidence to seize upon *Puifet*, which the King had caused to be demolish'd, and to attempt to raise the walls again.

Several battles.

The King was immediately obliged to turn his forces against the Count of *Blois*. He was seconded by *Robert* Count of *Flanders*, who beat the Count in two battles, one near *Meaux* and the other near *Lagni*, where the King coming up finished his defeat.

The Count of *Blois* went on with his work at the fortress of *Puifet*, and the King march'd to hinder them; upon which a very bloody battle ensued, wherein the King expos'd himself as usual, and had like to have been taken. However he pushed the Enemy with a great deal of vigour, when a large body of *Norman* troops appeared, sent by the King of *England*, which obliged him to retreat with some disorder.

He withdrew to the castle of *Toury*, where he was invested with thirteen thousand men under the banners of *Guy* of *Rocheport*, *Milo* of *Montlheri*, and *Hugh* of *Crecy*: but the Lords of his party having rallied their troops, came to his assistance, and the enemies retired.

As he undertook this expedition only to hinder the reformation of *Puifet*, he was resolved to pursue it to the uttermost. And having furnish'd himself with machines and all things necessary for a siege, he returned to that fortress and besieged it. The Count of *Blois* came to its assistance, and surprized a party of the royal army a league off *Puifet*. The King sustained the attack, tho' the Count had an army three times stronger than his own: but he must have fallen, if it had not been for *Rodolph* Count of *Vermandois*, who was of the royal family. This Lord meeting with the Count of *Blois* in the fight, run at him with his lance couch'd, and dangerously wounded him. This blow was the preservation of the King's army. The Count of *Blois*'s souldiers seeing him carried off all over bloody, lost heart and took to their heels. *Puifet* surrendered, and the King had it demolished to the very ground. He fortified *Tonville* which was a league off *Puifet*, and placed a garison in it to stop the incursions of the rebels of *Beauvise*.

In the mean while the King of *England* was at *Rouen*, being content with sending some troops to the Count of *Blois* without acting as yet himself; but some time after he took the field, and beat the *French* in some skirmishes without gaining any conquest however, and afterwards peace was concluded between the two Kings. The Count of *Blois* and the other rebel vassals were included in it. The principal condition was, that *William* the King of *England*'s son should do homage in person to the King, a thing which the King of *England* had many times refused to submit to; and the King having obtained this important point of the homage, gave up *Gisors* to him.

An. 1108.

Malmsh. l. 5.

Peace is made.

An. 1109.

Two years past without the King's having any war with the neighbouring Princes to his dominions, but not without being often obliged to draw his sword, to restrain the insolence of his vassals, all whose study was how to augment their dominions at the expence of their neighbours and especially the churches, that is the bishopricks and abbeys. The Count of *Blois* rebelled again in the year 1111. but we do not learn the motive of his revolt, tho' it is probable he was engaged in it by the King of *England*.

An. 1111.

The King entred upon his territories with *Robert* Count of *Flanders*, but this expedition did not succeed. The Count of *Blois* advanc'd with a much more numerous army than that of the King, and defeated it. In the rout the Count of *Flanders*'s horse was thrown down, and the enemy's cavalry went over this Prince's body, which so bruised him that he died in a few days after.

Defeat of the King's army.

The King in his turn made business for the King of *England*, by engaging *Foulk* the fifth Count of *Anjou* to refuse him homage for the county of *Maine*, which he had had of *Helie* his father-in-law, Lord of that county. He promised to support him, and some other vassals of the King of *England* entered into this confederacy. But the King of *England* being come over into *Normandy*, obliged the Count of *Anjou* to submit, subdued his rebel vassals, and forced the King to make peace.

Henry King of *England* carried it with an high hand, and establish'd his power more and more by the several

AN. 1113. alliances which he made. He was already father-in-law to the Emperor: and about this time he got *Maud* one of his daughters married to *Conan* son of the Duke of *Britanny*, and his son *William Adelin* to the younger daughter of the Count of *Anjou*, who declared this young Prince his heir to the county of *Maine*, and afterwards delivered it up to *Henry* in trust, when he set out upon his journey to the Holy Land.

Guill.
Malmsh. l. 5.

The King
takes under
his protection
William
Clito son of
Duke Robert,
who was a
prisoner.

The more formidable this dangerous enemy became to *France*, the more the King applied himself to find out ways and means to destroy his power. He had one method before him, which would gain him a great deal of glory if he succeeded in it. *Robert* Duke of *Normandy*, whose duchy the King of *England* his brother had taken from him, was still in prison. He had a son call'd *William Clito*, then about fourteen or fifteen years old, who wandred through all the courts of *Europe*, without being able to procure any remedy for his ill fortune or deliverance for his father. The King was well inclin'd towards him, but found he was not strong enough to put him in possession of his dominions. He advis'd him to use all his endeavours to gain the Count of *Anjou* and *Baldwin VII.* Count of *Flanders*, and as many as he could of the Lords of *Normandy*, and promis'd him that then he would openly take him under his protection.

William, or rather those who follow'd his fortune, did not fail to make use of this good disposition of the King, and they managed matters so well that the league was made.

The alliance being concluded, the King, the Count of *Anjou*, and the Count of *Flanders* agreed to fall upon *Normandy* at three different places. The King on the side of *France*, the Count of *Flanders* by the country of *Caux*, and the Count of *Anjou* by the *Maine*. And accordingly they entred upon the country, as soon as the King of *England* had refus'd upon the King's summons to set the Duke of *Normandy* at liberty.

The King of
England at-
tack'd in
Normandy.
Orderic. l. 12.
n. 1118.

As soon as the armies appear'd upon the frontiers of *Normandy*, the party which *William* had form'd there rose. *Hugh* of *Gournay*, *Stephen* Count of *Amale*, *Henry* Count of *Eu*, *Eustachius* of *Breteuil*, *Richerius* of *l'Aigle*, *Renald* of *Bailleur*, *Robert* of *Neubourg*,

bourg, and a great many other Lords and Gentlemen An. III 18.
took up arms, and proclaim'd *William Clito* Duke of *Normandy*.

This insurrection confounded and astonish'd *Henry* Suger. in vit
Lud. Gross.
much more than all the rest; but what touch'd him the most to the quick, was, that there was a plot even in his own court against his person, form'd even by one of his favourites, and in which some officers of the bed-chamber were concern'd; so that he knew no longer whom he could trust himself with.

In the mean while the King of *France* entred *Normandy*, and took *Andeli*, another very important fort upon the river *Epte* call'd *Gue-Nicaise*, and the city of *P'Aigle*. The Count of *Flanders* run over all the country of *Caux* ravaging it, and went up even to the gates of *Rouen*, and challeng'd the King of *England* to a duel. The Count of *Anjou* belieg'd *Alençon*, forc'd it to surrender after having repuls'd the King of *England* and the Count of *Champaign*, and made himself master of some other fortresses in the country about. *Evreux* was delivered up to *Amauri* of *Montfort*. The King of *England* march'd to it immediately, took the city, and burnt it; but he could not storm the castle.

So much ill success did not however make this Prince lose his courage. He was assisted by *Alan III.* Duke of *Britanny*, and the Count of *Champaign's* troops being join'd to his and to the *Bretons*, he found himself in a short time with a large army at his command. His management, and the good success which always accompanied his arms, deliver'd him from part of his enemies. He brought off the Count of *Anjou* from the league by force of money. The Count of *Flanders* was dangerously wounded in a skirmish which he had near the city of *Eu* with the troops of *Britanny*, and died some time after. And lastly some *Norman* Lords, and some of the most considerable persons among the male-contents were surpriz'd, put into prison, and obliged to give up their castles to the King of *England*.

This Prince after these advantages resolv'd to find out the King of *France* and give him battle. The two armies met in the plain of *Breneville* in the *Vexin*. They came to an engagement. The van and main body of

An. 1118. the King of *England's* army were defeated; but the *French* pursuing their victory with more heat than prudence, and being in very great disorder, where charg'd so opportunely by the *English* rear; that they were dispers'd in a moment.

The King being hurried along with those that fled, and having been thrown off his horse, was oblig'd to make his escape on foot.

The King of *England* gain'd nothing but glory by this battle, for there were but few *French* kill'd, their flight being as swift as the attack of them had been brisk and sudden.

Peace is made by the mediation of the Pope. At the time when the war was carrying on with the greatest eagerness, Pope *Calixtus II.* made himself a mediator of peace between the two Kings. He came into *France* and reconcil'd them. The King of *Eng-*

An. 1120. *land* renew'd his homage for *Normandy*. The places taken from him were restor'd to him. The prisoners on both sides were set at liberty, and *William Clito* son of *Robert Duke of Normandy* remain'd in the condition he was in before; but always beloved by the King, who some years after gave him new marks of his kindness and good will.

The King of *England* had his son *William Adelin* again recogniz'd by the *Norman* Lords for their Duke, but this was but for a little while; for as this young Prince was returning into *England* after the King his father, with *Richard* his brother *Henry's* natural son, and a great number of Lords belonging to their retinue, the ship he was aboard of unfortunately struck against a rock, and every person in her was lost.

Sorrow of the King of England. Thus *Henry*, when he was just upon the point of tasting the comfort of a peace which he had very much desir'd, was struck by the loss of his family with the greatest sorrow that he had ever felt all the rest of his life.

This loss was attended with consequences that disturb'd the quiet of the King of *England's* dominions: and *William Clito* son of *Robert Duke of Normandy*, seeing that this Prince had now no son to succeed him, found the *Norman* Lords more dispos'd than ever to restore him to the duchy, to which he was the lawful successor.

There was a new insurrection. *Amauri* Count of *Montfort* entred into the conspiracy, as well as *Valeran* Count of *Meulan*, and the Count of *Anjou*, who even married his daughter *Sybil* to *William*, and put him in possession of the county of *Maine*. About the same time the King of *England* married *Adelaida* daughter of the Count of *Louvain*, in hopes of having a successor by her, and immediately went over sea to crush the revolt in its beginning.

An. 1120.

A new revolt
of his subjects.Henr. Hunt.
l. 7.

An. 1124.

He seiz'd upon some of the confederate towns, and among the rest upon *Pont-Audemer* which belong'd to *Valeran* Count of *Meulan* one of the principal chiefs. He compass'd his end in getting *William's* marriage with the Count of *Anjou's* daughter annull'd by reason of affinity, and in this manner *William* was depriv'd of the county of *Maine*, and again reduc'd to his first fortune. The King made it up to him some time after by marrying him to *Jane* the Queen's sister by the mother's side, giving him *Pontoise* and all the *Vexin*, and thereby putting him into a condition of disturbing the King of *England*.

Orderic. l. 12.
He quells it.

In the mean time, the King did not declare openly against this Prince. He only furnish'd the *Norman* Lords underhand with some troops; and the King of *England* always found a great many *French* in all the places he took from them. He disssembled himself, and only caus'd some irruptions to be made into the territories of *France*. But at length his usual good fortune deliver'd him from his perplexity; for in a little battle that happen'd near *Bourg-Teroude* some leagues from *Rouen*, *Eudes* of *Borleng*, an *Englishman* and brave captain, defeated a troop of three hundred men, most of them Lords and Gentlemen, and took the greatest part of the heads of the insurrection, and by this destroy'd the party which *William* had in *Normandy*.

Roger de
Hoved. l. 1.

But the King of *England* did not stop here. Being persuad'd that *William* would not have undertaken a new war against him, if he had not been assured of assistance from the King of *France*, he turn'd his vengeance upon that Prince, and executed it in such a manner as expos'd the kingdom to one of the greatest dangers it had been in for a long time.

He engag'd the Emperor *Henry V.* his father-in-law on his side, who was very angry with the King, for

An. 1124. that some years before he had suffer'd the Pope to pronounce in his presence the sentence of excommunication against him in a council held at *Rheims*. He had from that time resolv'd to make the King repent of it, and had propos'd to himself one day to reduce the city of *Rheims* to ashes where he had receiv'd so mortal an affront.

The Emperor
declares a-
gainst the
King of
France.

Suger. in vit.
Lud. Grossi.

Being therefore solicited by the King of *England*, he rais'd a formidable army of his subjects beyond the *Rhine* in order to come down upon *France*. But the danger with which the kingdom was threatn'd united all minds, and never was there seen more harmony between the King and his vassals than now to defend *France*. All the great vassals on this side the *Loire* spar'd neither pains nor expence for this purpose. The militia, which had been set up in the preceding reign, did their duty perfectly well; and when the King came to *Rheims*, where all the troops were order'd to rendezvous, he found a much more numerous army than that of the Emperor. It consisted at least of two hundred thousand men, according to the report of Abbat *Suger*, who was in it, and had at that time a great share in the ministry.

Two numerous
armies in the
field on both
sides.

The Emperor struck at this wonderful union of the whole nation, to which there had not been the like since the time of *Charlemaign*, did not think proper to engage on this side the rivers; and taking hold of the pretence of some troubles that were rais'd beyond the *Rhine*, he return'd back again.

The Emperor's
preparations
to no purpose.

It was upon the occasion of this war, that we meet the first time with the King of *France's* going to *St. Denys*, and taking the banner of that abbey call'd the *Oriflamb*, and this custom continued afterwards till the reign of *Charles VII.* and even beyond it.

An. 1125.
Death of the
Emperor.

The King of *England* made some incursions in *Normandy*, whilst the Imperial army kept all *Champaign* in awe, but without making any progress. He lost his support by the death of the Emperor, which happen'd this year, and he was oblig'd to make peace with *France*. Too happy in having pacified the troubles in *Normandy*, which without the great advantage of the battle of *Beurg-Teoude*, would probably have lost him all the duchy.

William Clito, to whom the King had given the *Vexin*, was always hoping for some revolution in *Normandy*, by means of which he might get into possession of his patrimony. But the King's kindness found out another way to comfort him for his ill fortune; for *Charles* Count of *Flanders* having been assassinated without leaving any child behind him, the King had authority enough to get the consent of the *Flemings*, and so gave him that county. *William* return'd the *Vexin* into his hands, of which he had made no advantage but by waiting till it could procure him something more considerable.

An. 1127.



Orderic. l. 12.

But *William* did not long enjoy this signal kindness of the King. *Thierry* of *Alsace*, who had been one of the pretenders to the county of *Flanders*, declar'd war against him at the solicitation of the King of *England*. As *William* was besieging *Alost*, he was in an attack wounded in his hand with a pike which he snatch'd from a soldier; and it being gangreen'd, he died of it some days after. As *Thierry* had the affections of most of the *Flemings*, and was supported by the King of *England* and the Count of *Champaign*, the King was oblig'd to acknowledge him, and receive his homage for the county of *Flanders*.

Death of
William
Clito.Henr. Hunt.
l. 7.

About this time the King, after the example of his predecessors, had his eldest son *Philip* crown'd at *Rheims*, and continued as he had hitherto done, to punish his lay-vassals, who seized upon the goods of the church, or rebelled against him. Of this number were *William* Count of *Auvergne*, *Thomas* of *Marle*, Lord of *Conci*, *Stephen* of *Garlande*, who was afterwards Bishop of *Paris*, and *Amauri* of *Montfort*.

The King
associates his
son Philip
in the go-
vernment.

An. 1129.

The King in one of these expeditions was wounded in the thigh with a stone shot out of a *Paterero* from the walls of the castle of *Livri*, which he was besieging, and which he caused to be laid level with the ground after he had taken it.

The death of young *Philip*, which happened by an accident two years after his coronation, gave a great deal of grief to the King his father, who twelve days after had his second son *Lewis* crown'd by Pope *Innocent* II. who was then in *France*.

Death of the
young King.
He associates
Lewis his
second son.

During the three following years nothing passed that was very memorable, at least nothing is mention'd in history,

An. 1135. history, only it is said in general, that *Lewis* frustrated all the ill designs which the King of *England* form'd against him.

The King's
sickness.

In the year 1135. the King was seized with a flux, which brought him to death's door. Before he received the Viaticum, he called his son to him; and drawing the royal ring off his finger, he gave it to him, telling him that with that ring he invested him with the kingdom, which he renounced himself and resigned to him. He recovered however of this sickness; but a weakness continued upon him, which did not allow him to have any hopes of living long. But in the mean time he received a piece of news, which could not but give him a great deal of pleasure.

Suger. in
vit. Lud.
Gros.

As he was one day at *Betisi*, three leagues from *Compiègne*, some envoys came from *William* Duke of *Guyenne*, who acquainted him that this Duke had made his will, in which he declared *Elenor*, his eldest daughter, heiress of all his dominions, upon condition that she should marry young King *Lewis*, who should then have them as her dowry, and that afterwards he set out upon a pilgrimage to *St. James* in *Galicia*.

An. 1137.

The envoys, either before their departure, or upon the road, heard of the news of the Duke of *Guyenne*'s death, and that he had confirmed his will before he died. They communicated all this to the King, who by so happy an alliance reunited to the crown the duchy of *Guyenne*, that is a great part of the countries beyond the *Loire*, *Poitou*, *Gascogne*, *Biscay*, and several other territories as far as the *Pyrenean* mountains.

Marriage of
the young
King.

Such advantageous offers being accepted without any deliberation, the young King set out with a magnificent equipage, and the ceremony of marriage was perform'd at *Bordeaux*.

The King's
death.

In the mean while the great heats which happen'd this year had a mighty effect upon the King's health, and he died at *Paris* upon the first of *August*, according to others upon the fourth, being about sixty years of age, his thoughts being employ'd upon goodness, and his actions engag'd in the exercise of fervent piety, depriv'd of the comfort of seeing the King his son again, but offering this last sacrifice to God with resignation.

He was generally regretted. His goodness, his behaviour full of sincerity and sweetness, his zeal for justice, and his care to hinder the oppression of the people and the churches, merited that his subjects should honour his funeral with their tears. If to a strong mind, which hated trifling and debauchery, as he was endued with from his youth, if to his activity, courage, inclination to do good, his application to government, and sincere piety, he had join'd a little more politicks, more knowledge of his true interest, or more eagerness in advancing it, he would have equalled the most illustrious of his predecessors, and would have been in nothing inferior to *Henry King of England*, who was a Prince of the greatest esteem of his time, and who excel'd him in nothing but that art, without which a Prince may be a good King, but will never pass for a great man.

An. 1137.
His character.

He left at his death, besides *Lewis* his successor, five sons and a daughter, namely, *Hugh*, who was at first a Monk of *Clairvaux*, afterwards Bishop of *Beauvais*, and at last Archbishop of *Rheims*; *Robert*, head of the royal branch of the Counts of *Drenx*; *Peter* Lord of *Courtenai*, *Philip* Archdeacon of the church of *Paris*, who being nominated Bishop of that city, yielded that great place to *Peter Lombard*, known by the name of *Master of the Sentences*; *Hugh*, of whom history tells us nothing particular; and *Constantia*, who married to her first husband *Eustachius* Count of *Boulogne*, and to her second *Raymond V.* Count of *Toulouse*, Duke of *Narbonne*, and Marquis of *Provence*. Queen *Adelaida*, some time after the King's death was married again to *Matthew* of *Montmorency*, High Constable of *France*.

His children.

LEWIS VII. surnamed the YOUNG.

An. 1137.

Ch. Mauri-
niacense.

LEWIS VII. surnamed the *Young*, to distinguish him from his father, with whom he reigned some time, judged his presence at *Paris* necessary to prevent the seditions which would probably happen at this time upon the beginning of a new reign. He left the Queen to prosecute her journey at leisure, and went before.

France easy.

As soon as he came to *Paris* he called an assembly of the Lords and Bishops; and without being crowned again as his predecessor was, he consulted with them upon measures to be taken for the safety and tranquillity of the state, in which there had not been seen for a long time so much peace and quiet as there was in the beginning of this reign.

What contributed mostly to it was the troubles that were in the neighbouring dominions to *France*, especially those in *Normandy* and *England*, caused by the death of King *Henry*. This Prince died at the end of the year 1135, and lived a year after his brother *Robert*, Duke of *Normandy*, who died in prison.

Civil war in
the English
dominions.

Stephen Count of *Bologne*, *Henry's* nephew by his mother, went over in all haste into *England*, and seized upon the kingdom without troubling himself how that Prince had disposed of it by will, who had made *Maud* his daughter, and *Geoffroy Plantagenet* Count of *Anjou*, that Princess's second husband, heirs to his dominions.

Roger. de
Hoved. l. 1.

After having confirmed his authority in *England* he repassed into *Normandy*, of which he made *Eustace* his son Duke, with the consent of the King of *France*, who invested him with this duchy, and married his sister *Constantia* to him.

In the mean while the Count of *Anjou*, and the Empress his wife, made themselves masters of all the places they could take in *Normandy*, especially those which were nearest the county of *Maine*, and used all their endeavours to raise their party in *England*. This kindled a fierce civil war on both sides the sea, which lasted a long time, and which was, as I said, the cause

of the tranquillity of *France*, during the first years of An. 1137.
King *Lewis* the Young.

Gaucher of *Montgeai* having endeavoured to disturb it by some attempt which he made upon this Prince's subjects, was immediately punished for it by the demolition of his fortress. *Gesta Lud. VII.*

But in the year 1142. the King declared war An. 1142.
with *Thibaut*, Count of *Champaign*, for three reasons. The first was, because he had given sanctuary in his dominions to *Peter de la Chastre*, Archbishop elect of *Bourges*, whom the King wou'd not own, because his election was without his consent. The second was, because the Count at *Rome* opposed the marriage of *Pernelle* the Queen's sister, to *Radulph* Count of *Vermandois*. *Radulph*, to marry this Princess, under pretence of affinity, repudiated his first wife, who, according to some, was nearly related to the Count of *Champaign*, and according to others, his own daughter. The third reason was, because they knew or suspected that he treated with the Count of *Soissons*, the Count of *Flanders*, and even the Count of *Vermandois*, to make them rise against the King. *The King declares war with the Count of Champaign.*

This Prince entered upon the Count of *Champaign's* territories, put all to fire and sword, took and pillaged *Vitri* in *Pontois*, and thirteen hundred persons who had taken refuge in a church perished miserably there under its ruins, after it had been set on fire. A thing which afterwards gave the King so much sorrow, that he not only came to an accommodation with Pope *Celestine* II. *Innocent* II's. successor, by acknowledging *Peter de la Chastre* for Archbishop of *Bourges*, and being reconcil'd to the Count of *Champaign*; but likewise he resolved from that time to go in person to the assistance of the Christians in *Palestine*, to expiate this sin, and he performed his resolution three years after. This expedition was the most famous adventure of *Lewis* VII.'s reign, and he hastened the execution of it upon the bad news he received from the Holy Land, at the time he was making his preparations.

An. 1143.
Chr. Maurinacense.

The Christians, by their conquests since the first *Guil. Tyr. l. 16. c. 29.*
crusade, in the space of forty years, had formed four considerable states in those countries; namely, the county of *Edessa*, that of *Tripoli*, the principality of *Antioch*,

An. 1143. *Antioch*, and the kingdom of *Jerusalem*. The county of *Edessa* comprehended the country that lay upon the *Euphrates*. The county of *Tripoli* and the principality of *Antioch* were extended all along the sea of *Phœnicia*; and the kingdom of *Jerusalem* was bounded by these three dominions, and by *Idumea* on the side of *Egypt*. *Josselin* of *Courtenai*, the second of that name, was Count of *Edessa*. *Raymond* of *Poitiers*, the Queen of *France*'s uncle, was Prince of *Antioch*. *Raymond*, great grandson of *Raymond* of *St. Giles*, Count of *Toulouse*, who was in the first crusade, possess'd the county of *Tripoli*; and *Baldwin* III. the kingdom of *Jerusalem*.

State of Palestine.

If these Princes had continued firmly united, they would have been invincible, and able to have pulled down the dominion of the *Mahometans* in *Asia*. But divisions arose among them, and *Sanguin* Sultan of *Aleppo*, and afterwards his son *Noradin*, a man endowed with all the qualities of a conqueror, took the advantage of them. *Edessa* and some other cities were taken from the Christians. *Foulk* Count of *Anjou* died in the year 1142, and left the crown of *Jerusalem* to his son *Baldwin* III. of that name, thirteen years of age, under the regency of Queen *Molifante*. This was the situation of the affairs of the Christians in

An. 1145. *Asia* in the year 1145. A young King without experience upon the throne of *Jerusalem*; one of the four principal Princes deprived of the best part of his dominions; those of the three others lying open by the taking of *Edessa*, and having very near 'em a young conqueror determined to push his conquests, and very capable of doing it: this obliged the King of *Jerusalem* and the Prince of *Antioch* to send ambassadors into *Europe* to desire immediate succour from the Christian Princes, and engage them in a new crusade.

A new crusade.

They found the King of *France* in a very favourable disposition. *St. Bernard* preached the crusade with wonderful success over the kingdom; and going into *Germany* by Pope *Eugenius* the Third's orders, he engaged the Emperor *Conrad* the Third to take the cross likewise.

This crusade caused no less stir in *Europe* than the first. A prodigious number of *French* and *German* Lords listed

lifted themselves under the banners of the two Princes, each of which had a very fine army under his command. An. 1143.

Notwithstanding the experience they had had of the jealousy and perfidiousness of the *Greeks* in the first crusade, they resolved to go by land to *Constantinople*, and take the same road that *Godefroy of Bonillon* had done before. The Emperor in concert with the *King* set out first at *Easter* in the year 1147. His army consisted of above one hundred thousand fighting men, among whom there were seventy thousand cuirassiers on horseback. He arrived upon the frontiers of the empire; and as he advanced towards *Constantinople*, he began to perceive the ill intentions of the *Greeks*. Odo de Digoilo. Guil. Tyr. l. 16. c. 19.

The Emperor of *Constantinople* at that time was *Manuel Commenius*, son of the Emperor *John Commenius*, and grandson of *Alexis*, who had used the first crusaders so indifferently. He was a Prince who had some good qualities; but his prudence and politicks degenerated into trick and treachery, especially with regard to the crusaders. The rough behaviour of the *Germans* might have been some excuse for him, if he had not pushed things so far, and if, after they were come into *Asia*, he had dropt his design of destroying them. An. 1147.

The *Germans* march'd as far as *Philipopoli*, a city in *Thrace*, without having any difference with the *Greeks*. But as they went out of that country, the latter having fallen upon some soldiers belonging to the rear, who were stragling, a great battle would have ensued, if *Michael* Bishop of *Philipopoli* had not pacified the generals. The army arrived at last at *Constantinople*. The Emperor Conrad's army arrives at Constantinople. Nicet. l. 1.

Tho' the two Emperors were brothers-in-law, the interview was pretty cold on both sides. There were some ships ready to transport the *German* army to the other side of the *Straights*. There was some contest upon this article, for the Emperor had agreed with the *King of France* to wait for him on this side the *Straights*; but *Conrad*, either apprehending they would cut off his provisions, or in hopes of having the first honour of the expedition, resolved to pass into *Asia*, and a few days after he march'd cross *Bithynia* towards *Lycaonia*. Nicet. l. 1.

Whilst the *Imperial* army advanced towards *Constantinople*, the *King of France* began his march, after having Gesta Lud. VII. c. 10. Interview between the two Emperors. Guil. Tyr. l. 16. c. 20.

Odo de Digoilo l. 2.

An. 1147. having named *Suger* Abbat of *St. Denys* regent of the kingdom, and that not only by the consent, but likewise at the instant request of a numerous assembly of Lords, Bishops, and Abbats. He was a man equally distinguished in the monarchy for his virtue, and in the King's council for his prudence; of a superior genius supported with a vast capacity, had a prodigious memory, quick and lively parts, could express himself handsomely and easily, tho' unprepared, upon all sorts of affairs, and was well experienced in government, in which he had had a great share under the preceding reign.

Vita Suger.
per Guillel.
Character of
Abbat Suger
made Regent
of the king-
dom.

Odo de Di-
ogilo l. 2.
The King's
march.

The King passed the *Rhine* at *Wormes*, and the *Danube* at *Ratisbone*: he arrived happily in *Hungary*, where the King, whose name was *Geisa*, omitted nothing to testify his affection, friendship, and respect for him, and furnished him with provisions in abundance: but the case was altered, when they came within the Emperor of *Constantinople's* territories. As soon as the army entered upon them, there were nothing but ambuscades on all sides, nothing but complaints of the Emperor's officers upon the least disorders which the *French* soldiers committed. They extorted unreasonable sums of money of them for their provisions, and oppressed them upon every occasion, and all this at the same time that the *Greek* Emperor wrote to the King, and the Empress to the Queen, a thousand handsome things, sent 'em a thousand protestations of friendship, and signified to them by their envoys the impatience they were in to embrace them.

Ep. Lud. ad
Suger.

The King thought it would be prudent in him to dissemble, by keeping himself constantly on his guard; and he came at length within sight of *Constantinople* in the beginning of *October*. *Manuel* received him with all possible marks of honour, and in a quite different manner than he had received *Conrad*. They conferred together in that capital, and the King, to shew this Prince the confidence he placed in him, entered the city several times attended only with some Lords of his army.

Manuel was very impatient to see the *French* the other side the *Straights*. But having sounded the King upon that head, he learned that this Prince's design was to wait on this side for some troops, who had embarked in *Apulia*, and were to come



come to him by the way of *Durazzo*. This chagrin'd him, and he had recourse to artifice. He gave private orders to the commissioners of the provisions to raise the price of them, and sometimes to let the camp be in want of them: and afterwards he bethought himself of publishing news of the mighty victories which the *Germans* had gain'd over the *Mahometans*, and the great booty they had taken from them. These reports were spread in such a manner, with so many circumstances, and the accounts of them were so probable, that they were look'd upon as certain by the *French* army.

They had the effect which *Manuel* designed. The *French* burn'd with desire to signalize themselves, and envied the *Germans* the glory they took from them. The common soldiers, hearing every moment of the rich booty of the pillaged cities, thought there would be nothing left in *Asia*, if they did not make haste to go thither; and most of them appeared more vex'd at the King's delay than the *Greeks* themselves. So that this Prince, being continually solicited to depart, by the most considerable persons in the army, resolv'd to pass the *Straights*; and ships were immediately ready to transport him.

The *French* army passes the *Straights*.

The army was no sooner pass'd, but *Manuel* pull'd off the mask; and upon the occasion of some disorders which the *French* soldiers committed upon the lands of the empire, they stop'd the provisions which were design'd for the camp. The army must necessarily have spent the best part of their magazines on the other side the *Straights*; and it was not till after a great many negotiations, satisfactions, and petitions that they could obtain fresh provisions. Among other things which were required of them, there was one which gave the King a great deal of trouble, but which necessity oblig'd him to grant. It was, that the Lords of the army should do homage to the Emperor, as those of the first crusade had done. But nothing confounded the troops more than the fatal news they learnt of the *German* army, quite different from what the *Greeks* had maliciously reported: for this was their unhappy fate.

The Emperor *Conrad*, trusting to the conduct of the guides whom he had taken from the *Greeks*, was

Gail. Tyr.
l. 6. c. 22.

An. 1147. betray'd by them, and left in the mountains upon the road to *Lycaonia*, at a time when his provisions begun to fail him; and not knowing which way to turn himself, ill fortune would have it that he took a road which engaged him in the deserts on the side of *Capadocia*. The *Mahometans*, being informed of this by the *Greeks*, came to invest his camp, into which they continually discharged whole loads of arrows, and then retired, without ever standing their ground. So that the *German* cavalry, whose horses were all haras'd, and most of them unshod, could never reach them. These redoubled vollies killed him so many men and horses, that he was obliged to turn back. The *Mahometans* pursued him without giving him any respite: so that scarce a tenth part of his numerous army was in a condition, I do not say of fighting, but of flying.

Defeat of
the Imperial
army.

Odo de Di-
ogilo. l. 5.

The Emperor, who was himself wounded with two arrows, escap'd with these miserable remains of his army, leaving all his baggage, and all his sick and wounded to the discretion of the Infidels, and with a thousand troubles and dangers got to *Nice*, whither the *French* army had march'd. This defeat happen'd in the month of *November* in the year 1147.

Such was the unhappy fate of one of the finest armies that had almost ever been seen, and which alone was capable of conquering all the East: but that required not only courage in the general, but likewise prudence equal at least to the treachery of the *Greeks*.

Interview be-
tween the
Emperor and
the King.

Conrad and the King had a meeting, and nothing was more moving than the interview between these two Princes. Tears accompanied their embraces, the King offering the Emperor with ardent affection all that could comfort him under his misfortunes, and the Emperor expressing his joy at finding a refuge in so generous a Prince.

Guil. Tyr.
c. 23.

They resolved to continue their journey together. But many persons belonging to the two armies, and especially the *Imperial*, having lost their equipages, and falling short of money, desired leave to retire; and they returned into their own country by the way of *Constantinople*, wherethe people heard with malicious pleasure the relation which they gave of their sad adventures.

The King, by the advice of the Emperor who An. 1147. join'd him, took his rout by the sea side, and the troops arrived at *Smyrna*, and afterwards at *Ephesus*, without any ill accident.

The Emperor, finding he had but few soldiers remaining, fell into a profound melancholy, and thought it was not agreeable to his dignity to be as it were in the retinue and pay of the King of *France*. So he resolved to leave him. He embark'd near *Ephesus*, and return'd to *Constantinople*, where *Manuel*, who fear'd him no longer, receiv'd him much handsomer than the first time he had seen him. He kept him till the beginning of the spring, to send him from thence to *Jerusalem*, where he had a mind to accomplish his vow.

The Emperor Conrad returns to Constantinople, and goes from thence to Jerusalem.

The King continued his march, and to avoid the difficulty of passing over rivers in the mouth of them, went up again into the inland country. He took provisions for several days, advanced towards *Laodicea*, a city in *Lydia*, and encamp'd in the beginning of the year 1148. upon the banks of the *Meander*. An. 1148.

It was there that the *Mahometans* waited for the *French* army to destroy it, as they had done the *German*, because the passage over this river was very difficult on the account of its depth, and the height of its banks. They had two armies, one on one side the river, and another on the contrary shore. The first, which the King had behind him, entirely cut off all provisions from him, and the second opposed his passage, which notwithstanding it was absolutely necessary to effect, or else resolve to perish with hunger. Odo. l. 6.

But happily for them they found a ford, tho' a very difficult one. They resolved to make use of it, whatever it cost them, and to pass the river in sight of the enemy's two armies. The King divided his troops into two bodies, and placed at the head of his van *Henry* son of the Count of *Champaign*, *Thierry* of *Alsatia* Count of *Flanders*, and *William* Count of *Mâcon*, and himself took the command of the rear.

As soon as the first of the *French* troops approached the river, the *Mahometans* run to the other bank with their usual cries, continually discharging volleys of arrows, which our soldiers covered with their buck-

AN. 1148. lers sustained with a great deal of firmness and resolution, advancing sword in hand, some by the ford, and others by swimming.

*The French
army passes
the Meander.*

The three generals came first to land, and having immediately formed some ranks of horse, they frightened the Infidels with their intrepidity, and the fury with which they broke thro' their first troops, whom they made to give way and fly in disorder. The *French* troops, who had a free passage after the first assault, being soon increased on the other side of the river, pursued the enemy briskly, even as far as their camp, attack'd it, took it by storm, made a great slaughter there, took a great many prisoners, and a great deal of very rich booty, and found a great quantity of provisions.

The moment that the van entered the river, the enemy on this side attack'd the rear, where the King was. He sustained their first discharge, for which they were well prepar'd, and immediately march'd upon them sword in hand. They stood no better than the others. Those who were within reach were taken or cut in pieces, and the rest saved themselves in the narrow passages of the mountains. The King did not think proper to pursue them, having by this overthrow gain'd what he designed, which was a free passage over the river, which he crossed immediately without any trouble.

After having encamp'd that night upon the bank of the *Meander*, they left it the next day, and came to *Laodicea*, where they took provisions. They continued their march towards *Pamphylia* to gain *Cilicia*, and then *Antioch* in *Syria* and the neighbouring country, where the Christian Princes of the first crusade had fixed their government. But this rout, to which valour had so happily opened the way, became very fatal to the *French* army by the imprudence of one of the generals.

*Great im-
prudence of
Geoffroy of
Rancon, who
commanded
the van-
guard.*

It was *Geoffroy* of *Rancon*, Lord *Poitavin's*, day to lead on the van-guard; for the great Lords of the army took their commands by turns. He received orders upon his departing from *Laodicea* to gain a high mountain which was in the way, to encamp upon the top of it, and wait there for the rear which the King brought along with him as usual, and which march'd

march'd more slowly by reason of the baggage. This Lord, being come to the place in very good time, consulted with the Count of *Morienne*, if it would not be proper to push farther, and go down into the plain beyond, where they should find forage in great abundance. Most were of this opinion, and they march'd thither.

The *Mahometans*, who were always very vigilant, took advantage of this imprudent step, march'd as fast as they could, and made themselves masters of the top of the mountain, and so posted themselves between the van and the rear. The King was very much surpris'd, when he was enter'd into the defiles, and saw all the passages above filled with enemies, and the top of those defiles on the side of the mountain possessed by their army.

He had scarce time to look about him, before he was attack'd on all sides; the Infidels shooting a vast number of arrows from above, and those, who met him charging sword in hand with much more resolution than usual. Whatever efforts were made, it was impossible to defend themselves. The enemies at their ease pick'd out those they had a mind to kill. The baggage stop'd up the passage, and the troops which went before could receive no assistance from the rest: they were all cut in pieces. In this extremity the greatest part of the rear that remain'd took to their heels, some turning back and others getting by chance into by-paths in order to gain the plain, where the van-guard was already encamp'd without knowing any thing that had happen'd.

*Defeat of the
French rear.*

The King however being resolv'd to die fought still at the head of some Lords and Gentlemen, who were got together about him: he no longer took any care of himself, and had no hopes of preservation, but in the night, which was approaching. Being left almost alone in the dark, he got up upon a tree loaded as he was with his arms, and from thence to the top of a rock. Some *Mahometans* attack'd him there with arrows, others got up into the tree in order to come at the rock. His arms were proof against the arrows, and he made so good use of his sword, cutting off the head or arms of all those, who approach'd him, or who endeavour'd to get upon the rock, that at last they left him not knowing it was the King.

*The King's
danger
and valour.*

AN. II. 48.

odo. l. 6.

The Monk *Odo* of *Deuil*, who was the King's secretary, had received orders from him during the fight to find out some way in the mountain, to go and advise the van-guard of the state of affairs. He was so happy as to find one that led to the plain. He arrived at the camp, and gave an account of the disaster of the rear and the King's danger. When the general and the Count of *Morienne* learnt this dreadful news, they were mad with themselves at the fault they had committed. They immediately made the best troops of the few they had, to take their arms, advanc'd towards the mountain, and came thither in the night.

The *Mahometans* after having plunder'd the baggage, and got their prisoners together, were already retired. After their retreat the King hearing some people passing by at the foot of the rock, where he still stayed, and discovering that they were *French*, call'd them and made himself known to them. It was to them matter of great joy in their misfortune to meet with their Prince, whom they thought dead; and one of them gave him his horse. When they had with a good deal of trouble got out of the defile which was filled with dead men and horses, they march'd towards the plain and met the troops of the van-guards, who having found the King again return'd to the camp, leaving all the rest.

The arrival of this Prince took off a good deal of the consternation, and had like to have made the Queen die for joy, who had already mourned for him supposing him to be dead. But the small number of those that were there shewed the greatness of the loss. In short almost all were kill'd or taken. The bravest and most distinguish'd persons in the rear were destroy'd; they reckon'd up forty Lords of consequence, who had lost their lives. The army were so full of fury at *Geoffroy* of *Rancon* for this loss, of which he had been the cause, that the soldiers loudly demanded that he should be hanged. But the Count of *Morienne*, who was himself concern'd in the fault, begged his pardon and obtained it.

Consequences
of the defeat
of *Laodicea*.

The consequences of the defeat were no less dreadful than the defeat itself. The greatest part of the baggage was lost as well as the provisions which they had just got at *Laodicea*, and that same day their bread

fail'd

fail'd them. It was twelve days march to *Attalia*, a maritime and the capital city of *Pamphylia*, where they hop'd to be supplied. During this time they were forc'd to seek for victuals, and get it by their sword or else by dint of money; and it was a great piece of good fortune to the army, that the King's treasure was with the van-guard in the journey over the mountain of *Laodicea*. During this march they were often forced to engage with the Infidels; and the necessity of conquering or dying made the soldiers find strength enough, as weak as they were, to beat them back.

An. 1148.

Odo. l. 7.
& l. 8.

The King stay'd a pretty long time at *Attalia*, where the *Greeks* compleated the poverty of the soldiers by the dearness of provisions. They promis'd to furnish him with ships at his expence to transport his army to the territories of the principality of *Antioch*: but they brought him but very few, and those very little ones, and the price was excessive. They put him in hopes of a great many more; but as they did not appear, the soldiers of themselves sent a deputation to the King, to desire him to embark immediately with his Nobility on board those which he had, and to tell him that they would attempt the journey by land and joyn him at *Antioch*; that they chose rather to fall by the sword of the *Mahometans*, than die with hunger by the avarice of the *Greeks*: that they knew very well he could do no more for them than he had done; that he would leave them to Providence, and that they should have at least the comfort of dying with their arms in their hands for the love of Jesus Christ.

The King being grieved to a great degree, but not able to find out any expedient in so pressing a necessity, consented to their desire; but not without taking all the measures which prudence and his goodness could suggest to him. He gave them two Lords to command them, who were willing to sacrifice themselves in so dangerous an employ, namely, *Thierry of Alsatia* Count of *Flanders*, and *Archambaud of Bourbon*. He had a great deal of money distributed among the soldiers. He treated with the governor of *Attalia* to furnish them with guides and a large guard to carry them as far as *Tarsus*, which was the frontier town in the principality of *Antioch*. For this he gave him five hundred marks. He had as many horses bought as could

The King goes
into the prin-
cipality of An-
tioch by sea.

AN 1148. be got to mount several Gentlemen, who could not have room in the ships; and made the governor promise him upon oath, that he would receive all the sick into his city, and allow them to stay there till they were able to bear the sea and come to *Antioch*. After having taken all these precautions, he embark'd, and arrived on the nineteenth of *March*, after a very dangerous voyage of three weeks, at the port of *St. Siméon* in the mouth of *Orontes* five leagues below *Antioch*.

Ep. 39. inter-
ep. Sager.

He was receiv'd by *Raymond* Prince of *Antioch*, the Queen's uncle, with all the honours due to royal Majesty and the King of *France*, and began to breathe a little after the danger and extream fatigues of a year's journey, during which he was never sick. As to the troops which stayed at *Attalia*, they all perished, part by hunger, part by sickness, part by the treachery of the *Greeks*, and part by the sword of the Infidels. The Count of *Flanders* and *Archambaud* of *Bourbon*, having made an attempt in vain to go with them, were obliged to return to *Attalia*; and as they despaired of succeeding, because the *Turks* had with whole armies made themselves masters of all the passes, they embark'd on board a ship, and came to the King at *Antioch*.

After their departure four thousand of these unhappy wretches thus abandoned ventured again, but they were hem'd in by the *Mahometans*, who offer'd to receive them among them, if they would come over to their religion; and there were three thousand, who accepted of this condition rather than be carryed into slavery; so true it is, that a long misery is more insupportable than death itself, and that a courage, which is proof against the greatest dangers, cannot always answer for its perseverance in a series of misfortunes.

Thus was almost all this numerous army destroyed by little and little, in as deplorable a manner as that of the *Germans* which had gone before it; and the advice and predictions of the Bishop of *Langres* were but too well justified by sad experience, who was of opinion that *Constantinople* should be attack'd before any thing else was done. A precaution, without which the propos'd design could never succeed, and which the perfidiousness of the *Greeks*, then sufficiently known,

known, seem'd to render lawful and absolutely necessary. An. 1148.

After all, the *French* Nobility, who came to *Antioch* with the King being again equip'd, found themselves numerous enough to cast terror into the dominions of the Infidels; but the King's infelicity was not confin'd to the preceding misfortunes.

The Queen was a Princess very well made, full of wit and charms, she pleased the Prince of *Antioch*, and this Prince knew likewise that he was agreeable to her. The King, to hinder things from proceeding any further, left *Antioch*, and was forc'd to make use of stratagem to get away the Queen and oblige her to follow him. He went with his troops to *Jerusalem*, where King *Baldwin* the third very much wished for him, that he might make use of his troops against the Sultans his neighbours. The Emperor *Conrad* came thither likewise from *Constantinople* with some remains of his troops. There they resolved to besiege *Damas*, which was accordingly done; but thro' jealousy and treachery of some Christian Lords of the country this enterprize did not succeed. Gesta Lud. c. 15.
Guill. Tyr. l. 16. c. 27.

This new misfortune disheartened the two Princes, who had already performed their devotions at *Jerusalem*, and accomplished the vow of their pilgrimage. *Conrad* embark'd again on board the Emperor of *Constantinople*'s ships, and after having had an interview with that Prince in *Achaia*, return'd by sea into *Germany*, where he died two or three years after. The King, having stay'd some time longer at *Jerusalem* and in *Syria*, embark'd likewise, and arrived at the end of *July* in *Calabria*. From thence he went to *Rome*, where he saw the Pope, and at last returned into his own kingdom with a great deal of vexation and trouble, and without any other glory than having attempted so dangerous an enterprize, which could not have been attended with worse success. The King and the Emperor besiege Damas, but cannot take it.

When he arrived in *France*, he found the kingdom in the tranquillity in which the wise conduct and steady management of Abbat *Suger* had maintained it. It was this that gave this great man the glorious title of father of his country. The King arrives in France.

During the expedition to the Holy Land, *Stephen* Count of *Bologne*, brother to the Count of *Champaign*, had kept constant possession of the kingdom of *England*. An. 1149.
Vita Suger.
Continuation of the civil wars in Normandy and England.

An. 1150. *England*, notwithstanding all the efforts of the Empress *Maud* and *Geoffroy* Count of *Anjou*. The King after his return was sometimes on one side, sometimes on the other, and at last he declared for *Geoffroy* Count of *Anjou*, whom he assisted against *Stephen*, and to whom he gave the investiture of *Normandy* for *Henry* his son, upon condition that he should yield the *Norman Vexin* to *France*.

Gesta Lud.
c. 28.

Death of
Geoffroy
Count of An-
jou.

A short time after *Geoffroy* died, and in his will declared *Henry* his son heir to all his dominions, and left *Geoffroy* and *William* his two other sons but a very small share in the succession. However he added a clause, namely, that if *Henry* could compass his end in getting himself recognized King of *England*, he should give up *Anjou* to *Geoffroy*.

An. 1151,
1152. The death of *Abbat Suger*, which happen'd a year or two after, was of more consequence to *France*, than that of the Count of *Anjou*, because he had hitherto by his interest and advice hindered the King from taking a step which was attended with great inconveniences to the kingdom in his own reign, and yet more in the reigns of his successors.

The King is
divorc'd from
Queen
Eleanor.
Ep. Suger. 57.

The King had been always dissatisfied with Queen *Eleanor* ever since what had happen'd at *Antioch*. He resolved from that time to be divorced upon the account of affinity. *Abbat Suger* had dissuaded him from it. But as soon as he was dead, the King resumed his former resolution. The affinity was indeed prov'd; and as the two parties were both consenting, the thing was soon concluded. The Queen had brought the King *Aquitain* in dowry, and he was under a necessity of returning it to her again.

Marriage of
Eleanor to
Henry Duke
of Nor-
mandy.

She was no sooner free but she married *Henry* Duke of *Normandy*, thus disinheritng by the contract of marriage two daughters which she had had by the King.

An. 1152. The news of this precipitated marriage (for it was but six weeks after the divorce) being come to this Prince, he was very much vext at it. He began too late to repent of his imprudence. He considered the consequences of it, and thought in good earnest of means to prevent them, by taking all possible measures to bring down the pride and power of *Henry*.

An. 1152.



Chr. Norm.

League a-

gainst Henry.

An. 1153.

Gesta. Lud.

c. 23.

An. 1154.

Peace between

Henry and

Stephen King

of England.

The duchy of *Guyenne* being added to that of *Normandy*, and to the counties of *Anjou* and *Maine*, rendered this young Prince equally formidable to the King of *France* and the King of *England*. All these dominions, which made a great part of *France*, were contiguous to one another, and he took care to keep up a friendly correspondence with the Duke of *Brittany*, who in the last war had given him some troops. He had a genius capable of making use of these advantages; for he was courageous, active, and politick. It was upon these considerations that the two Kings agreed to attack him immediately. They engaged in their alliance *Thibaud* Count of *Blois*, *Chartres*, and *Chateaudun*, one of the sons of *Thibaud* Count of *Champaign*, who died some time before, and even *Geoffroy Henry's* brother, who was very much dissatisfied at his share in the succession, for he had nothing but *Chinon*, *Loudun*, and *Mirebeau*. They promis'd one another not to lay down their arms, till they had deprived *Henry* not only of *Normandy*, but likewise of *Anjou* and *Guyenne*.

The league broke out, when *Henry* was at *Barfleur* in the lower *Normandy* just going into *England*, where he was always making war upon *Stephen*. The King begun the campaign with the taking of *Neufmarche*, a fortress between *Gournai* and *Gisors*, which *Henry* had reserved to himself when he yielded the *Norman Vexin* to the King.

Henry, quitting his design of going into *England*, went to the place where he was most wanted, and covered the higher *Normandy*. He did this with so much art and success, that he was prais'd for it even by his enemies, whose army durst undertake nothing in the sight of his. He did more; for about the end of *August*, when the *French* army was broke up, he march'd with so much diligence into *Anjou*, that he surpris'd his brother there, and dispers'd all the rebels, who adhered to him.

After having extricated himself out of so great a danger, he managed so cunningly with the King, that this Prince against all the rules of good policy granted him a truce, during which he went into *England* in the month of *January*. There he carried on the war briskly against *Stephen*, who in the mean time lost *Ex-*
stachius,

An. 1154. *Stachius* his son whom he had declared his heir. This accident determin'd him to make peace, finding the *English* very much tired with the war which had so long wasted the whole kingdom. The principal condition of the treaty was, that *Stephen* should adopt *Henry*, and declare him his successor, keeping the crown himself during his Life.

Henr. Hant.
l. 8.

Chr. Nang. This peace and the adoption of *Henry* very much confounded and disturb'd the King. However when the truce was expir'd, he opened the campaign with the taking of *Vernon*: but the death of *Stephen* King of *England* which happened soon after, and the coronation of *Henry*, who became the peaceable possessor of that kingdom, increased his uneasiness, and made him ready to hearken to the proposals of peace which the new King made him. It was concluded upon condition that *Neufmarche* and *Vernon* should be restor'd to *Henry*, that this Prince should give the King two thousand marks to defray the expences of the war, and that he should pay him homage again.

Death of
Stephen King
of *England*.

Peace between
France and
England.

Roger de
Moyed.

An. 1155. *Henry* repass'd the sea with the title and equipage of a King, and came to do this homage which should have made him tremble that received it. He did it for *Normandy*, *Guyenne*, *Poitou*, *Anjou*, *Touraine*, *Maine*, that is for great part of the kingdom of which, bating this ceremony, he was look'd upon as the absolute master. This was the effect of the fatal divorce from *Queen Eleanor*.

Mariana.
l. 11. c. 2.

The King, who had no male children, resolv'd to marry again to have an heir to his crown; and accordingly he married *Constantia*, whom some call'd *Elizabeth*, daughter of *Alphonso* the eighth King of *Leon* and *Castile*.

An. 1157. In the mean while the power of *England* increas'd every day. *Thierry* of *Alsatia* took a new journey to *Jerusalem*, and put into *Henry*'s hands and custody his county of *Flanders* and all his other dominions, and trusted his son *Philip* to his care, who, tho' very young, was married the year before to *Elizabeth* daughter of *Radulph* Count of *Vermandois*, who died some years before; and heiress to that county: so that we may say that the King of *England* at this time kept *France* invested as it were almost on all sides. He oblig'd the Count of *Blois* to return him *Ambuse* and some other demesnes

Great power
of the King
of *England*.

mesnes which he pretended had been usurp'd from his predecessors. And *Geoffroy* his brother being dead, he carried the war into *Britanny*, where he made *Conan* of *Richemond* to yield him the city and county of *Nantes*, and did not leave him peaceable possessor of *Britanny*, till after he had made him promise to give *Constantia* his daughter to *Geoffroy* his third son, and to secure the succession of that duchy to him.

An. 1157.



An. 1158.

Before this expedition, he had an interview with the King upon the river *Epte*, and had concluded a marriage between *Henry* his eldest son, and *Margaret* the King's eldest daughter by the second venter. The Princess was carried into *Normandy* to be educated there by *Robert* of *Newbourg* till she was grown to be marriageable.

Interview between the two Kings.

Notwithstanding this alliance the peace did not last long between the two Kings: they had from time to time some differences and occasions of quarrel. They took up arms, and soon after they came to an accommodation; but generally speaking it was not to the advantage of the King of *France*. This Prince had his turn, and knew how to make use of an accident to chagrin the King of *England*. This was the business of *Thomas Becket* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, who, having by his extraordinary resolution drawn upon himself a severe persecution from the King of *England*, took refuge in *France*, and was there much better received by the King than *Henry* desir'd.

An. 1163.

An. 1164.

This affair, which ended in the murder of the holy Prelate in his own church, gave *Henry* a great deal of trouble for seven years, which it lasted. He was always apprehensive of excommunications and interdicts, and of the disturbances which both might cause in his dominions. The King of *France* made use of the occasion, not only to chagrin him by the protection he afforded the Archbishop, and the handsome treatment he gave him; but likewise to bring down the pride of this Prince, who was forc'd to keep fair with him, and dissemble his resentment upon certain occasions, to have recourse to his mediation, and to desire peace of him. For during this interval there were grounds for a rupture; and besides the retreat of the Archbishop of *Canterbury* into *France*, several other things contributed to it.

Murder of St. Thomas of Canterbury.

The

An. 1164.

The family of the Counts of *Champaign* had been strong in the interests of the Kings of *England*, and the union of these two powers was very inconvenient and prejudicial to *France*, which was almost never attack'd by one, but it was likewise immediately by the other. For which reason the King thought it a piece of good politicks to get the Princes of the house of *Champaign* attached to himself.

Constantia of *Castile* his second wife died in 1160. without leaving any son. A short time after he married *Adelaida* daughter of *Thibaud* Count of *Champaign* lately dead, and sister to *Henry* Count of *Troye* and *Champaign*, and of *Thibaud* Count of *Chartres* and *Blois*. So that these Counts were at the same time the Kings brothers and sons-in-law.

Upon the occasion of this second marriage, which was celebrated at the time that the Archbishop of *Canterbury*'s affair gave the King of *England* the greatest disturbance, the King did a thing which could not but vex that Prince very much. He gave the Count of *Blois* the dignity of grand Seneschal of *France*, which had been always possessed by the Counts of *Anjou*, and which the King of *England* by virtue of that title pretended belonged to him. He hoped he would have bestowed it upon *Henry* his eldest son, the more because this young Prince had married *Margaret* of *France*. The King by these marriages and kind favours compassed his end in making the Princes of the house of *Champaign* well affected to him.

The King of *England* would not at another time so quietly have suffered the Count of *Blois* to have been gratified at his own expence. But he had no mind to make war with *France*, whilst that with the Archbishop of *Canterbury* lasted. He was however forced to take up arms for two other reasons almost as inconsiderable as this.

He had laid a tax in his county of *Touraine* upon all goods and chattels belonging both to laicks and ecclesiasticks, for the assistance of the Christians in *Palestine*. The King, who had done the same in his dominion, pretended that *Touraine* being a fief of the crown, the money that was raised there ought to be put into his hands, to be sent with his into *Palestine* in his name; but this the King of *England* would not agree to.

The

Robert de Monte.

The other difference was upon the account of *William* An. 1167. the seventh Count of *Auvergne*. This Count had been deprived of his country by *William* the old his uncle : and to maintain his right he cited him to the tribunal of the King of *England*, their immediate Lord as Duke of *Guyenne*. But as *Auvergne* was a *mesne-fief* of the crown, the old Count insisted that the affair should be determined by the King of *France*, and this Prince received his petition notwithstanding the opposition of the King of *England*, who maintain'd that the Count of *Auvergne* could not sue in the court of *France*, unless he refused to do him justice. The two Kings had an interview in the *Vexin*, and conferred upon these two points ; but they could not agree, and so the war begun.

The *French* entred *Normandy*, and ravaged between *Pacy* and *Mante*. The King of *England* surpris'd *Chaumont* in the *Vexin*, burnt it with the magazines of arms and provisions which the King had there, and pillaged all the neighbourhood. The King was revenged upon *Gue-Saint Nicaise* and *Andely* which he laid in ashes. These ravages did not continue long, but ended in a truce which was to last till *Easter* the next year. War between France and England.

An. 1168.

During the truce the King made an alliance with *Eudes*, who called himself Duke of *Britanny*, because he had had the title of governor of that country from the Duchess *Bertha* his wife, who had a son by her first husband called *Conan*. This Prince obliged his father-in-law to return him the duchy again. The King of *England* secured to him the possession of it by the great assistance which he gave him : but this was upon one condition, namely, that *Constantia*, *Conan*'s only daughter, should marry *Geoffroy*, the King of *England*'s third son, and have the duchy of *Britanny* for her dowry ; and this was executed when *Geoffroy* and *Constantia* were at age. *Eudes* had been forc'd to content himself with some demesnes in *Britanny*, and he was rejoiced at having such a support as the King of *France*, upon which to raise his party again.

Some Lords beyond the *Loire*, namely, the Count of *la Marche*, the Count of *Angouleme*, *Aymery* of *Lusignan*, and several other disaffected persons to *Henry* entered into the alliance with them, and with the King, to put themselves under the dominion of *France*. They were

An. 1168. were to take up arms as soon as the war begun again. This would have been a troublesome diversion for the King of *England*: but this vigilant Prince was advis'd of all these treaties, notwithstanding the caution they had taken to keep them secret; and before the truce was expir'd, he prevented these Lords and kept them under. Afterwards he came to meet the King between *Mante* and *Pacy*, as had been agreed. They treated of peace, but nothing but a truce was made, the King desiring the *Briton* and *Poitevin* Lords should be comprehended in the treaty, and the King of *England* being absolutely resolved to refuse it: the war begun again. They came to negotiations again; at last the King of *England* was obliged to yield, and that he might obtain peace agreed to all that the King desired. The Lords, who had entered into the confederacy with the King, obtained their pardon. This Prince on his side consented to the reunion of the office of grand Seneschal to the title of Count of *Anjou*; and young *Henry* of *England* perform'd the duties of the place at *Paris* by serving the King at table the following year upon the feast of the Purification.

Robert de
Monte.

Joan Salisb.
ep. 268.

Robert de
Monte.

An. 1169.

Hist. quadri-
partita 6. 2.

Roger de
Hoved.

An. 1170.

In the mean while the King of *England*, finding himself threatned again with the censures of the church for continuing his prosecution of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, took the same precaution that *Philip* the first had taken in *France* in the like case. He had his son *Henry* declared King of *England*, and to shew that he was no longer King, he himself served this young Prince at table after the ceremony of the coronation was over.

This coronation was performed at *Westminster* upon the third of *June*, when *Margaret* of *France* the young King's spouse was in *Normandy*; so that contrary to Custom she was not crowned at the same time with her husband. This was a particular fancy in the King of *England*, who intended by this to vex the King of *France*, because he knew this Prince as well as the Queen continued to solicit the Pope against him in favour of the Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

The King apprehended the motive of this conduct; and had no sooner heard the news of the coronation, but he enter'd *Normandy* with an army to revenge the injury which had been done his daughter. *Henry* surprised at this irruption, which he did not expect, for

he

he did not think that the King would have so immediately enter'd upon a war, came over sea in all haste, and desired the King would be so kind as to have a conference with him. They saw one another at a place, which the *English* historians call *Vendone*. Henry protested to the King, that the necessity of his affairs had obliged him to get his son crown'd immediately, that *Margaret* should be crowned without delay, and that it should not be put off for any longer time than was necessary to make preparations for it. The King was contented with this satisfaction, and peace was settled again. The King of *England* did not perform his promise so soon. The reconciliation of the Archbishop of *Canterbury* with the King of *England* was brought about this same year; but the Holy Prelate had not been three months in his church, before he was assassinated by four villains upon this sentence which came from *Henry* in his anger: *Is it possible then that among so great a number of people whom I have loaded with my bounties, there should not one person be found to revenge me of a priest who disturbs my dominions?*

An. 1170.

Vendonia.

Robert de Monte.

This assassination, tho' probably committed against *Henry's* intention, threw him into greater perplexities than before, and gave the Pope an opportunity of making his authority in *England* and that of the Ecclesiasticks stronger than ever, which this Prince had always designed to weaken as much as possible.

The King of *England*, after having appeased these troubles, was not long without seeing new ones raised, and those more dangerous than the preceding. Young King *Henry*, a Prince of much the same character with that of his father, not content with his title of King without any authority, treated secretly with the King of *France* his father-in-law to oblige the King of *England* to give him at least *Normandy* to govern; for he saw there was little probability he would grant it upon his single asking for it. He got some partisans in the several dominions depending upon the crown of *England*, and engaged the Counts of *Bologne*, *Blois*, and *Flanders* to promise they would support him in case he should have occasion for their assistance.

Having taken all these measures, he made the proposal to the King his father relating to *Normandy*; and upon his refusal, which he did not much doubt, he got

An. 1170. away from court, and took shelter in *France*. This with drawing himself was the signal agreed on by a vast number of Lords of *Normandy*, *Anjou*, *Maine*, *Britanny*, and even of *England*, who rose at the same time in his favour.

Roger de Hoved. part. 2.

The rebellion of the young King was an example to his other brothers. *Richard*, who had the title of Duke of *Guyenne*, and *Geoffroy*, who was declared Duke of *Britanny*, but who had neither of them any more power in those countries than their elder brother had in *England*, thought this was a good and favourable opportunity of obtaining some authority there, and came heartily into the league. Queen *Eleanor* their mother, who was then with them in *Guyenne*, being discontented probably at the coldness of her husband whose love wandered elsewhere, far from dissuading them from the rebellion, engaged in it herself; and lastly the King of *France* openly took these Princes under his protection, upon pretence that *Margaret* his daughter, the young King's wife, was not treated as a Queen by her father-in-law.

League made by the King against the King of England.

The King of *England* ready to be attack'd on all sides, and abandoned by his own family, was strangely uneasy. He had nothing to trust to but the great treasure he had taken care to amass and secure. He made use of it to keep some Lords and governors of fortified places true to their allegiance which they owed him, and to raise an army of foreigners, not daring to trust his own subjects.

Roger de Hoved. part. 2.

He hired twenty thousand *Brabançons*, by which name were meant some sort of banditti made up of several nations, who for some time had run about *France* and the neighbouring countries in companies, ravaging, plundering, burning, killing indifferently every where.

This was the shift that the King of *England* was forc'd to make, and without it he would have been obliged to have delivered himself up to his enemies.

An. 1173. *Philip* Count of *Flanders* entered first upon action, and took *Aumale* and *Neufchatel*, whilst the King of *France* and young *Henry* besieged *Verneuil* in *Perche*, a city at that time very strong and divided as it were into three parts, the greatest of which, where the principal attack was made, was called the *Grand Town*. This part was taken and pillaged; but as soon as the King of *England* appeared with his army it was forsaken.

The

The presence of this Prince in *Normandy* stopp'd the progress of the league. He gained conquests in his turn. He took *Dol* in *Britanny*, after one of his generals had cut a large body of rebel *Britons* in pieces; and these two happy accidents made almost all *Britanny* return to their obedience. He took likewise *Vendome* in the winter-time. On the other hand *William* King of *Scotland*, having declared for the league, entered *England* and made terrible desolations there. It was a great matter, that the King of *England* was not crush'd at first, and that he did so much by his prudence and diligence, as to divide the advantages as well as disadvantages of this first campaign with his enemies. But the defeat and taking of the King of *Scotland* was a mortal blow to the league and the preservation of *Henry*. He was oblig'd to the Earl of *York* for this victory, who gain'd it in the beginning of the second campaign. This so disconcerted the rebels in *England*, that in less than a month all was obedient and quiet. An. 1173.

From thence this Prince came over into *Normandy* in all haste, and march'd strait to *Rouen*, which the King of *France* was besieging, and made him raise the siege. Afterwards he march'd into *Poitou*, where he pushed *Richard* his son so hard, that he oblig'd him to come and throw himself at his feet. At length *Henry* obtained the peace he desired, but it was made upon such conditions as he seems to have given himself to his enemies. An. 1174.

Thus was this war finished, happily and gloriously for the King of *England*; a war, whose beginnings gave him no reason to expect any thing but what was dismal and fatal: but it is in such dangerous situations as these, that great Princes shew themselves to be truly great; and it was in this that all *Henry's* prudence, resolution, intrepidity, activity, presence of mind, and all his other great qualities shone brighter than ever, and kept him in a throne of which he was just upon the point of being dispossessed. Peace between the two Kings.

The fear which the King of *England* had of falling again into the extremity he had been in, and the little advantage which the King of *France* had gained by the powerful league he had form'd against him, made them afterwards avoid coming to a war; so that when any

An. 1174. differences happened between them, they willingly refer'd them to mediators. The peace, which I have just been speaking of, lasted all the rest of *Lewis's* reign, that is six years.

An. 1179. This Prince in the year 1179. resolv'd, after the example of his predecessors, to have *Philip* his only son, then fourteen years of age, crown'd in his life-time. But whilst preparations were making for this august ceremony, the young Prince fell ill of a very dangerous distemper. The King, who was struck with fear and consternation, made a vow that he would go to the tomb of St. *Thomas of Canterbury*, whom the great miracles perform'd there had caused to be canonized. He desired leave of the King of *England* to do this, who willingly granted it. He was heard, and *Philip* his son recovered his health; but upon his return, as he was coming towards St. *Dennys*, he was struck with a strong fit of an apoplexy, out of which he recovered however, but it left him with a palsy on all the right side of his body.

This accident made him hasten his son's coronation, which was performed upon the festival of All-Saints; and a short time after *Philip* married *Isabella* daughter of *Baldwin* Count of *Haynault*.

An. 1180. The King did not long enjoy the pleasure of seeing his son upon the throne. He died at *Paris* upon the eighteenth of *September* in the following year 1180. being about sixty years of age, after he had reigned forty three years, one month, and seventeen days from the death of his father. He was buried in the abbey of *Barbeau* or * *Sain-Port*, which he had founded near *Melun*.

Sanus portus.

His character. He was a very good Prince, but of an indifferent genius; easily and willingly engaging himself in great enterprises, but neither steady, happy, nor constant enough in the execution of them; brave when he found himself in danger, but so fearful as to avoid coming into it at the expence of his glory; naturally a little weak in his behaviour and conduct. It was nothing but the fear of the King of *England* that made him become politick and that was too late. The loss of *Guyenne* and so many fine dominions beyond the *Loire*, which he suffered to fall into that Prince's hands, was a mortal wound to *France*, which she did not recover for several

several ages. He had always a much larger share of the affection and love than esteem of his subjects. He was humane, temperate, liberal, but his reigning virtue was piety: infomuch that some historical monuments give him the surname of Pious. So that if we do not place this Prince in the number of our greatest Kings, yet we owe him at least the justice of reckoning him among the most christian and most truly virtuous.

An. 1180.



PHILIP AUGUSTUS.

PHILIP from his birth was look'd on by the French as a present from heaven, because the King his father, having had only daughters by his two first wives, obtain'd him at last of God by his alms and prayers. This Prince was the fruit of his marriage with *Adelaida* of *Champaign*, and from that time he had the surname of *God's gift*.

Rigord.

Towards the end of the King his father's life, tho' he was but then in the fifteenth year of his age, he subdued some of his vassals in *Berry*, on the side of *Lyons*, and *Champaign*. He entered with some troops upon their territories, and obliged them to ask pardon of him.

In the first year of his reign he banish'd the Jews out of all his dominions, confiscated their goods, and discharg'd all their debtors from their debts, to make them amends for the excessive usuries which they had laid upon them. He caused an exact account to be taken of the hereticks, who for some time had very much multiplied in *France*. He purged the towns belonging to his demesne of them; and if all his vassals had imitated him, we should not have seen these hereticks under the name of *Albigenses*, some years after maintaining their false tenets with their arms in their hands against whole armies of Catholick Princes, and putting so many provinces beyond the *Loire* into confusion.

First actions
of the young
King.

An. 1180. He began with the assistance of his ministers to form a more regular and settled plan and system of government, than his predecessors since *Hugh Capet* had hitherto done. He followed it, and we find him during the course of his reign making the most of the advantages he gained in war, of his treaties of peace, of his marriages, of the very untowardness of his vassals, and of the leagues of his neighbours. He made use of them to augment his own power and authority, to extend the limits of his empire, and to reunite to his crown several considerable territories, which had been dismembered from it.

His marriage
Gul. Brit.
l. 2.

Anonymus
Aquicinct.

The government of the Prince and regency of the kingdom was given to *Philip* Count of *Flanders*, who married the King to his niece *Elizabeth* daughter of *Baldwin* Count of *Haynault*; and as he had no children, he secured to him for her dowry the succession of the western part of *Flanders*, which was pretty near the same with what is since called the county of *Artois*, which joyns to the county of *Vermandois*, which should have been united to the crown after the death of the Countess of *Flanders* daughter of *Radulph* Count of *Vermandois*, and was a great addition to the *French* dominions.

Roger de
Hoved.

Intrigues and
rebellions of
the Queen-
mother.

Philipp. l. i.
The King
chastises the
rebels.
Anonymus
Aquicinct.

This marriage was concluded without acquainting the Queen-mother *Adelaida* with it. She was angry at this, as well as at her being excluded the regency, and retired from court to the estates of some Lords of the house of *Champaign* her brothers. She did not stop there; but engaged these Lords with her in a rebellion, and relied upon the King of *England*.

The King without delay march'd and attack'd *Stephen* Count of *Sancerre*, one of the Queen's brothers, who had taken up arms the first. He took *Chastillon* from him and raz'd it. From thence he went to *Bapaume* to receive *Elizabeth* of *Haynault*. The marriage was celebrated there, and some weeks after he was crowned again at *St. Denys* with his spouse.

Roger de
Hoved.

In the mean while the two Kings of *England* passed the sea, and having joined the Counts of *Blois* and *Sancerre*, appear'd upon the frontiers of *Normandy* with an army, under pretence of defending an oppressed Queen.

The King and the Count of *Flanders* advanced towards them with their troops. The good order and dispo-

disposition of their army made the King of *England* An. 1180. consent to a conference which was held between *Trie* and *Gisors*. An accommodation was made contrary to the inclination of the Count of *Flanders*, who apprehended what happened afterwards, that the Queen-mother would supplant him, if once she was thoroughly reconcil'd to the King.

This Prince consented to let the Queen his mother return, and to put her in possession of all the revenues of the territories which she had for her dowry, as soon as King *Lewis* was expired; for he was yet alive, and died a month or two after; but it was upon condition that she should let him have all the castles or fortresses built upon those same territories.

The King reconcil'd to the Queen-mother

Some days after the King's death which made no change in affairs, *Philip* and the King of *England* met again between *Trie* and *Gisors*, and there renewed the treaty of *Tury*, made some years before in the presence of the Cardinal of *St. Chrysogonus*, legate of the holy See. In these conferences the King of *England* conceived such an esteem of the young King, that he carefully cultivated his friendship for some years after. But the Queen-mother's return to court, and the authority which she knew how to take upon her, soon after raised *Philip* a new enemy.

It was the Count of *Flanders* himself, who being chagrin'd at seeing his interest lessen by the increase of the Queen's, made use of some frivolous pretences to rise against the King his Lord and pupil. He engaged on his side several vassals of the crown, of whom *Hugh* Duke of *Burgundy* was the most powerful. But what surprized the King most, was that his three uncles, namely the Cardinal, Archbishop of *Rheims*, the Count of *Blois*, and Count of *Sancerre*, brothers to the Queen-mother, declared for this party.

He subdues the rebels.

Monac. S. Mariani.

The King, in this conspiracy of his vassals, not daring to trust himself with several Lords of his court, did what the King of *England* had done in the like case. He took the *Brabançons* into his pay, and made an army out of them. He gave up to their discretion the territories of the Count of *Sancerre*, where they got a good deal of booty. From thence he carried them into *Burgundy*, where he took *Chatillon*

Philip. l. 1.

An. 1180. upon the *Seine*, and made *Eudes*, the Duke of *Burgundy*'s son, prisoner. The taking of this young Prince obliged the Duke his father to make peace with the King.

Roger de
Hoved.

The party being weakened by this reconciliation of the Duke of *Burgundy* resolved upon an accommodation, which was brought about by the mediation of the King of *England*: but a considerable piece of interest soon after renew'd the war between the King and the Count of *Flanders*.

Elizabeth Countess of *Flanders* dying without children, the county of *Vermandois*, which she had brought the Count her husband by marriage, ought to have been united to the crown. The Count pretended, that the late King had made a cession of it to him. The King maintained that this cession was not made to last for ever, and that besides he was then a minor. Both sides run to their arms, and the Count of *Flanders* took the field first.

He attack'd *Corbie*, *Senlis*, and some other places, and was repulsed. He went back again to *Flanders*, and the King having got his army together followed him. But as he could not reach him, he resolved to besiege *Amiens*; but before that, it was necessary to make himself master of the castle of *Boves*, the ruins of which are to be seen at this day a league and an half off that place. He carried it by assault; and the garrison, part of which was retired into *Donjon*, was very much pressed, when the Count of *Flanders* returned again, and appeared in sight of the camp, threatening to give battle. But seeing the King determined to fight him, he retired in the night, and repass'd the *Somme*. He wrote from his camp to the Cardinal of *Rheims*, and the Count of *Blois*, desiring them to bring about his accommodation with the King. They obtained a truce, and afterwards a peace, upon condition that the Count of *Flanders* should come and ask pardon of the King for his rebellion, and yield to him the county of *Vermandois*, *Amiens*, and the county of *Sancerre*. The King consented, that he should keep *Peronne*, and *St. Quentin*, making a declaration, in which he should acknowledge he held them only by agreement, and that the King should be free to take them again when he thought proper, paying

The Count of
Flanders sub-
mits to the
King.

Roger de
Hoved.
Nangius.]

ing him twenty thousand livres. It was not owing to young *Henry of England*, that *France* did not fall out again with the King his father: but the death of this young Prince put an end to all his uneasiness. The two Kings had an interview between *Tric* and *Gisors*, where the article relating to the dowry of *Margaret of France*, young *Henry's* widow, was settled. The King of *England* some time after did homage to the King for the dominions he held, depending upon the crown of *France*; a ceremony which he could never be brought to before; but the untowardness of his two other sons *Richard* and *Geoffroy*, who gave him not much less trouble than *Henry* had done as long as he lived, made him refuse no longer to pay this just duty.

The King took the opportunity of this peace to root out of his realm a publick pest, which ravaged it on all sides, I mean those companies of villains who were called by the name of *Brabançons*, whom I have already mentioned. They were then pillaging *Berry* and *Auvergne*. The King sent an army against them. They were defeated, and in several battles lost between ten and twelve thousand men. They were dispersed, but not entirely exterminated, for we shall meet with them in the sequel, fighting under the banners of the two crowns.

It was at this time that the King had the streets of *Paris* paved, and built walls round the wood of *Vincennes*. He was obliged to take up arms from time to time against the Count of *Flanders* and the Duke of *Burgundy* whom he subdued. Excepting this, *France* continued quiet till the year 1187, when the two Kings fell out again.

The causes of this rupture were the King of *England's* delaying the marriage of his son *Richard*, who was become presumptive heir to his crown, with *Alix of France*; *Richard's* refusing homage for the county of *Poitou* and *Guyenne*, and the tuition of the young Duchess of *Britanny*, daughter of *Geoffroy* the King of *England's* third son.

The death of *Geoffroy*, which happen'd at this time, occasion'd this difference. The King of *England*, as grandfather to the Duchess and immediate Lord of *Britanny*, pretended to this guardianship; and the King as Lord paramount maintained that it belonged to him.

There

An. 1182.

An. 1183.

Roger. de

Hoved.

An. 1187. There happen'd likewise some quarrels between the King's vassals and those of the King of *England*, in which these two Princes concerned themselves. But there was not so much wanting to animate 'em against one another.

Cardinal *Octavian*, whom Pope *Urban III.* had sent into *England* upon another occasion, endeavour'd in vain to bring 'em to an accommodation; and *Philip* entred *Berry*, where he took *Iffoudun* and *Grassai*, and besieged *Châteauroux*, where the King of *England's* two sons *Richard* and *John* were shut up. *Henry* came with succours, and *Philip* met him at the head of his army. They were just ready to engage; but the Pope's legates managed so effectually, that a truce was concluded for two years. The King kept the places he had taken, and the differences were referred to the judgment of an assembly of the Lords of *France* which was never held.

After the conclusion of this truce, *Richard* the King of *England's* son gave his father a great deal of trouble and vexation. He withdrew in discontent to the court of *France*, and look'd for a great deal of intreaty to bring him back to his duty. The King on the contrary was full of joy upon the birth of a son, who was born on the third of *September*, and was called *Lewis*. He gave God a signal testimony of his thankfulness by the resolution he took of going to the assistance of the Christians in the Holy Land, whose affairs were then in a deplorable condition through the civil wars that were kindled among them, and the conquests of the famous *Saladin* who had made himself master of the dominions which the Christian Princes possess'd in that country.

The King publish'd his design in the year 1188, but he did not execute it till two years after, upon the account of several accidents, some of which might have made this project entirely miscarry.

It was thought at first that all obstacles were removed by the prudence of *William* Archbishop of *Tyre*, who being arrived in *France* gave the two Kings so moving an account of the misfortunes of *Palestine*, that he engaged 'em to put off the decision of their own differences to another time, and each of 'em take the cross in his hand. *Richard* of *England* had already

Rigord.

An. 1188.

He has a son born.

He designs a crusade.

Gail. Neub.
l. 3. c. 23.

taken it of himself, and a vast number of Lords of both nations and the Low Countries imitated the example of these Princes; but the extravagancy and furiousness of *Richard of England* had like to have overturned all. An. 1188.

He declared war with *Raymond V. Count of Toulouse* upon very trifling occasions, and entered upon his dominions, where he made himself master of *Moissac* and some other places. The King immediately took up the defence of his vassal, and marching into *Berry* took *Châteauroux*, *Buzençais*; *Argenton*, and *Leoroux*. He laid Mount *Richard* in ashes, and took several cities and fortresses in *Auvergne*. Rigord.

The King of *England* cross'd the sea in haste, to make a diversion upon the frontiers of *Normandy*. The King march'd to that side. He took *Vendôme* as he went along. The King of *England* burnt *Dreux*, and *Richard* entering *Berry* ill used the Nobility who had declared for the King. Roger. de Hoved.

However notwithstanding all these hostilities, peace was talk'd of, and even the two Kings met twice together; but at the second interview the King of *England* was perfectly convinced of what he already suspected, that his son *Richard* kept private correspondence with the King of *France*. For the proposals which the King made, were mostly for *Richard's* advantage, and tended to set him free from any dependence upon his father. War between the two Kings.

Henry was mortally angry at him, but things did not continue there. The business was already agreed on. A great numbers of Lords of *Normandy*, *Guyenne*, *Anjou* and *Britanny* rebelled in favour of the son against the father; and *Henry* had nothing better to trust to upon this sudden insurrection than the good offices of *John* Cardinal of *Anagnia*, the Pope's legate in *France*, who omitted nothing to bring about the reconciliation between the two Kings. But *Philip* finding the Cardinal very partial, and seeing the King of *England* did not act with sincerity enough, broke off the conference: or rather it was ended by *Richard's* passion, who put his hand to his sword to run the Cardinal thro', upon his threatening the King to lay an interdict upon all his dominions. Richard betrays the King of England his father.

An. 1189.

Matth. Paris. in Hen. II.

After

An. 1189.



Roger de
Hoved.
The King of
England
routed, and
in danger.

After this open rupture, the King with *Richard* put himself at the head of his army; and having taken several places, besieged the King of *England* in *Mans*. He took the city by storm, and the King of *England* made his escape with seven hundred men. He rode to *Alençon* without stopping. The King followed him, and would have hemm'd him in, if he had not been obliged to have gone about upon account of a river which was not fordable. He returned back and made himself master of the tower of *Mans*, whither some *English* had retired. He gain'd several other conquests; and turning towards *Tours*, he took the place by escalado.

He offers the
King Carte
Blanche for
peace.

The King of *England*, finding himself push'd to the utmost, had nothing left to do but to offer the King *Carte Blanche*. Among other conditions, all very disadvantageous, it was concluded that *Alix* of *France* should be put into the hands of one of the five Persons whom *Richard* should name, that this Prince might marry her after his return from the Holy Land, and that the two Kings and *Richard* should meet again in the middle of *Lent* next year 1190. at *Vezelai* with their troops ready to march for *Palestine*.

The King of *England* demanded a sight of the list of Lords who had associated against him in favour of *Richard*, whom by the treaty he was to pardon. It was shewed him; and he was infinitely surpriz'd to see *John* his second son among them. He could not help shewing his grief, and he laid his curse upon his two sons, which he would never revoke.

Death of the
King of Eng-
land.

He retired to *Chinon*, where thro' vexation he fell into a violent fever, of which he died in a few days. He was a great Prince, but an unhappy father.

This death might have rais'd great obstacles against the crusade; for *Richard's* interest with regard to the King of *France* was quite different from what it was before: but the sincere desire both these Princes had of performing their vow made them agree; and after having given the necessary orders for the government of their dominions, they set out with their troops for *Vezelai*. The King committed the tuition of his son *Lewis*, and the Regency of the kingdom to the Queen his mother *Adelaida* of *Champaign*, and *William*, Cardinal Archbishop of *Rheims*, his uncle, *Adelaida's* brother,

ther, and had this choice ratified by the most considerable Lords of the kingdom. An. 1190.

The two armies being join'd, they march'd together to *Lyons*. The King embark'd at *Genoa*, and *Richard* King of *England* at *Marseille*. The rendezvous was appointed at *Messina*, where they arrived the one after the other.

The season being advanced, the two armies winter'd in *Sicily*, and during their stay, there was some misunderstandings between the two Kings, and upon some occasions they were very near coming to blows.

Philip, before he set out, had a mind to make *Richard* ratify his promise of marrying *Alix* of *France*, and sent the Count of *Flanders* to him for this purpose. The King of *England* answered, that he was resolved to live in good terms with the King of *France*, but that he desired him not to speak any more of this marriage to him, that he had very strong reasons against it, and that he conjured him not to force him to explain himself. Philip. l. 4.

This was hinting at more than he said, and the reports which had been spread of the late King *Henry's* familiarity with this Princess, made *Philip* easily comprehend what he meant. But not thinking that there were any evident proofs against his sister's behaviour and honour, he insisted still upon the marriage, and would not give up that point.

Then the King of *England* told him plainly, that his father *Henry* had had a child by *Alix*, that he had witnesses of it, whose testimony could not be suspected, and he named them to him.

When *Philip* heard them he was but too well convinced of the truth of the fact. He agreed that this affair should be ended without any more noise, and that the King of *England* should marry elsewhere.

Richard on his side promised the King, that immediately after their return from *Palestine* he would restore to him *Gisors*, and the other places, which he had hitherto kept, as being the Princess's dowry; and several other differences were made up.

The King set sail upon the 30th of *March*, and after a happy voyage arrived in two and twenty days within sight of *Acre*, otherwise called *Ptolemais*, which An. 1191.

Gny

An. 1191. *Guy of Lusignan*, King of *Jerusalem*, was then besieging, and which the *Mahometans* for three years had obstinately defended for *Saladin*. The King of *England* set forwards fifteen days after the King, and was longer upon the sea, but at last he arrived likewise in the port of *Acre*; and now there was nothing to do but to push the siege.

Siege of Acre.

The King of *France* after his arrival had already very much advanced the works, and even made a breach in the wall: but according to one of the articles, the assault was not to be made till after the two Kings had joined their troops. For this reason the King deferred the assault till the King of *England* arrived. This fidelity deserved some return from *Richard*, but equity and reason did not always govern the haughty and quarrelsome temper of that Prince.

Misunderstanding between the two Kings.

A misunderstanding happened between the two Kings on account of the dispute between *Guy of Lusignan* and *Conrad Marquis of Montferrat*, relating to the crown of *Jerusalem*. *Guy of Lusignan* was King of *Jerusalem* only by *Sybil* his wife, who died before *Acre*; and the Marquis of *Montferrat* having married *Melisante*, *Sybil*'s sister, pretended that the crown belonged to him in right of his wife. He had the King of *France* in his interest, and had angered *Richard* by refusing him entrance into the city of *Tyre*, of which he had made himself master during the troubles of *Palestine*. This was enough to make *Richard* join with *Guy of Lusignan*.

At first they dissembled on both sides; but nothing was concerted in relation to attacking the place; and the two Kings were taken violently ill. This caused a great deal of uneasiness in the camp; but it produced the reconciliation of the two Princes, who agreed to put off the dispute about the crown of *Jerusalem* till after the siege was over; and as soon as they were recover'd they resolved in good earnest to storm the place.

The two Kings attack'd by turns; and it was agreed, when one made an assault with his troops, the other should guard the lines against *Saladin*, who was with an army within shot of the camp, ready to attack it during the assault. The *French* made the first and were repulsed. *Alberic Clement*, to whom
our

our modern historians give the title of Mareſchal of *France**, and our ancient hiſtorian only the title of Mareſchal of the King of *France*, was killed in the attack.

In the mean time they undermined a tower, called the *curſed Tower*, the fall of which made ſuch an opening in the place, that ſeveral battalions might enter abreast. But they choſe rather to have the place by capitulation than ſtorm it. They gave the five Emirs, who commanded in the city, to underſtand that they might ſend a deputation to the two Kings and capitulate.

Mefſoc and *Caracos*, two of the five Emirs, came to the camp. And as ſeveral propoſals were made them, which were not ſo hard upon them as they were advantageous to the Chriſtians of *Paleſtine*, they deſired leave to go to *Saladin's* camp to prevail with him to agree to them. *Saladin* rejected them: the Emirs return'd to the town; and the next night *Saladin* attack'd the camp, at the ſame time that the Emirs made a furious ſally. The Sultan and Emirs were repulſed.

Roger de Hoved.

They made a new aſſault upon the place, which was again bravely ſuſtain'd. At laſt a freſh mine being ſprung, and the place being no leſs open to the attack of the *Engliſh* than the *French*, the Emirs made a ſignal of capitulation: the Marquiſs of *Montferrat* was ſent into the town to receive the propoſals, and the capitulation was concluded on the twelfth of *July* upon the following conditions.

Surrender of the city of Acre.

Fiſt, that the city ſhould be ſurrender'd, and that the *Mahometans* ſhould not be allowed to carry any thing out of it. Secondly, that five hundred Chriſtian ſlaves who were in it ſhould be ſet at liberty. Thirdly, that the holy croſs, which had been taken by the Infidels ſeveral years before, ſhould be returned to the Chriſtians. Fourthly, that a thouſand other Chriſtian ſlaves ſhould be releaſed, and over and above, that amongſt all thoſe who were in ſlavery throughout the whole extent of *Saladin's* Empire, the two Kings might chuſe two hundred Gentlemen who ſhould have their liberty. Fifthly, that they ſhould pay the two Kings for the charge of the ſiege two hundred

* See the larger hiſtory upon this point of criticiſm.

An. 1191. thousand besants of gold. Sixthly, that the garrison should remain prisoners till the treaty was intirely executed; and that in case all the articles were not performed in the space of forty days, they should be at the discretion of the two Princes, who might if they pleased put them all to the sword.

As soon as they were masters of the place, they repair'd and new consecrated the churches, which had serv'd for a long time the *Mahometans* for mosques. The two Kings divided the town between them, and *Drogo of Merlou* kept guard upon that part which belonged to the King of *France*.

After this noble conquest, the Christian Princes of *Palestine*, as well as the *Mahometan* Princes, were full of expectations of what was to be done with the crusading troops: for the year was no farther advanced than *July*. All depended upon the two Kings: but they were not kept long in suspense; for ten days after the place was taken, the King of *France* declared he was resolved to return over sea, leaving however the greatest part of his troops in *Palestine*. The distemper, with which he had been seiz'd, had left him extremely weak, and was attended with some accidents which gave suspicion of his being poisoned.

This joyned to the discontent the King of *England* had given him, and the little appearance he saw of continuing the war in concert with that Prince, made him take the resolution of returning to his dominions.

There cannot be more contradiction than there is between the *English* and *French* historians with regard to the behaviour of these two Princes to one another. According to the *English*, *Philip* was always in the wrong. According to the *French*, *Richard* was the cause of all the confusion. From whence we may easily see that neither of them were equitable. But be that as it will, *Philip* set out, and declared *Eudes* of *Burgundy*, general of the troops he left in *Palestine*, to the number of ten thousand infantry, and five hundred horse, who were to be paid for three years out of the royal treasury.

The King of *England*, before *Philip* departed, engaged him to promise upon oath that he would undertake nothing against his dominions during his absence, and

Philip. l. 4.

Roger de Hoved.
The King
returns into
his domini-
ons.

and when they separated they gave each other great marks of affection and esteem. The King embark'd at *Tyre* upon the third of *August*, and landed safely in *Apulia*. He pass'd thro' *Rome*, where Pope *Celestine* III. received him with great honours. From thence he went to *France*, where he arrived about *Christmas*. An. 1191.

The King of *England* continued a year longer in *Palestine*, and the jealousy he had of his brother *John* and the King of *France* made him hasten his return. As he came through the dominions of *Leopold* of *Austria*, whom he had affronted at the siege of *Acre*, he was taken by that Duke, and put into the Emperor *Henry* VI.'s hands. This Prince, who was *Philip's* friend, gave him notice of it in a letter, as a piece of news that could not but be pleasing to him. Richard, upon his return is seized by the Duke of Austria.

He resolv'd in short to make his advantage of this opportunity. He enter'd into an alliance with the King of *Denmark* by marrying his sister *Ingelburga*. But what he endeavour'd at with the greatest application, was to gain *John*, the King of *England's* brother. He promised to assist him in getting his brother's kingdom, upon certain conditions advantageous to *France*.

The treaty was no sooner concluded but *John* did homage to the King for all the dominions belonging to the crown of *England* on this side the sea, and for *England* it self, as some said at that time. He went immediately into *England*; and having spread a report that *Richard* was dead in prison, he demanded to be recognized as King: but most of the Lords continued loyal, and he could only make himself master of some castles. Roger. de Hoved.

The King on his side sent into *Germany*, to declare to *Richard*, that he acknowledged him no longer for his vassal, and press'd the Emperor to put him into his hands. He sent to *William*, the Seneschal of *Normandy*, to deliver up the Princess *Alix*, who was kept in the castle of *Rouen*, and to restore to him *Gisors*, and the counties of *Eu* and *Aumale*. The Seneschal answered, that having receiv'd no orders from the King his master upon these heads, he would not give up what was committed to his trust. But the King having entered *Normandy* with an army, made the governor of *Gisors* surrender the place to him. He took John, Richard's brother, sets up for King of England.

An. 1191. *Neaufle, Aumale, Eu, Neuchatel*, and some other places, and came before *Rouen*, threatening the inhabitants to put them all to the sword if they made the least resistance.

Philip gains
conquests in
Normandy.
Rigord.
Roger de
Hoved.

The citizens, frightened at these menaces, were ready to surrender, when the Earl of *Leicester* got into the place and encouraged them. The King, who had nothing with him to carry on a siege of this importance, retired, and went and took the fortresses of *Pacy* and *Ivry*, which made no resistance.

Beyond the *Loire*, *Raymond* Count of *Toulouse*, the Count of *Perigord*, and a great many Lords of those parts rose in favour of the King, and made some inroads upon the estates of those who continued faithful to the King of *England*. But he who commanded in that country in his name, supported by the assistance which *Sancho VI.* King of *Navarre*, *Richard's* father-in-law gave him, opposed this insurrection, and laid the country waste as far as the walls of *Toulouse*.

In the mean while the King of *England's* ministers, Queen *Eleanor* his mother, *Gautier* Archbishop of *Rouen*, and the Pope used their endeavours with the Emperor to obtain *Richard's* deliverance. Several Princes of *Germany* espoused his interest, and he himself sent *William* Bishop of *Ely*, his Chancellor, to the King, conjuring him to lay no obstacle in the way. He even consented that he should keep all the places he had taken since his return from *Palestine*, if he thought he could retain 'em with justice, protesting that he referred himself to his own conscience. This offer, and some others which *Richard* added, made the King no longer oppose his releasment. A new treaty was made. As soon as it was concluded, Queen *Eleanor*, *Richard's* mother, went into *Germany*; and the Emperor, having received hostages for the ransom he demanded for this Prince, set him at liberty upon the feast of the *Purification*.

The King
of England
is releas'd
out of pri-
son.

Richard set out immediately for *England*, after a year, six months, and three days imprisonment, besides the little time he was in the Duke of *Austria's* hands. All that I have here related upon this subject happened between the end of the year 1192. and the beginning of 1194.

Consi-

Considering *Richard's* character, we cannot well suppose he would heartily forgive the King of *France* for a captivity, the length of which at least was occasioned by the contrivance of that Prince. Nor did *Philip* expect it; for as soon as he knew that *Richard* had concluded his treaty with the Emperor, he wrote to *John* in these words, *Take care of your self, the Devil is unchain'd*: which made him immediately leave *England* and come into *France*.

An. 1194.

Roger. de
Hoved.

A short time after the King received a letter from *Germany*, signed by the Emperor, and a great number of Princes of the Empire, in which they sent him word, not in the way of a request but a command, that he must restore to the King of *England* all the places he had taken from him; and that if he did not, he should have them all for his enemies. The King was very much surprized at the conduct and alteration of the Emperor towards him, but was not much frightened at it, knowing very well that all these Princes were moved only by force of money, and that the King of *England* had not much to give them at that time. But judging by this step that this Prince did not stand firm to the last treaty, he entered *Normandy* in *February*, where he took *Evreux*, which he gave to *John* of *England*, keeping the castle for himself. He took likewise *Newbourg*, *Vaudreuil*, and several fortresses upon that frontier, and returned into *France*.

Guil. Neub;
l. 4. c. 40.

Richard in the mean while landed at *Sandwich* upon the thirteenth of *March*, and was received with great joy by his subjects. The Archbishop of *Canterbury*, at the head of the Bishops had already pronounced the sentence of excommunication against *John* for his rebellion, and all the places and fortresses which he had in the kingdom did not hold out long after *Richard's* arrival.

He arrives
in England.

This Prince having stay'd only six weeks in *England*, went into *Normandy* with an army which he transported in a hundred sail of ships. He landed at *Barfleur*, and march'd to *Verneuil* in *Perche*, which the King of *France* had besieged eighteen days.

He goes into
Normandy.

During these transactions, *John* of *England*, who corresponded privately with his brother, resolved to purchase his pardon by a most flagrant piece of treachery. He surprized the castle of *Evreux*; and all

An. 1194. the *French* who were in that fortress and the city he put to the sword. The King, upon hearing this news, went privately from the camp before *Verneuil* with some troops, and in his turn surprized the *English* in *Evreux*. He caused all of that nation who were there to be killed, treated the citizens who did not escape in the same manner, and set fire to the four corners of the town.

He gains conquests there.

Roger. de Hoved.

This hasty piece of revenge made him lose *Verneuil*. During his absence a panick terror spread thro' his camp, occasion'd by the King of *England's* being so near them. The troops fled, leaving their machines and baggage behind them. *Richard* being advis'd of this confusion fell upon them, and enter'd *Verneuil*, which was upon the point of being taken, the breach being already made in the wall.

He went from thence to *Montmirail*, which the *Manseaux* and *Angevins* were besieging; but he found the place taken and destroy'd. Afterwards he pass'd the *Loire*, carried *Loches* by assault, and made himself master of some other places.

Philip. L. 5.

Peace began to be talk'd of, and a truce was negotiated, but the parties could not agree. Some little places were taken by both sides; and *Richard* having charged the King's rear between *Chateaudun* and *Vendome* defeated it. The King soon had his revenge: he fell upon the *English* who were besieging the castle of *Vaudrenil*, cut them in pieces, took several prisoners, and remain'd master of the machines and baggage. This vicissitude of good and bad success gave room to the Pope's legate in *France*, and the Abbat of *Citeaux* to make a new attempt towards bringing the two Kings to a truce. They succeeded: the truce was concluded. Each King continued in possession of what he had, and both promised to refer their differences to an arbitration.

A truce is made.

This truce did not last to the end of its term, which was the festival of All Saints in the following year. Hostilities were committed on both sides, the two parties accusing each other of having broken the truce. The advice which the King had of a league negotiating between the Emperor and the King of *England* against *France*, determin'd him to declare to this Prince, that he look'd upon the truce as broken. Hostilities were

were renewed with more vigour than ever: but the news which brought the defeat of *Alphonso* the VIIIth King of *Castile* by the *Saracens* of *Africa*, made the two Kings think again of Peace for the good of Christendom. They had an interview, in which a treaty was projected, and upon this occasion *Alix* of *France* the King's sister, who has been so often mentioned, was delivered to him again. He married her afterwards to the Count of *Ponthieu*.

An. 1194.

Roger. de Hoved.

This was all the consequence of that interview. The two Kings could not agree, and the King of *England* went and laid siege to *Arques*. *Philip* march'd to its assistance. He beat up some of the enemy's quarters, and terror running thro' the camp of the *English*, they left the siege in great disorder. The King went to *Dieppe*, which he took without any opposition, and burnt the ships that he found in the port. Upon this occasion he made use of wild-fire, which he had probably learnt the art of making in *Palestine*, or at least which he provided himself with before he came from thence. But if he brought the secret with him into *France*, it was lost afterwards. As he returned from this expedition, the King of *England* prepared an ambuscade for him in a wood near which he was to pass, and killed several soldiers belonging to his rear.

The war is renew'd.

Rigord. Roger de Hoved,

At the same time a company of *Brabançons*, which *Richard* had taken into his pay, surprized *Iffoudun*. This brought the war into that part of the country. The King came thither first, took the city, and besieg'd the castle; *Richard* came to its assistance, and encamp'd very near the King. It was not doubted but they would have come to a battle, and yet this circumstance, contrary to all expectation, produced a peace.

The two Kings had a conference together; and tho' nothing was agreed on as yet, the King of *England* did homage to the King for the duchy of *Normandy* and the counties of *Poitou* and *Anjou*. In the month of *December* a truce was concluded, and the two Kings promised to meet at *Louviers* the month after. They did so, and peace was made according to the project which was put in writing between *Charost* and *Iffoudun*.

An. 1195.

An. 1196.

Peace is made.

An. 1196.



The war be-
gins again.
Rigord.

This peace did not last long, so great was the antipathy between the two Princes. The King of *England* was the cause of the rupture by his oppression of the Lord of *Vierzon* in *Berry*, the King's vassal, whom he used ill, and whose castle he raz'd. *Philip* without demanding satisfaction took it himself by force, he besieged *Amale* which kept him six weeks, and gave *Richard* time to return from *Berry*, to seize upon *Nonancourt* which was yielded to him for money, and to come to the succour of the place besieged. He attack'd the King's camp, but was vigorously repulsed, and the town was forc'd to surrender. *Philip* afterwards retook *Nonancourt*, but lost *Gamache*.

Guil. Neub.
l. 5. c. 18, 19.

On the other hand the Count of *Toulouse* and the *Britons* gave the King of *England* some trouble. The Count would not ratify the treaty of *Louviers*, in which he was comprehended; and the *Britons* refus'd *Richard* the guardianship of his nephew *Arthur* Duke of *Britanny*, being enraged at him for seizing upon *Constantia* the Duke's mother at a conference he proposed to her, and they had applied to *France* for protection. But *Richard's* *Brabançons* obliged *Arthur* to renounce the protection of that court, and *Richard* came to a reconciliation with the Count of *Toulouse* by marrying his sister to him, to whom he gave the county of *Agen* for her dowry. So that he was now in a condition to unite all his forces against *France*.

Castel. Hist.
of the Counts
of Toulouse.

Guil. Neub.
l. 5. c. 31.
Guil. Arm.

He did more yet, for he brought over to his interest *Baldwin* the ninth Count of *Flanders*, and his nephew the Duke of *Britanny*, and by force of money he gained the Lords of the house of *Champaign*, *Reynold* of *Dammartin* Count of *Bologne*, and several other vassals of the crown.

An. 1197.

And now *Richard* thought himself so much master of his enemy, that he look'd upon the taking *Paris* as a thing that could not fail, insomuch that he divided the neighbouring lands beforehand amongst the allies, and even the streets of this capital which he promis'd to give them in fief; but his success fell very far short of his expectations.

Richard seiz'd upon several fortresses in *Auvergne* and *Berry*. He took *Dangu* upon the frontiers of the *Norman Vexin*, but the King retook it shortly after. In *July* a skirmish happened which was memorable

able for the intrepidity that *Philip* shewed. He was come out of *Mante* to go to *Gisors*, accompanied only with two hundred horse. He met in the road very near *Gisors* the King of *England* followed by fifteen hundred men, by troops of his vassals, and a great number of *Brabançons*. The Lord of *Mauvoisin* advised him to return, considering the inequality of the enemies forces and his own. Upon this proposal the King looking with indignation on him who made it; I, says he, go back, and fly from the sight of the King of *England*? I'll not do it. Whoever has a mind, let him follow me, and with me either die or conquer gloriously. Then marching furiously upon the enemies squadrons, he broke thro' them with his own; and throwing down all that came before him, he got to *Gisors* by one of the most happy pieces of presumption that was ever seen, but could not hinder the *English* from taking several of his people prisoners.

Philip's intrepidity.

Guil. Arm.

But what disquieted the King more than all the rest, was what passed in *Flanders*. *Baldwin* committed great ravages there upon the territories of *France*. He had taken *St. Omers*, *Ayre*, *Doñay*, and was then besieging *Arras*. The King upon this news march'd to that side with an army. The Count raised the siege to go and fortify himself in his own dominions. The King followed him with more heat than caution, leaving several rivers behind him without guarding the bridges. The Count of *Flanders* took possession of them, broke them, by this means cut off his provisions, and made his retreat very dangerous. The King, finding himself in so great danger, thought that without standing too much upon the point of honour, it would be prudent in him to make the first advances towards a reconciliation with the Count. They came to an accommodation; and the Count, from being this Prince's enemy, became the mediator between him and the King of *England*: a truce was concluded for a year; but at the end of that term the war broke out with more violence than before.

Guil. Neub.
l. 5. c. 31.

The King in danger.

Roger de Hoved.

The King was beaten by *Richard* in two fights, one near *Vernon*, and the other between *Mante* and *Gisors*. He had like to have been killed in this second overthrow, for when he was upon the bridge of *Gisors* over the river *Epte*, followed by the running crowd

The King in danger again.

An. 1198. whom the *English* closely persued, the bridge broke. The King fell into the river, and would have been drown'd, as many others were, if he had not had immediate assistance.

An. 1199. Pope *Innocent* III. lately raised to the chair of St. *Peter*, beheld with a great deal of grief these two Princes thus exasperated against each other. He sent Cardinal *Peter* of *Capua* into *France* to reconcile them, and he found them pretty well disposed to hearken to him. At length he got them to conclude a truce for five years. A short time after he proposed to them to make a lasting peace, and after having conferred with them he drew up a plan of it. *Richard* put off examining it till after a journey he was to take into *Poitou*. But he never return'd, for he lost his life there in the manner I am going to relate.

Rigord. *Aymar* Viscount of *Limoges* had found a rich treasure in his territories. He presented part of it to *Richard*, who would have the whole, pretending it belonged to him as Lord Paramount. The Viscount refus'd it. And upon this *Richard* march'd and besieged the castle of *Chalus*, which belonged to the Viscount.

The King of
England
wounded.

As he was taking a nearer view of it, attended by *Marcadé* head of the *Brabançons*, an archer belonging to the garrison, called *Bertrand* of *Gourdon*, let fly an arrow that struck him in the arm. The wound dangerous of itself became mortal thro' the ignorance of the surgeon.

Roger de
Hoved.

Richard however ordered the castle to be stormed, and it was carried. He commanded that all those should be hanged, who were taken in it; except him, who had wounded him, reserving him probably, says the *English* historian, for some severer punishment.

When at the end of some days his recovery was despaired of, he sent for *Gourdon* to come to him, and spoke thus to him: *Wretch, what have I done to thee to make thee kill me? What have you done to me!* calmly replied *Gourdon*, *I'll tell you; You have killed my father and my two brothers with your own hand, and you intended to hang me. I am now in your power: you may be revenged of me as you please. I am ready to suffer the sharpest torments, provided I may have the pleasure of hearing that you die by my hand,*

hand, you, who have done so much mischief in the world. Am. 1190.

Upon *Gourdon*s, speaking in this manner, he was loaded with chains. But *Richard* commanded them to be taken off, and only said these two words to him: *friend, I forgive you my death.* He order'd him to be set at liberty, and gave him a sum of money with leave to go where he pleased: but he' was seized without the King's knowledge by *Marcadé*, who had him flead alive, and afterwards hanged as soon as the Prince expired.

Richard died of his wound upon the sixth of *April*. His death and character.
This last act of Christian generosity towards him, who had been the cause of his death, was in its kind the noblest of his life, and capable of obtaining God's mercy for the great sins he had been guilty of. Impurity, cruelty, avarice and ambition were the faults which the historians of his own nation, who have been the most favourable to him, reproach him with. His courage and intrepidity gave him the surname of Heart of a Lion. He had joyned to that a great deal of experience and skill in war, and there is some reason to doubt at least whether without his death the reign of *Philip Augustus* would have been so glorious and victorious as it was afterwards; so true it is, that particular circumstances and junctures contribute no less to the making of heroes than their virtues themselves.

When *Richard* died, he declared his brother *John* heir to his dominions, and his successor to the crown of *England*. *Arthur* Duke of *Britanny* his nephew seiz'd upon *Anjou*, *Tourain*, *Maine*, and the Nobility of those countries recognized him for their Lord, as representing *Geoffroy*, his father *Richard*'s younger brother, but elder than *John*. *Constantia* his mother put herself and him under *Philip*'s protection; and to shew what confidence she placed in him, she sent this young Prince to him to be educated with Prince *Lewis*.

The King, after *Richard*'s death, not thinking himself any longer obliged to keep the truce, seized upon *Evreux* and all the county, travers'd *Normandy*, ravaging it as far as *Mans*, and placed *French* governours in all the cities and fortresses of *Maine*, *Anjou*, and *Tourain*. War between the King, and John King of England. Rigord.
On

An. 1199. On the other hand the new King of *England*, assisted by the Count of *Flanders*, took *Mans* and raz'd its walls. The war was carried on with various success.

Roger de Hoved.

The Cardinal of *Capua* obtain'd a cessation of arms for some months. But he had another affair to treat about with the King, which was no less difficult to manage than this.

The King re-
mediates
Queen Ingel-
burga.

I said, that in 1193. the King married *Ingelburga*, sister to *Canute* King of *Denmark*. This Princess was beautiful, and a woman of a great deal of honour. Notwithstanding this, the day after his marriage *Philip* resolv'd to be divorc'd from her. The true reason of this behaviour was never known, and it seem'd so surprising, that among the people it was ascribed to some witchcraft. The King had recourse to the usual pretence, which was affinity within the prohibited degree. Pope *Celestine* III. named commissioners to examine into the fact. They gave judgment in favour of the King, and the marriage was declar'd null by the Archbishop of *Rheims*.

Rigord.
Guil. Neub.

The King of *Denmark* complained of this to the Pope, but things remained in suspense till the year 1196, when the King married *Agnes* daughter of *Berthold* II. Duke of *Bohemia* and *Merania*. The King of *Denmark* being exasperated at this new affront, made more pressing instances upon this affair, and gave his ministers an ample confutation of the genealogy by which they had endeavoured to prove the affinity of *Philip* with *Ingelburga*.

Some call her
Mary.

Perplexity
which this di-
vorce gives
the King.

The Pope sent two legates into *France* to examine this matter over again; but the difficulties which they found, or pretended to find in so nice a point, hinder'd them from determining any thing. *Innocent* III. who succeeded *Celestine* two years after, was absolutely resolv'd that the thing should be thoroughly enquired into, being persuaded that false declarations had been sent from *France* to *Rome*. The matter was examined in *France* in several councils, in which the King lost his cause; and upon his refusing to submit to the judgment of the council held at *Vienne*, an interdict was laid on his dominions, and observed in several diocesses.

Monachus
Aquicinct.

The King, being very much chagrined and embarrass'd, demanded time and a new examination, and obtain'd it. A council met at *Soissons*, where the case was argued

gued by the King of *Denmark's* Lawyers and those of the King of *France*. But when this Prince found that matters went against him, he sent to the legates and council to tell them, that they might spare themselves the pains of a long examination, for that he had taken the Queen again, and acknowledged her for his wife. Thus, adds our historian, did the King deliver himself out of the hands of the *Romans*, without submitting to their judgment.

An. 1199.

He takes
Ingelburga
again.
Rigord.

During the course of this negotiation, some others of importance were transacted. The Count of *Flanders* came to a reconciliation with the King, and yielded to him occidental *France*, that is, the places which at present make the county of *Artois*, excepting *Aise* and *S. Omer*, and a few other places. This canton of *Flanders* was then erected into a county, and the King made his son *Lewis* the first Count of it.

Monachus
Aquicinct.
Cartulaire
M.S. de Phi-
lippe Au-
guste.

This peace was succeeded by that which was made with the King of *England*. It was concluded on the twenty second of *May* between *Gaillon* and *Andeli*. One of the articles was the marriage of Prince *Lewis* of *France* with *Blanche* of *Castile* daughter of *Alphonso* VIII. and niece to the King of *England*. The young Prince, who was then but thirteen years old, married her the day after the treaty was signed.

An. 1200.

Peace is made
with Eng-
land.

For a long time there had been no peace made between *France* and *England* that seem'd so firm as this. It was entered into with a particular examination of each party's pretensions. All things were settled in a pretty clear manner, and as far as was possible, every thing was obviated that could create any misunderstanding between the two Kings. It was the King of *England*, who gave occasion or at least pretence for the rupture.

Isabella daughter of *Aymar* Count of *Angouleme* had been promised in marriage to *Hugh* the *Brown* Count of *la Marche*, and this Count had even married her in private, deferring to do it in the face of the church till she was grown to be marriageable. But notwithstanding this engagement, the Count of *Angouleme*, finding the King of *England* was passionately in love with his daughter, gave her to him, and this Prince married her. The Count of *la Marche* highly resented this affront; and as he was powerful and in a league with the great-
est

New seeds of
war.

Roger de
Hoved.

An. 1201. est Lords beyond the *Loire*, he gain'd them to his interest without much trouble, and some of them rose in arms against the King of *England*. But the speedy arrival of this Prince in *Normandy* with an army dispersed them.

He resolved to take the advantage of their consternation, and cited several of them to answer for many acts of disloyalty which he said they had been guilty of towards him and his predecessor. They had applied to the Court of *France*, that they might be judged by the King as the sovereign of the King of *England* as well as of themselves. These sort of requests were always well received by the courts of *France*, which gladly made use of all opportunities of making the Kings of *England* sensible of their dependence upon the crown.

Philipp. L. 6. However, as *mesne-vassals* had no right to come before the tribunal of the Lord Paramount, but in case their immediate Lord denied them justice, the King only answered them, that he would take care of their concerns; and he wrote to the King of *England*, exhorting him not to molest them, but to hear their grievances.

The King of *England* promised he would; but when they desired safe conducts, he refused to grant them, and he used so many delays, that the King, to make himself obeyed, took the field, and seiz'd upon several forts and towns upon the frontiers of *Normandy*.

An. 1202. In the mean while *Arthur* Duke of *Britanny* finding a war would break out, resolved to make his advantage of it. He entered into an alliance with the discontented Lords, and desired the King would be so good in case of a rupture, as to stand by his right to the succession of the late King of *England*, as being son of *Geoffroy* elder brother to this Prince. This he had no difficulty to obtain, and the King even made him a Knight with his own hand.

War between the two Kings. War being thus declar'd, the Duke of *Britanny* besieged *Mirebeau* with a few troops. The King of *England* attack'd him, defeated him, and took him prisoner. He put him into the castle of *Falaise*, and afterwards Matth. Paris. had him carried to the castle of *Rouen*. Soon after we hear of the young Duke's death, concerning which the historians differ in their accounts. Some say that he was poisoned, others that *John* stabb'd him with his

his own hand: and the *English* authors themselves say enough to leave no doubt of his dying a violent death either by the hand or the order of the King of *England*. An. 1202.

The thing appeared so odious, that from that time this Prince was abhorred by the people and most of the great Lords, several of whom forsook him and put themselves under the King of *France*; and some others, tho' they continued to profess themselves of his party, only waited for a favourable opportunity of leaving him. *Arthur Duke of Britanny dies by the order of the King of England.*

The Duchess *Constantia* Duke *Arthur's* mother being exceedingly grieved, demanded justice of the King, who promised she should have it. He cited King *John* to the court of Peers; and he not appearing was by a solemn sentence declared attainted and convicted of the crime of parricide, and of that of rebellion against the King his Lord, deprived and forfeited of the right he had to all the territories, lordships, and fiefs depending upon and owing homage to the crown of *France*, which were all confiscated. Rigord.
Guil. Arm.

The King taking advantage of this juncture, began to put the sentence in execution; and with the assistance of the *Britons* and *Poitevins* took several places beyond the *Loire*. The Count of *Alençon* submitted to him, with all the places of which he was master. But the King having sent away his troops, *John* came all of a sudden with his, and laid siege to *Alençon*. He was not there long, before the King having speedily got together a little body of an army, obliged him to give over his enterprize with the loss of his machines and baggage.

From thence the King march'd and took *Conches*, *Andeli*, and *Vaudreuil*, whilst *John* endeavoured to make diversions in different places, not one of which succeeded, for he quitted all his enterprizes as soon as the *French* appeared. *Conquest of the King over the King of England.*

In the mean while the King resolved upon executing a design which had been a long time in his mind. It was the siege of *Chateau Gaillard*. We may see the ruins of this fortress upon the bank of the *Seine*, seven leagues above *Rouen*; and there is enough of it remaining to shew us, that it was for its situation one of the strongest places at that time in *Europe*.

He

An. 1203. He attack'd it in the year 1203. and changed the
 An. 1204 siege into a blockade during the winter; and returning
 to it in the spring, took it by storm. This was the
 beginning of the conquest of almost all *Normandy*,
 which was the consequence of the taking this important
 place. *Falaise, Evreux, Séez, Bayeux, Caen, Mont*
St. Michael, and several other places of the Lower
Normandy cost him nothing almost but the trouble
 of presenting himself before their walls. *Rouen* de-
 fended itself a long time; but the citizens find-
 ing King *John* was returned into *England*, and de-
 spairing of all succour, surrendred likewise; and by
 the same treaty of capitulation *Arques* and *Vernueil*
 submitted.

Afterwards the King having divided his army into
 two parts, gave one to *William* of *Roches*, Seneschal
 of *Maine*, who took *Angers* and several other places.
 And this Prince with the other part of his troops con-
 quered *Tours, Poitiers, and Loudon*. *Rochelle, Laibes,*
and Chinon refused to surrender; and as the season
 was advanc'd, the King contented himself with form-
 ing blockades before the two last.

An. 1205. He took both of them at the opening of the next
 campaign. But some time after he was obliged to
 turn to the side of *Britanny* against *Guy* of *Thouars*,
 father-in-law to the late Duke *Arthur*, who bore the
 title of Duke of *Britanny* by his marriage with *Con-*
stantia that Duke's mother. He kept this title and the
 possession of *Britanny*, tho' *Constantia* was dead. He
 apprehended, that when the King had made himself
 entire master of all the dominions which the *English*
 possess'd on this side the sea, he would take this
 duchy from him, to which he had no other right
 than what the title of husband to the late Duchess
 gave him. For which reason he treated with the King
 of *England*, who was glad of having such a resource
 in the revolution which had lately happened.

Guil. Arm.

The King being advis'd of the treaty, surprized this
 Duke by entering suddenly into *Britanny*, took
Nantes from him, and obliged him to desire peace.
 But he was no sooner come to *Paris*, but he learn'd
 that the King of *England* was landed at *Rochelle* with
 some troops. As soon as this Prince appeared in
France, a great many Lords of *Poitou* joined him,

and among others *Aymeri of Tours*, brother to the Duke of *Britanny*, and Seneschal of *Poitou*. The King of *England*, assisted by these Lords, took *Angers*, and laid waste the lands of the Nobility who had not yet abandoned the party of *France*. An. 1205.

Philip was not long before he passed the *Loire*. He ravaged all the territories of the Viscount of *Touars* in the sight of the King of *England*, who was encamp'd at *Touars* himself, but never durst come into the field. Peace was talk'd of, and a truce was made for two years, at the end of which the war began again. The *French* took *Parthenai*, and some castles which were demolished. The *English* and the Lords of *Poitou* who had risen were beaten; and *Hugh of Tours*, the Viscount's brother, *Henry of Lusignan*, and some others were taken, and sent to *Paris* to the King. An. 1206.

A truce between the two Kings.
Char. Trengar apud Duchesne.
An. 1208.
Rigord.

A new truce was made, during which Pope *Innocent III.* had a crusade of a new kind preach'd in *France* with the King's consent. It was not against the *Mahometans*, but against the hereticks called *Albigenses*, whose errors had infected all *Languedoc*, and who had at their head *Raymond* Count of *Toulouse* the sixth of that name.

Crusade against the Albigenses.

This heresy was nothing but a revival of the errors of the old *Manichæans*, with a mixture of other blasphemies. It begun to spread in the reign of King *Robert*, who thought he had extinguished it in its birth by the severity which he us'd towards the principal chiefs; but when a heresy has once begun to take footing in a kingdom, it is difficult to exterminate it. It broke out again in the reign of *Lewis* the young, and afterwards made so great a progress, that they were obliged to have recourse to the most violent remedies.

Philip Augustus very much approv'd the Pope's design; and tho' he had great jealousies of the King of *England*, and the Emperor *Otho IV.* he promised him fifteen thousand men, and gave all his subjects leave to list themselves under this crusade. Guil. Bric. l. 8.

The Count of *Toulouse* being very much alarmed, came to the King, whose vassal he was; but he met with no other answer, only that he advis'd him to be more submissive to the Pope's judgment. He had recourse Guil. de Po-
dio Lauren-
tii. c. 13.

AN. 1208. course to the Emperor, who received him no better, out of the horror he had at his adherence to heresy; and also the dissolute and scandalous life which he for a long time had led.

The Count not knowing which way to turn himself, and finding the army of the crusaders was rendezvoused, submitted to all that the Pope's legate desired of him, delivered up to him several fortresses as a security for his word, and received absolution at St. Giles, with all the ceremonies then used, when it was given to excommunicated hereticks. He desired the cross, and to be put upon the list of the crusaders, which was granted him.

By this means he saved his lands from the ravages of the crusading army; but he did not save those of several Lords, his vassals or friends, who being as much corrupted and infatuated with heresy, but more proud and haughty than he, could not bring themselves to submit so blindly to the orders of the Pope.

It was against these, after peace was granted to the Count of *Toulouse*, that the crusaders were to turn their efforts.

The Viscounts of *Besiers* and *Carcaffonne* were attack'd: *Besiers* was carried by escalado. All in it was put to fire and sword; and we are assured that near thirty thousand persons were lost in it. *Carcaffonne* was taken by capitulation, or, as some have written, it was abandon'd by the inhabitants, who made their escape thro' subterraneous passages which they were acquainted with.

It was at this time that the crusaders elected a perpetual chief to command the catholick troops, and the choice fell upon *Simon* Count of *Montfort*, who at first refused this honour, and would not accept it at last, till after an absolute command laid upon him in the name of God, and by the authority of the Pope, by *Arnulph Amauri*, Abbat of *Citeaux*, legate of the holy See.

They could not have made a better choice. *Simon* was the head of the illustrious house of *Montfort-A-mauri*, a great soldier, lively, active, intrepid, wise, and happy in his enterprises; and what raised the merit of his other virtues was that he was as distinguished for his piety as for all the rest. He

Gail: Brit.
l. 8.
Auteur A-
nonyme
chez Catel
l' Histoire
des Comtes
de Toulouse.
Simon of
Montfort
elected per-
petual chief
against the
Albigenses.

He perfectly answered the opinion which was conceived of him. He conquered several places, cities and castles; for this country was full of fortresses. But that in which his art and skill appeared the most during the whole course of this war, was in removing by his prudence, and the talent he had of gaining hearts, the inconveniencies with which the command he had accepted was attended. The most troublesome was that the crusaders by virtue of their vow were only obliged to forty days service, at the end of which they were allowed to return home. From hence it came to pass, that *Montfort* was sometimes at the head of between fifty and sixty thousand men, and ten days after had not six thousand left; that the hereticks chose this time to retake the forts which he had taken from them; and that as he was almost every day changing his troops, he had scarce time to know 'em and employ them in any important expedition. In this manner about the year 1210. he lost in a very short time for want of troops near forty towns and fortresses, and he had no more places of consideration left than *Albi*, *Carcassonne*, *Pamiers*, and five castles; till the Countess his wife having brought him some assistance he gain'd some new conquests this same year.

An. 1208.

An. 1210.

What supported him was the strict union between him and the legates, and the affection which the Count of *Toulouse* still had for the hereticks: an affection which, notwithstanding his dissimulation, he discovered but too much. This determined the legates to take all they could from him, and they resolved at last to deprive him of all his dominions, and put *Montfort* in possession of them, despairing without this of being able to destroy the heresy.

The greatest obstacle they met with in this design was, that *Peter II.* King of *Arragon* was in the interest of the Count of *Toulouse*, who had married his sister. This Prince above all took it very ill, that the crusaders had made themselves masters of *Carcassonne*, which was a fief depending upon him, and that they had dispossessed the Viscount his vassal.

However the King of *Arragon*, who was a good catholic, being offended at the infatuation and extravagance of the Count of *Toulouse*, who upon every occasion violated his word that he had given to the legates of the holy See, seemed to be gained by *Mont-*

AN. 1210. fort so far as to consent that *Carcassonne* should be given to him, and he receiv'd his homage for that place. He even married his daughter to *James*, this Lord's eldest son. But they were much surpris'd, when the King of *Arragon* a short time after treated about the marriage of his sister with the Count of *Toulouse's* son; and the legates, as well as *Montfort*, began to suspect him more than ever.

The King of Arragon comes into the interest of the Count of Toulouse.

Petrus Val. Cernay.

AN. 1211.

During these transactions a considerable body of crusaders came up, which *Montfort* employed in taking the fortrefs of *Cabaret*, and afterwards *Lavaur*, which surrender'd at discretion. He hanged *Aymeri* of *Montreal*, who had got into the place to defend it, because it belonged to *Giralda* his sister an obstinate heretick, and made some other examples, severe enough to strike terror into the partizans of the heresy. The taking of *Lavaur* was followed by that of *Castel-naudari* and several other places which belonged to the Count of *Toulouse*.

Ibid. c. 50.

Afterwards *Montfort* besieged *Toulouse*, but could not take it, not having troops enough to hinder succours from continually coming to it. Notwithstanding this disgrace, *Cabors* surrendred to him; but being almost entirely forsook by the crusaders, after they had finished the time of their service, and left almost alone, he lost great part of the places he had taken.

ibid. 56.

He retired to *Castel-naudari*, and was invested in it by the Count of *Toulouse*, who at length pulled off the mask. *Montfort* had but five hundred men in the garrison. He abandon'd the lower town, into which the burghers received the Count of *Toulouse*, and shut himself up in the castle.

After all he saw very well, that if he was not succoured he must perish. For which reason he sent out *Guy* of *Levi*, who was called the Marshal of the Faith, because he commanded the Catholick troops under *Montfort*, and ordered him to get together all the troops he could, and make an attempt upon the enemy's camp.

Levi being departed found all the country either revolted or in a consternation, and returned without any troops. *Montfort* sent him back again with *Matthew* of *Marli* to the side of *Narbon* and *Lavaur*, where they got some soldiers together, with whom they came back towards *Castel-naudari*.

When

When they were pretty near, *Montfort* sent forty An. 1211.
Gentlemen out of his garrison to 'em, and advised
'em that the Count of *Foix* was gone from the camp
with a large body to hem them in. The Count of
Foix, who resolved not to miss his blow, was after-
wards join'd by some more troops from his camp, and
ranged 'em at some distance from the castle, from
whence the field of battle could be seen.

The *Albigenses* were thirty to one. But *Levi* and *Marli* were not at all disinayed, and without deli- Battle of
Castel-nau-
dari.
berating long march'd up to the enemy. They fell
with so much fury upon a large Squadron of horse,
which made the body of the Count of *Foix*'s army,
that they routed it; and the rest of the troops being
frighted at this bold action took to their heels without
striking a stroke.

In the mean while the Count of *Montfort* sallied
out with the best part of his garrison in order to join
Levi; but the *Albigenses* were so soon defeated, that
they were already dispersed when he came up, and he
had nothing to do but to fall upon the infantry, which
was running as fast as they could, and was all cut in pieces.

He stayed some time upon the field, for fear the
Count of *Toulouse* should come up with some fresh
troops and attack *Levi*; and after having rallied all
his men, he return'd with triumph into the castle.

This assistance and the defeat of the Count of
Foix obliged the Count of *Toulouse* to raise the siege.
And *Montfort* having got a new army of crusaders
gain'd so many conquests this campaign, that next
year the Count of *Toulouse* had no more places left
but his capital and *Montaban*. Then *Montfort* by An. 1212.
Cap. 64.
right of conquest, and with the consent of the le-
gates, joined to the title of Viscount of *Carcassonne*
and *Besiers*, which he had obtained from the King of
Arragon, that of Lord of *Albi* and *Rhodes*, and divided
among some French Lords the castles and estates of
several heretick Lords which he confiscated.

He began to act as Lord of all the country, and Cap. 65.
called a large assembly of Prelates and Barons at *Pa-
miers*, in which several regulations were made for the
resetling of the state and religion.

The Count of *Toulouse*, seeing his affairs quite ruin- Cap. 66.
ed, threw himself into the arms of the King of *Arra-*

An. 1212. gon, and begged his assistance, or at least his mediation with the legates and the Count of *Montfort* for some terms of accommodation. The King of *Arragon*, who had just gained a great victory over the *Saracens* in *Spain*, in which it is said he killed a hundred thousand of those infidels, was in great esteem with the Pope. He sent ambassadors to him to speak in favour of the Count of *Toulouse*, and they performed their commission perfectly well.

They persuaded the Pope that the *Albigenses* were entirely subdued; that the Counts of *Foix* and *Comminges*, and *Gasto* of *Bearn* were ready to submit, provided they might have their estates again; and that the war was continued only for the sake of the Count of *Montfort*, who thought of getting himself a dominion in that country at the expence of those whom he had dispossest'd; that affairs were in such a situation, that there was no longer occasion for soldiers, but only missionaries to instruct the people; and that as soon as the troops were gone, the country would be settled again in peace and tranquillity.

Cap. 70.

The Pope was impos'd upon by these specious arguments, so far as to revoke the indulgence of the crusade. But the Bishop of *Comminges* and two of the legates went immediately to *Rome*, undeceived the Pope, and made it appear to him that religion was lost in the country of *Toulouse*, and the neighbouring countries, if the troops were withdrawn.

The Pope, who lov'd religion sincerely, being inform'd of the truth, wrote to the King of *Arragon*, reproving him for his insincerity, and betraying the cause of the church in favour of hereticks. He ordered that the war should be continued with more vigour than before, and that in all things the advice and orders of the Archbishop of *Narbon* should be followed, to whom he confirm'd the title of his legate.

In the mean while this unlucky accident had disconcerted all the Count of *Montfort's* affairs. He hardly received any assistance from *France*, as well by reason of the revocation of the crusade, as upon the account of the war which the King of *England* and the Emperor had declared against the King; and this Prince, for these two reasons, would not let his son

Lewis

Lewis perform the vow he had made of marching at the head of an army against the *Albigenses*. An. 1212.

On the other hand the King of *Arragon* was preparing a great army to assist the Count of *Toulouse*; and a short time after having pass'd the *Pyrenean* mountains, he laid siege to *Muret*, three leagues from *Toulouse*. An. 1213.

The Count of *Montfort* march'd thither with nine hundred men. These were all he could get together to oppose an army of one hundred thousand, commanded by a Prince of very great repute in war.

I know not whether history affords us a more surprising event than this that delivered *Montfort* from so formidable an enemy. He prepared not for a sally but a battle. He went out at the head of this handful of men he had with him, which he divided into three little bodies. The enemy's army was ranged in three lines, and the Generals suffered him to come near, intending to surround him. He charged that side where the King of *Arragon* was, and broke through the first line; and that Prince, who was in the second, advancing to beat him back, was immediately killed upon the spot. The noise of his death running thro' the lines, this numerous army thought no longer of fighting, but ran on all sides as fast as they could. The Count pursued them; and if contemporary historians may be credited, there were at least seventeen thousand slain. *Montfort* on his side had but one Knight killed and a few soldiers. This great victory was gained upon the twelfth of *September*.

Battle of Muret.

Cap. 73.

After such an expedition as this, if *Montfort* had had an army, nothing could have opposed him; but he could scarce bring fifteen hundred men together. He contented himself therefore with ravaging the lands of the Count of *Foix*, and the country about *Narbon*, *Toulouse*, and *Montpellier*, which were so far from submitting, that they were more obstinately bent than ever to resist him. But at last the arrival of Cardinal of *Benevent* in *Languedoc* from the Pope, and the approach of a numerous army of crusaders made the Count of *Foix*, the Count of *Comminges*, and *Gasto* of *Bearn* more tractable. They submitted; and after having given the Cardinal some of their fortresses by way of security, he reconciled them to the church.

An. 1213. The inhabitants of *Toulouse* begged quarter likewise, and having delivered up to the Cardinal the castle of *Narbon*, which was as it were the citadel of *Toulouse*, they obtained their pardon.

The Count of *Montfort* employed the new army of crusaders against the other vassals of the Count of *Toulouse*, and the Gentlemen who kept to his party in *Quercy*, *Rouergue* and *Perigord*. He raz'd most of the fortresses which he took, and only kept those which might be an awe to the country, in which he put *French* garrisons.

An. 1214.

Petrus Vall.
Cernay c. 81.

After this successful campaign, and the negotiations of the Cardinal of *Benevent*, which made the Catholics masters of the Count of *Toulouse's* dominions, a great assembly of Prelates, Abbats, and Barons was held in *December* at *Montpellier*, in which they deliberated upon the choice of a person, to whom they should commit the care and command of the county of *Toulouse*. The Count of *Montfort* was chosen unanimously; but this was not all. They pressed the Cardinal to declare the Count of *Toulouse* had forfeited his dominions, and to give the investiture of them to *Montfort*.

The Cardinal answered, that this was above his power, and that he must have new orders from the Pope before he could do any thing of this importance. *Girard* Archbishop of *Ambrun* was sent to *Rome* for this purpose. The Pope confirmed the election of *Montfort* to the command of the county of *Toulouse*, and to receive the revenues of it. But with regard to the investiture, he deferred considering upon it till the general council of *Lateran* was assembled, which he had

An. 1215. called to meet in this year 1215.

This was the state of affairs in these parts, when *Philip Augustus* permitted his son *Lewis* to go thither to accomplish the vow he had made three years before of taking the cross. But before I speak of this expedition I must resume the series of affairs relating to *France* since the year 1209, where I left them to enter upon the subject of the crusade against the *Albigenses*, which hitherto was not so much a war of the King of *France*, as a war of the *French* people. These expeditions were performed with the permission, but not by the order of the Sovereign.

Ever since the truce concluded in the year 1208. An. 1213.
between *Philip Augustus* and *John King of England*,
there had been several times grounds for a rupture be-
tween the two Kings: but they suspended their resent-
ments, *Philip* that he might not hinder the destruction
of the *Albigenses*, and *John* by reason of the trouble-
some affairs he had upon his hands.

Rigord.

John was at war with *Scotland*. There were seeds
of rebellion in *Ireland* and *Wales*. The *English Nobility*
were discontented, and the interdict which the
Pope had laid upon *England*, on the account of Cardinal
Stephen Langton, whom *John* would not acknow-
ledge for Archbishop of *Canterbury*, perplex'd him
very much. As he foresaw very well, that sooner or
later he should be attack'd by *France*, he took care to
make allies in the mean time, and brought over to his
interest the Emperor *Otho IV.* who was of himself
very well dispos'd to enter into a league with him
against the King: for *Philip* had oppos'd his election,
and had even been his competitor for some time.
Since the election of *Otho* he had supported *Frederic*
King of *Sicily*, who rose against *Otho* to dethrone
him. These were the reasons why *Otho* so willingly
took part with the King of *England* against *France*.

Marth. Paris
in Joan.

Roger de
Hoved.

In the mean while the Pope being exasperated at
the King of *England's* contempt of the interdict, tho'
the Bishops and people observed it exactly, lost no
time in taking advantage of the general discontent of
the kingdom. He pronounced the sentence of depo-
sition against him, declared the throne vacant; and
wrote to the King of *France*, desiring him to take up-
on him the care of revenging the injuries done to
the church, to enter *England*, to drive *John* out of the
kingdom, and unite that realm to the crown of *France*.
He published a crusade for this purpose.

Marth. Paris.

He granted the same indulgences as were allowed
to those who list'd for the service of the Holy Land,
and immediately dispatch'd a legate à latere, whose
name was *Pandulphus*, to hasten the execution of his
sentence.

When this news came into *England*, it was receiv-
ed there with joy, and the report ran that the Lords
had sent privately to the King of *France*, to assure
him that he might come boldly into *England*; and

AN. 1213. that as soon as he appear'd, every body would declare for him.

Philip thought himself obliged not to let so noble an opportunity slip of augmenting his power, being in hopes of at least sending the *English* entirely out of *France*. He called an assembly of his vassals, Bishops and Lords to *Soissons*, and propos'd this expedition to them. They all approved of it, excepting *Ferrand* Count of *Flanders*, who refused to enter into this war, unless the King would put him in possession of *Aire* and *St. Omers*, which made part of the county of *Artois*.

The Count's claiming *Aire* and *St. Omers* were only a pretence to break with the King. The King of *England* had already gain'd him to his side by the management of *Renald* of *Dammartin* Count of *Boulogne*, a man of a quarrellsome and dangerous spirit, if ever there was any; who being suspected by the King had made his escape into *England*.

The King prepares to invade England.
Matth. Paris.

The King spent a year in making his preparations, and at last got a fleet together in the *Seine* consisting of seventeen hundred ships of all sizes. The rendezvous was appointed at the port of *Boulogne*, and the army which was to go on board was a very fine one. The King of *England* on his side prepared to oppose such a terrible assault. He equipt a numerous fleet, and got an army together of sixty thousand men: supported with so many troops, there was nothing that could over-power him, if he could have relied upon the fidelity of his Generals: but several of them were in a plot to destroy him; and he must have sunk, if he had not luckily hit upon another contrivance.

Is prevented by the legate, who had engaged him in that enterprise.

Pandulphus the legate was a man of temper and an enemy to violent measures: and the Pope at his persuasion had given him full power to accommodate the affairs of *England*, provided he took care to maintain the authority of the holy See, and the liberty of the ecclesiasticks of the kingdom.

After he had put all things in *France* in motion for the war, he went over into *England*, under pretence of seeing himself the deplorable condition, to which it was said at *Rome* the church of that kingdom was reduced.

He had an interview with King *John* at *Dover*, and knew so well how to represent to him the extreme danger he was in of losing his crown, that he engaged him to submit to all that the Pope desired of him; and in an assembly of Lords which was held at the same place upon the *Munday* after *Ascension-day*, he declared that he would submit to every thing that the legate would be pleased to prescribe to him. He made a publick declaration, by which according to the sentence of the Pope he resigned his crown into his hands, and promised to pay him faithful allegiance for it, imposing the same obligation upon his successors. He did it upon the spot, and the form began in these words: *I John, by the grace of God King of England and Lord of Ireland, from this time forth and for ever, will be faithful to God, to St. Peter, to the church of Rome, and to Pope Innocent my Lord, and to his successors lawfully chosen.*

The whole is in the King's library among the MSS. of Brienne, vol. 27.

After this ceremony, the legate return'd into *France*, and told the King that there was now no occasion for making war upon the King of *England*; and that this Prince having submitted to the church, he desired he would disband his troops, assuring him that the Pope would take it very ill, if he proceeded any farther, and attack'd a kingdom which he ought to look upon as a fief of the *Roman* church. The King, being equally surpris'd and provok'd at such discourse, answer'd the legate after a great many reproaches, that he would see what he had to do, and that at this juncture he would take such measures as he should think proper.

He determin'd in short to pursue his designs. He ordered his fleet to sail out of the *Seine*, and it arriv'd safely at *Boulogne*, where the troops were to embark; but before he cross'd the sea, he thought it would be best to put the Count of *Flanders* out of a capacity of hurting him. He enter'd *Flanders* therefore, took *Cassel*, *Ypres*, *Bruges*, and all the places there about, and laid siege to *Ghent*. His fleet continually coasted along the side of his army. Part of it came within the port of *Damme* two leagues from *Bruges*; and the rest of the ships which were much the greatest number, not having room to ride there, remain'd in the canal and at sea.

Rigord.

In

An. 1213.

Rigord.
Matth. Paris.
The King's
fleet destroyed.

In the mean while the *English* fleet put to sea. It consisted of five hundred sail, and was joyned by that of the Count of *Flanders*. The Count and the *English* Generals learn'd that most of the soldiers, whom the King had left in his ships, were gone ashore to seek for plunder; they did not lose this opportunity, but came and fell upon the *French* fleet which they surprized. They took three hundred ships, most of them ships of burden full of ammunition; above a hundred others in endeavouring to get away were either stranded or burnt by the *English* and *Flemings*. They came afterwards with all their fleet to block up the remainder of the Kings which was shut up in the canal and port of *Damme*, and they landed in order to attack the port and set fire to the ships.

The King being advised of this disorder, raised the siege of *Ghent*, and march'd in great haste with part of his troops to drive back the enemy. He surpris'd them, routed them, and there were near two thousand men killed or drowned. This advantage was some small comfort to the King, who saw his fleet lost and his design of going into *England* frustrated, for the enemy continued to block up the port of *Damme*. And the King having no hopes of saving the rest of his ships, ordered them to be unloaded and afterwards burnt, that they might not fall into the hands of the *English*. He set fire to the town of *Damme*, and return'd to *Ghent* to besiege it again: but the citizens desiring quarter, the King contented himself with the hostages which they gave him. He took some likewise from *Ypres*, and *Bruges*, and return'd them to them again for a sum of money. Some days after *Lisle* revolted, upon which the King returned back and laid it in ashes. He left *Cassel* likewise after having half ruined it, and preserved none but *Doñay*. Thus ended this campaign of the year 1213, whose success did not answer the preparations, of which the legate was the only cause. His conduct gained him a great deal of honour at *Rome*, and made him very odious in *France*.

Guil. Brit.
l. 9.

The King of *England* having resolved to carry the war into *France* towards the *Loire*, whilst the Count of *Flanders* employed the *French* in the Low-countries, landed at *Rochele* in the beginning of Lent the year fol-

following, and having gained the principal Lords of *Poitou* to his party, entered *Anjou*, made himself master of *Angers*, and seized upon some other places of less consideration. These advantages of the King of *England*'s were not of long continuance. The King sent Prince *Lewis* his son to this side with *Henry Clement* Mareschal of *France* at the head of an army. The Prince march'd directly to an important fortress called *Roche le Moine* which the King of *England* was besieging. The siege was rais'd upon his approach, and great part of the *English* army defeated in their retreat. *Angers* was taken and raz'd, and the King of *England* lost all the conquests he had gain'd: but it was not on this side, that the enemy had resolved to make their greatest effort.

The Emperor *Otho* came with an army into the Low-countries, where he was joined by the *English* troops which had landed there, by those of the Count of *Flanders*, of the Duke of *Lorain*, of the Count of *Holland*, and of several vassals of the empire: and when all these troops were united together, he found himself at the head of one hundred and fifty thousand men.

Rigord.
Guil. Brit.
l. 10.

Philip Augustus, by reason of the diversion in *Anjou*, had not above fifty thousand. Being resolved however not to avoid a battle, he advanced towards the enemy, and all his aim was to draw them into an open country, to give room to the *French* cavalry which was very numerous to fight with the greater advantage.

After several marches and countermarches on both sides, one *Sunday*, being the twenty seventh of *July*, the King having made his army file off by the bridge of *Bouvines* which lies pretty near at an equal distance from *Tournay* and *Lisle*, was surpris'd to see the Emperor's army come up in battle array, for that Prince had made a motion according to which he seem'd to have been gone another way. The King immediately drew up his troops, and sent orders to those who had pass'd the bridge of *Bouvines* to march back without delay.

The surprize, the inequality of the forces, the distance of the troops, who had already past the bridge of *Bouvines*, were great disadvantages to the King; but he surmounted them all by his own valour and the skill
of

Ann. 1214 of the Chevalier *Guarin* nominated to the Bishoprick of *Senlis*; for it appears that it was this Lord who drew up the troops in *Battalia*, and gave the orders of this day.

The battle of
Bouvines.

The King having put himself at the head of the main body, received the attack of the *Germans*, who were much superior to him in number, and gave the troops who had passed the bridge time to return. Part of them joyned him; but they had no sooner taken the post appointed for them, but they were charged and routed by the *German* infantry, which at that time was the best in *Europe*.

It was then that the King's life was in great danger. A *German* battalion advanced towards him, broke thro' his troop, and surrounded him on all sides. He defended himself a long time sword in hand, tho' he had but a small number of Gentlemen about his person, and killed several of the enemy with his own hand.

The King in
danger.

Galon of *Montigni* carried the royal standard; and raising himself, upon his stirrups, he waved it up and down without ceasing as a signal of the danger the King was in, who was now reduced to the last extremity. They attack'd no body almost but him. They aimed their blows at him on all sides, which his management, his strength, and the goodness of his armour happily warded off, till a *German* soldier with one of those short javelins which the old *French* made use of, which had two hooks on each side of the point, struck at his throat upon the extremity of his armour. A kind of collar, which the King had underneath, broke the blow and prevented the wound. But the hooks being engaged betwixt the cuirass, and that part of the helmet that comes under the chin, the soldier drew with all his force, pulled the King off his horse, and laid him upon the ground.

Rigord.

The King had the presence of mind and strength to rise up again immediately, but could not get free from the soldier. The Emperor, who was near the place, came thither in haste to run him thro'; and the King had been killed without doubt, if at the moment of his fall some Lords and Gentlemen had not made their way with their swords, thro' every thing that offered to stop them, and opened a passage to him. The soldier, either killed or driven away, let go his hold: there

they

they fought with prodigious fury. A Gentleman, whose name was *Peter Tristan*, leap'd nimbly from his horse, and gave it to the King; and *William of Barres* coming up with a new reinforcement charged the enemy so furiously, that he obliged them to give way. The *French* pushed them in their turn, and followed them so briskly that they put them into disorder and soon to flight. The Emperor was no less in danger than the King. He received several blows upon his armour, and *William of Barres* laid hold of his body, but he got away from him.

An. 1214.



The battle was fought with the same obstinacy by the left and right wings; and victory, after having hung a long time doubtful, fell at last to the *French* there as well as in the main body of the army.

His victory.

The most faithful historians content themselves with telling us in general, that a great slaughter was made of the enemy, but have not set down the number of the slain, nor of the prisoners on either side. The Count of *Flanders* and the Count of *Boulogne* were taken, and the King was extremely rejoiced at it, because they were the persons who had had the greatest hand in forming the league against *France*. *Philip Augustus's* triumph began as soon as he returned into his kingdom, the people running out from all parts to meet him with acclamations and shouts of joy.

When he made his entry into *Paris*, the object which after him drew the eyes of the spectators the most, was the Count of *Flanders*, who appear'd there in a kind of open litter expos'd to the taunts and scoffs of the people. They knew, that according to the division of *France*, which the enemy had made before the battle of *Bouvines*, he was to have *Paris* for part of his lot. It was said, that the old Countess of *Flanders*, the Count's aunt, having consulted the demons upon the success of the battle, the magician answered, that the King of *France* should be thrown to the ground in the fight, that he should be troden under foot by horses, that he should have no burial, and that the Count of *Flanders* should be received in *Paris* in great pomp. This prediction which was probably made too late, was verified in a very different sense from that it was taken in.

The

An. 1214. The King, after this severe piece of mortification, had him shut up in a tower called the new tower, without the walls of *Paris*; from whence he was not released till the reign of St. *Lewis*, after the death of this Prince and his successor, notwithstanding the instances and offers which the Countess of *Flanders* made for the delivery of her husband.

This treaty of peace is in the King's library in the 28th vol. of the MSS. of Brienne.

The King afterwards march'd with an army into *Poitou*, where all submitted. The King of *England* was then at *Parthenai* very much embarrass'd, and not knowing what to go upon with safety; but at the desire of Cardinal *Robert* of *Corçon* he obtain'd a truce for five years.

Petrus Vall. Cernay.

The King having thus by his victories settled peace and tranquillity in his kingdom, *Lewis* his son had no more obstacles to hinder him from performing the vow he had made of serving the church by going forty days against the *Albigenses*.

Expedition of Lewis the King's son against the Albigenses.

This Prince came into *Languedoc* at the head of an army, but he met with no enemy in the field. It was not however perfectly unserviceable, for he made use of it to oblige *Narbon* and *Toulouse* to execute what they refus'd to do, which was the pulling down their walls, that for the future they might not be a retreat to the *Albigenses*. After which the Count of *Montfort* sent his brother *Guy* to take possession as from him and in his name of the city of *Toulouse*.

An. 1215. This was the only thing, tho' an important one, which *Lewis* performed in his forty days expedition. He returned to *Paris*, where they wanted him to treat upon an enterprize of much more consequence. The business was no less than the crown of *England*, which was offered him upon the following occasion.

Matth. Paris in Joan.

The *English* had conspired again against their King. He was forced to take refuge in the isle of *Wight*; and after his flight they had deposed him from his throne. It was after this deposition that they sent to offer the crown to Prince *Lewis*.

Philip Augustus, after having received the hostages which he demanded for the security of his son, and taken all the necessary precaution that an affair of this importance requir'd, accepted of the offer of the *English*: but as the Pope, with whom he had no mind

to fall out, had declared for the King of *England*, the resolution which he took, and which he always afterwards kept to, was to separate his interest from that of his son, to seem not to enter into his designs, and to pretend even to oppose them upon some occasions. An. 1215.

During these transactions, *Gallo* the Pope's legate came to the court of *France* which was then at *Lyons*, to desire the King in his Holiness's name not to let his son go into *England*, and to exhort him on the contrary to take upon him the defence of King *John* out of love to the holy See, to which that King was a vassal. There were upon this occasion very smart representations made both to the King and Prince *Lewis*. But the legate could obtain nothing; and the Prince, whose army waited for him at *Calais*, set out in order to embark. He arrived with part of his troops and fleet which a storm had dispersed, and landed at *Thanet* between *Sandwich* and the *Thames* upon the twenty third of *May*. He march'd directly to the King of *England*, who was encamp'd near *Dover* with an army much stronger than his. *John* considered whether he should stand him; but being afraid of being betrayed by his troops he retired to *Winchester*. An. 1216.

He arrives in England.

After this retreat of the King of *England*, Prince *Lewis* hardly met with any resistance, and most of the towns submitted to him, except *Dover* in which *John* had left a strong garrison under the command of *Hubert of Bourg*. In short he was proclaimed at *London* King of *England* with the acclamations of the people. He went from thence upon the fourth of *June*, and march'd more into the heart of the kingdom, and except some fortresses which he durst not undertake to storm, he was received every where. He is proclaimed King of England.

The King of *Scotland* himself did him homage. The desertion was almost general in *John*'s army, and the *Fleming* soldiers, who were part of it, went over sea again. The siege of *Dover* was resolved upon, but they were forced to raise it thro' the vigorous resistance of *Hubert of Bourg*. That of *Windsor* succeeded no better. *John* took the opportunity while the troops were engaged in these two sieges, to ravage the estates of some Lords. But excepting this, every thing that Prince *Lewis* did succeeded. Matth. Paris.

An. 1216.

He is excommunicated by the Pope.

In the mean time this Prince's envoys at *Rome* endeavoured in vain to justify their master's conduct to the Pope. He pronounced the sentence of excommunication against him. And as he always thought that *Philip Augustus* was engaged in the same design with his son, he resolved to excommunicate him too, and accordingly sent orders to the Archbishop of *Sens* and his suffragans to excommunicate him as being an abettor of the rebellion in *England*. But for all this, several Bishops met in council at *Melun*, and declared that notwithstanding the Pope's letter, the King should not be look'd upon as an excommunicate.

Matth. Paris.

The death of this Pope, which happened a short time after, deprived King *John* of a powerful and zealous protector; but this Prince died himself three months after of a surfeit in the *North* of *England*. We hardly meet with any one of a worse character than him in history. He had a son called *Henry* nine years old, whom he declared heir to his dominions, and he wrote a circular letter to the Lords, in which he constituted them the young Prince's guardians.

Nothing seemed more likely to secure the crown to *Lewis* than the death of his rival, and yet this contributed the most to make him lose it. The management of Cardinal *Gallo* the Pope's legate, the interest of the Earl of *Pembroke* Marshal of the kingdom, who had always followed the late King's party, the jealousy of the *English* against some *French* Lords to whom Prince *Lewis* had given governments, and compassion for a young orphan Prince, made a great alteration in mens minds; and from that time the people began to be more uneasy than before at the Pope's excommunication of those who adhered to *Lewis*, and to make a point of conscience of that which till then they had despised.

In short an assembly of Bishops, Lords, and Abbats met at *Gloucester* with the legate at the head of them, in which it was resolved to recognize *Henry* as King. He was crowned there, and afterwards did homage for his kingdom to the holy See, before the legate. The Earl of *Pembroke* was declared regent of the kingdom, and excommunications were repeated every *Sunday* against Prince *Lewis* and his adherents.

Matth. Paris
in Hen. III.
Gaul. Brit.

The

The young King's party increased every day, and was at last so strong as to oblige the Prince to grant him a truce till *Easter*. An. 1217.

The true motives of this truce on *Lewis's* side were first, because Pope *Honorius* the third, *Innocent's* successor, followed the example of his predecessor with regard to the affairs of *England*; and in the second place, because this Prince having for a long time received no succours of men or money from *France* resolved to take a journey thither. He did so, and this promoted the ruin of his affairs; for during his absence they corrupted several of his partizans, and among others *William* son of the Earl of *Pembroke*, whose example was followed by a great many Lords. *Revolution in England in favour of young King Henry.*

This Prince however did not lose his courage. After having got some money and raised some troops; he returned into *England*, and reliev'd *Mountsorrell*, which the Earl of *Pembroke* after the end of the truce had besieged, went to *London* where his presence was necessary, and ordered siege to be laid to *Lincoln* by the best part of his troops. But the Earl of *Pembroke*, having march'd to its assistance, surprized the *French* army, and routed it with a great slaughter, especially of the infantry.

This defeat reduced *Lewis* to the last extremity. Some succours which were sent him from *France* were beaten upon the sea. After which the Earl of *Pembroke* block'd him up in *London* in such a manner as that he could not escape.

The Prince being shut up in a town in the power of the citizens whom he could not trust, and seeing no appearance of being assisted, sent to the legate and Earl marshal, to tell them that he was willing to surrender the place, provided he could secure himself and his people, and do it upon such conditions as he might accept without dishonour.

The legate and the marshal had a regard for *France*, and had entertain'd a friendship and esteem for *Lewis*. They opposed in council those who were for pushing things to the utmost; and in an interview, which both of them had with him out of the town upon the banks of the *Thames*, they concluded a treaty; the chief conditions of which were, that the Prince should surrender the city, that he should refer himself to the *Lewis is oblig'd to give up.*

An. 1217. judgment of the Pope, that he should use all his interest with the King his Father to get the King of *England* restored to all his rights beyond sea, that himself when he came to the throne should do him justice upon that head, and that the legate should absolve the Prince and all his people from their excommunication.

Marth. Paris.

He returns to France.

This last article was executed immediately, and afterwards they embraced one another as if there had never been any difference between them. *Lewis* return'd into *London*, and put the town into the King of *England*'s hands. He borrowed of some citizens five thousand pounds sterling to defray the expences of his journey, and with a safe conduct from the Earl of *Pembroke*, Earl marshal, he returned to *France* in the month of *September*.

This was the success of the *English* expedition, which miscarried only thro' the apprehension of the censures of *Rome*. This was the only reason that hinder'd *Philip Augustus* from assisting his son with all his forces. If he had done it, the legate's management would have signified nothing, and the *English* Nobility, having been too far engaged to have gone back, would have been obliged to have stood by the master they had chosen.

Hostilities ceased between the two nations, and they continued to observe the truce which had been made for five years before the insurrection of the *English* against the late King: but as soon as it was expired, the King sent his son to attack *Rochelle*, of which he made himself master. It was returned to the *English* by a new treaty of truce. *Lewis*, after he came back from *Rochelle*, made a new expedition against the *Albigenses*, whom the death of *Simon Count of Montfort* had reanimated.

This treaty is in the King's library in the 28th vol of the MSS. of Brienne.

Guil. de podio Laur. c. 26.

Summary of the History of the Albigenses taken from the treasure of Chartres.

Montfort declared Count of Toulouse.

Pope *Innocent III.* in the council of *Lateran* had declared the Count of *Toulouse*'s dominions forfeited, and nominated *Montfort Count of Toulouse*. They had only reserved for young *Raymond*, the Count of *Toulouse*'s son, the demesnes which belonged to his house in *Provence*, provided that the holy See should for the future be satisfied with his conduct; and even these demesnes were entrusted in the Count of *Montfort*'s hands.

This Lord had no sooner received the news, but he came to the court of *France* to demand the investiture of the county of *Toulouse*. The King granted it him at *Melun*, and he was now at the height of his wishes, master

master of a pretty large dominion, and sufficiently rewarded for the zeal he had shewn for the catholick religion; but as soon as he was dignified with the title of Count of *Toulouse*, he seem'd to draw upon himself the ill fortune which had for a long time attended it. An. 1217.

While he was at the court of *France*, young *Raymond* seiz'd upon all the fortresses of *Provence*, which belonged to Count *Raymond* his father, and afterwards took the castle of *Beaucaire* in sight of the Count of *Montfort*. *Toulouse* revolted, and after having been punished, took up arms again. The old Count of *Toulouse* returned thither, and entrenched himself there, notwithstanding the breaches which Prince *Lewis* had made in the walls, and for nine months held out a siege against *Montfort*. Guil de Po-
dio Laur. c.
26.

The day after the feast of S. *John* Baptist in the year 1218. the besieged made a brisk sally at two places. *Montfort* was hearing Mass at that moment. He came out immediately, and put himself at the head of some troops to defend his machines, which were of the last importance to him to preserve, because he had already brought them as far as the edge of the ditch. He drove the enemy back, tho' he was expos'd to a terrible storm of stones and arrows, which were shot from above the *Rampart*. One of these stones thrown by a mangonel struck him upon the head, and knockt him down, and at the same time his buckler falling out of his hand, he was wounded with five arrows, and expired immediately. Ep. Honor.
Papæ ad Phil.
Aug.
An. 1218.

Thus died the famous and valiant *Simon* Count of *Montfort*, the hero of his age, and one of those extraordinary men, to whom very few can be equalled or even compared. Death of Si-
mon of
Montfort.

His death was the preservation of the besieged, and raised the hopes of old Count *Raymond*. The siege was raised. *Amauri* of *Montfort* *Simon's* son, tho' very valiant, had neither the reputation, nor authority, nor merit of his father, and could not preserve his conquests. The King supported him at first, and even sent Prince *Lewis* to his assistance. This Prince took *Marmande*; but the forty days of service being over, the crusaders returned home. Sometime after the old Count of *Toulouse* died: his son, more beloved and less wicked than him, brought over to his party many of An. 1222.

An. 1222. the Nobility of the County of *Toulouse*, and retook almost all his dominions from *Amauri*.

An. 1223. This was the state of things; when in the year 1223. *Philip Augustus* was seized with a quartan ague, which turned to a continual fever, of which he died at *Mante*, where he was holding an assembly of the Barons and prelates of his kingdom. His death happened upon the fourteenth of *July*, after he had reigned forty three years, eight months, and fourteen days. He was about fifty eight years of age, being born at *Paris* in the year 1165, or according to others in 1166.

His character. He was without contradiction the greatest Prince that had sat on the throne of *France* since *Charlemagne*. Courage, prudence, application to the enlarging, securing, adorning, and polishing his dominions; virtues, the union of which form'd the idea of a great King, met all together in his person. Till his time, the Kings of *France* had been less powerful than some of their subjects, to so narrow a compass were the royal demesnes reduced. But since him, the royal power has always encreased, in proportion as the number of successors to those ancient usurpers under the name of *Feudatories* has diminished. The conquest of *Normandy*, *Maine*, *Anjou*, *Touraine*, *Poitou*, was the re-establishing of the royal authority; and most of those great vassals, who, excepting homage, acted like sovereigns themselves, were forced to lay aside a great deal of their pride. The acquisition of the counties of *Auvergne* and *Artois*, *Picardy*, and several towns and lands in *Berry*, were the fruits of his politicks and management. He enlarged the compass of *Paris*, and had it paved and adorned in several parts. He very much improved the art of war in *France* by the care he took of getting a great number of good engineers, and encouraging them with large rewards; and nothing contributed more to his conquests and to the taking of the strongest places from the *English*. This Prince's piety and religion appeared from the aversion he always had to the enemies of the church. He gave no quarter to the hereticks. He made war upon the *Albigenses*, and it was upon the same motive that he went beyond sea in person against the *Mahometans*.

The greatest part of the legacies he left were in favour of that part of desolated Christendom. It was a custom

*Treasure of
Chartres.*

Guil. Brit.

*Rigord.
Tom. 2.
Spicileg. p.
401.*

custom at that time with the Kings of *France* to give the comedians the cloths they would wear no more; he abolished this custom and ordered his to be given to the poor. We find by a monument of that time, that he carried his devotion so far, that once he designed to retire to the monastery of *Cluny*, and if it had not been for the Abbat he would have taken the habit upon him. He was a favourer of the polite arts, and the university of *Paris* flourished very much in his reign.

An. 1223.

A natural son named *Peter Charlot*, whom he had during his divorce from *Ingelburga* of *Denmark*, and who was afterwards Bishop of *Noyon*, shews that with regard to continence he was not without reproach.

Philip was of a midling size, handsome in the face, except two little webs he had in one of his eyes. He was very genteel in his carriage; he always spoke very justly, express'd himself with a good deal of agreeableness, wit and vivacity, and said a great deal in a few words. He loved his subjects, and was beloved by them. I do not find that the name of *Augustus*, with which he is dignified in history, was ever given him in his life time. The historian, who writes his life, takes some pains to justify himself upon this article, and to prevent his readers from objecting to the novelty of the title which he gives him: but he deserved it, and it is with justice that the modern historians have followed this example.

Rigord.
Guil. Brie.
l. 9.

Besides *Lewis* who succeeded to the crown, *Philip Augustus* had likewise a son by *Agnes* of *Merania* of the same name with himself, who was Count of *Boulogne* by right of his wife *Maud*, only daughter of *Re-nald* Count *Dammartin* and *Boulogne*.

Rigord. in
prologo.

He had likewise by the same *Agnes* a daughter named *Mary*, who married to her first husband *Philip* Count of *Haynault* and Marquis of *Namur*, and to her second *Henry* the fourth Duke of *Brabant* and the lower *Lorain*.



LEWIS VIII.

WE may say, that *Lewis* the eighth, who had signalized himself so much in the reign of the King his father, recommended himself no less during his own, which however was too short to give the good qualities he was endowed with time to shine out with all the lustre they would have had, if he had reign'd longer.

Gesta. Lud.
VIII.

Coronation of
Lewis VIII.
Matth. Paris
in Hen. III.

He was thirty six years of age when he came to the throne, and was crowned upon the eighth of *August*: *Henry* the third King of *England*, who ought to have been at the coronation as being a vassal to the crown, did not think proper to perform this duty either by himself or by proxy. He sent the Archbishop of *Canterbury* to him to demand the restitution of *Normandy*, and all the places which *Philip Augustus* had conquered, pretending that this Prince had engaged in the treaty of *London*, before he went out of *England*, to restore them to him as soon as he came to the throne. This was the compliment he made him, instead of sending an excuse as he ought to have done for being absent from the coronation.

Lewis answered, that he had a just title to the possession of *Normandy*, and the other dominions which the King his father had taken from the *English*; not only by right of war, but likewise as he was sovereign over his rebel vassals, and that he was ready to maintain it before the tribunal of Peers, if the King of *England* would appear there. That besides the King of *England* had broke the treaty of *London* himself; first, in that he had not restored the ancient laws of *England*, nor abolished the abuses introduced by his predecessors, as had been agreed by that treaty. Secondly, in that he had demanded large ransoms for the *French* prisoners expressly contrary to one of the articles; and that, by these important and notorious infractions, he had himself released him from his engagements.

The Embassador return'd with this answer; and it was easily foreseen, that as soon as the truce made between the two nations for four years was expired, the

the war would break out again with more heat than ever. An. 1223.

Pope *Honorius* the third used all his endeavours in vain to get a new truce concluded, and immediately after the feast of *Easter*, at which time the truce ended, hostilities began again. The King renewed the treaties of alliance with the empire, and gained the greatest Lords beyond the *Loire* to his side, who, according as their interest required, joined sometimes with one of the Kings, and sometimes with the other.

After having taken these precautions, he published again the confiscation which the late King had made of all the fiefs depending upon the crown, which had till then belonged to the Kings of *England*. This was declaring pretty openly, that he was not for peace. He makes war upon the King of England.

In short he took the field with an army in *July*, and besieged *Niort*. *Savary* of *Mauleon*, for want of succours, surrendered the place by capitulation. *St. John d'Angelo* submitted without resistance, after which the King laid siege to *Rochelle*. An. 1224.
Gesta Lud. VIII.

The same *Savary* of *Mauleon* defended it with more valour than he had *Niort*; but his money failing him, he was again obliged to surrender. He went over into *England*, where the *English* who had defended *Rochelle* under him did him very ill offices, and there was an intention to make him answer for the ill success of this campaign.

Being informed that they resolved to seize him, he made his escape, and threw himself at the King of *France's* feet, who received him with joy, promised to protect him, and put him into possession of all his lands, for which this Lord did him homage.

Almost all the native *English* that were in *France* had thrown themselves into *Rochelle* to defend it, and by the capitulation they were obliged to retire into *England*: so that the inhabitants of the country, finding themselves abandoned, submitted to the King. The Count of *Perigord*, the Viscount of *Limoges*, and several other Lords beyond the *Loire* swore allegiance to him. There were none but the *Gascons* on the other side of the *Garonne*, who refused to take the Oath, and *Bordeaux* still continued faithful to its ancient master. His conquests.

An. 1224.



All these losses rouz'd the *English*, and united them among themselves in a resolution to defend what they had remaining beyond sea. They set out a fleet under the management of the Earl of *Salisbury*, and under the command of *Richard* the King of *England*'s younger brother, to whom that Prince gave the title of Count of *Poitou*. Upon the arrival of the fleet, several Lords of the country came and offer'd their services to *Richard*. The Earl of *Salisbury*, taking advantage of this good disposition, besieged *Reole*, and took it, as well as *Bergerac* and *St. Macaire*. The Count of *la Marche* march'd by the King's orders to the assistance of *Reole*, but was surprized and defeated. The *French* on their side took some fortresses. This was all that happen'd during this campaign, after which a truce was made for three years. The example of the Lords, who return'd to their obedience to the King of *England*, did not hinder the Viscount of *Tours* from declaring for the King of *France*. He yielded to him all his fortified places, and did him homage for them.

An. 1225.

Matth. Paris.

He makes war
upon the Al-
bigenses.

The King of *England*, notwithstanding the factions which disturbed his kingdom, was not without thoughts of going into *Gascogne* the next spring; but having learn'd that the Pope's legate had engaged the King of *France* to turn his arms against the *Albigenses*, he took courage again, and did not cross the sea. The King's going to war with the *Albigenses* was much more pious than politick; for if he had not taken this step, it would have been difficult for the *English* to have long preserved the little that was left them on this side the sea.

Ep. Amal.
apud Catell.
Guil. de Po-
diu c. 34.

Ever since the death of *Philip Augustus*, Count *Amaury* of *Montfort*'s affairs grew worse and worse in *Languedoc*. The King at the persuasion of the Cardinal of *St. Angelo* accepted the offer which this Lord had made the late King, of yielding to him all his right to the county of *Toulouse*, and he was promised in requital the office of constable of *France* as soon as vacant, which was performed by *St. Lewis*.

An. 1226.

The King having therefore taken the cross in the year 1226. went upon performing his vow; but he did not enter upon action till he had received assurances from the King of *Arragon*, that he would not support the *Albigenses* in any manner. The army took the

rout

roust of *Lyons* for the conveniency of the carriages and equipages, and went down the *Rhone* as far as *Avignon*. The inhabitants of this place, who had been always strongly attach'd to the Counts of *Toulouse*, and fearing besides that the soldiers would plunder them, refused the King the liberty of passing thro' their city, at least unless he would come with a few attendants.

The King being provok'd at this proposal, from which the deputies of the town would not depart, besieged *Avignon*. This siege took him up a long time, but at last the King took it and raz'd the walls.

*He besieges
and takes
Avignon,*

In the mean while the approach of the army had of itself made several fortresses, which held out for the Count of *Toulouse*, surrender; and *Peter* Archbishop of *Narbon*, whom the King had sent into *Languedoc*, managed so well that all the *Eastern* part of that province, between *Avignon* and *Toulouse*, as far as the gates of that capital, submitted. The city of *Carcaffonne* sent their keys to the King during the siege of *Avignon*; and even *Roger* Count of *Foix*, and *Bernard* Count of *Comminges*, who were always devoted to the Counts of *Toulouse*, came to the camp to desire peace.

After the taking of *Avignon*, the King accompanied with the legate enter'd *Languedoc*, came to *Beziers* and *Carcaffonne*, and went from thence to *Pamiers* and *Lavaur*, and afterwards to *Albi*. He made *Imbert* of *Beaujeu* commander over all that country, and left him some troops to defend it, waiting for the next campaign, when he resolved to finish his conquests.

*Guil. de Po-
dio c. 36.*

He afterwards return'd towards *Paris* by the way of *Auvergne*, but was obliged to stop at *Montpensier*, finding himself very much troubled with a distemper which he had kept secret to this time, and which put him into great danger.

It was upon this occasion that this Prince shewed himself to be a true Christian. Whatever this distemper was, for the nature of it is not mentioned, the physicians propos'd a remedy to him which was forbidden by the laws of God; and notwithstanding his refusing to make use of it, yet they took care to lay a young woman by him while he was asleep.

Ibid.

When he waked, he called for a Gentleman of the bed-chamber, sent the young woman away, and pronounced

*A Christian
sentence of
this Prince.*

An. 1226. pronounced this noble sentence: *that it was better to die, than save his life by a mortal sin.* The contemporary author who gives us an account of this fact, says, that he had it from *Archambald of Bourbon's* own mouth, who was a great confidant of the King's. This example, which ought never to be forgotten by those whom God has invested with sovereign power, is as worthy of being imitated as admired.

His death.

A few days after this great Prince died the most noble death that a christian King could wish for; a martyr to chastity, and his sword drawn in defence of religion against heresy. This happened upon *Sunday* in the octave of All-Saints, after having reigned three years, three months, and twenty four days, and in the fortieth year of his age.

His character.

Some of our historians have been to blame in giving him no other character, than that he was the son of one great King and the father of another. This idea is as false as it is injurious to the memory of this Prince. This needs no other proof than to recollect what he did before, and after the death of the King his father; the defeat of the King of *England* in *Anjou*, and the speedy reduction of all the places which the enemy had taken on that side before he came thither; his expedition and conquest of *England*, which he maintained a whole year, notwithstanding the opposition and secret management of the legate, and his wanting those succours which he might reasonably have expected from the King his father; the esteem which he gained among the *English* Nobility, which even those of the adverse party could not help entertaining of him, and which engaged them to grant him an honourable capitulation; the surname of *Lyon* which was given him on account of his valour; the continual victories which he gained during the three years of his reign: all these particulars leave no room to doubt but that if he had lived, as he had already made so great a progress, he would soon have driven the *English* out of *France*, and rooted heresy out of *Languedoc*. We see nothing in all this but what is noble, nothing but what supposes this Prince to be endowed with all the qualities of a hero and a great King.



LEWIS IX.

THE Prince, whose history I am going to write, had all the qualities of an hero, courage, intrepidity, and greatness of mind. He form'd great projects. He commanded numerous armies, even beyond the seas. He signalized his valour upon a thousand occasions: but what raises him above the common rank of those great men, is, that his own glory was never the motive to his great enterprizes. His religion, his zeal for the glory of God and the good of his realm, supplied in him the place of the strongest ambition, and made him, tho' not a prophane, yet a perfectly christian hero.

He was but twelve years old when he came to the crown. Queen *Blanche* of *Castile*, his mother, was named regent of the kingdom, according to the last will of the late King, and he was anointed and crowned at *Rheims* by *James* of *Basoche* Bishop of *Soissons*, suffragan to the Archbishoprick of *Rheims* which was then vacant.

His reign during his minority was disturbed with a great many troubles. *Peter* of *Dreux* Count of *Bri-tanny* by his wife, *Hugh* of *Lusignan* Count of *la Marche*, who after the death of King *John* had married *Isabella* Queen of *England*, mother to *Henry* now reigning, and *Thibaud* Count of *Champaign* made an insurrection shortly after the King's coronation. The Queen regent, whose prudence, management, resolution, and courage were the continual preservation of the kingdom during the youth of her son, was very diligent upon this occasion. She march'd with the King at the head of an army against the Count of *Champaign*, prevented him, surprized him, and obliged him to lay down his arms, and take refuge in the clemency of his sovereign.

The rebel party being very much weakened by the return of the Count of *Champaign* to the King's obedience, this Prince march'd against the two other chiefs beyond the *Loire*. He found them better prepared than the Count of *Champaign*, but they made no other use of

this

An. 1227.

Nangius in
Hist. Lud.
IX.

An. 1227. this advantage than to obtain peace upon better conditions. These first motions were so speedily suppressed, that it disconcerted *Henry King of England*, who had already prepared to make his advantage of them, and he was forced to make a truce; for which end he employed the mediation of Pope *Gregory IX.*

Lebn. 2. in
cod. Diplom.
P. 11.

Matters being thus pacified, the Queen regent renew'd the ancient treaties of alliance between *France* and the empire, and the Emperor *Frederick* the second and *Henry King* of the *Romans* promised to make no league with *England* against *France*. She set *Ferrand Count* of *Flanders* at liberty, who had been kept in prison ever since the battle of *Bouvines*, and he was for the future faithful to the King.

Joinville l. 2.
Nangius in
vita S. Lud.

In the mean while the faction was contriving new designs. They engaged *Philip Count* of *Boulogne* the King's uncle on their side, by promising to have him declared regent of the kingdom in the room of the Queen-mother. Measures were taken to seize upon the King in the road from *Orleans* to *Paris*; but he was advised of it by the Count of *Champaign*, and went to the castle of *Montlhery*. The *Parisians*, being informed of the danger the King was in, came in a body like an army to take him from thence, and

M S. Chronicle of Mr. de
Thou.

An. 1228. brought him to *Paris*, giving him a thousand testimonies of their affection and regard for his person. A short time after the Count of *Champaign* was himself corrupted by the Counts of *Boulogne* and *Britanny*; and entered into a conspiracy just like that I mentioned before. The plot was very well laid: the Count of *Britanny* rebell'd openly. He plainly foresaw that the King would march immediately against him: but he had a private understanding with the general officers of the royal troops, who were to deliver him up to him. And this Prince would with great difficulty have escap'd, if it had not been for the inconstancy of the Count of *Champaign*, or rather the singular providence of God which watch'd over his royal person to preserve it. The Count was stung with remorse of conscience for the crime he was going to commit, discovered the treason to the King, and came himself to his assistance with three hundred Knights, who with their retinue made a pretty considerable body.

Nangius in
vit. S. Lud.

The Count of *Britanny*, who expected nothing less than this, found himself so engaged that he could not avoid

avoid being taken. He came and threw himself at the King's feet; and by means of the Count of *Champaign*, to whom they were forced to be complaisant at this juncture, he obtained his pardon again. An. 1228.

Notwithstanding the continual perplexities which the uneasiness of the great men of the kingdom gave the Queen regent, she brought about another important affair, the finishing of which would have been glorious, even tho' the kingdom had been perfectly quiet and easy. She pushed the *Albigenses* to the utmost by the troops with which she furnished *Imbert* of *Beaujeu*, and obliged *Raymond* Count of *Toulouse* to desire quarter and submit to the most rigorous orders of the church. They came to a negotiation, and it was concluded upon such terms, that *William* of *Puy-Laurent* chaplain to the Count of *Toulouse*, when he is relating this fact, says, that if this Count had been made a prisoner of war by the King, one of the conditions of the treaty, he made with the Queen regent, would have been equal to the largest ransom that could have been demanded of him.

Guil. de Po-
dio Laur. c.
38, 39.

Among several articles of this treaty which were very dishonourable and disadvantageous to the Count, there were two of them very glorious and serviceable to the realm. The first was that the Count should marry his daughter *Jane*, then nine years of age, to *Alphonso* one of the King's brothers. The second, that his whole succession should come after his death to his daughter, and *Alphonso* her husband and their posterity, without going to any other of his heirs, not even the heirs of his daughter, except those she should have by *Alphonso*. That is, that in case she should have no children by this marriage, the county of *Toulouse* should revert to the crown, which accordingly happen'd after the death of *Jane* and *Alphonso*.

All this was executed in the third year of the minority of the young King, to the great honour of the Queen regent, and the confusion of the faction, who, no longer daring to attack the King, resolved to turn their arms against *Thibaud* Count of *Champaign*, in revenge for his having twice deliver'd this Prince from their hands.

The Counts of *Britanny*, *la Marche*, and *Boulogne* were always at the head of the party: but amongst the Lords who were in league together against the Count

of

An. 1228. of *Champaign* there were some, who, making their anger against him give way to their hatred and jealousy of the Queen regent, proposed a way to destroy her which they thought infallible. It was to corrupt this Lord and bring him off from her interest, because he was thro' the greatness of his power her principle support, and would be the most dangerous and formidable enemy they could raise against her, on account of the situation of his dominions in the middle of the kingdom.

Joinville l. 2. To this purpose it was necessary to renew the old alliances he had with the Count of *Britanny*. The expedient which was thought upon was to marry *Yolande* the Count of *Britanny's* daughter to the Count of *Champaign*. The proposal was made him, and *Thibaud* readily hearken'd to it: after some negotiations the business was concluded, and the day fix'd for bringing the young Princess to the monastery of *Val-Secret* near *Chateau-Thierry*, where the ceremony of marriage was to be performed. The Count of *Britanny* set out to be present at it himself with all the relations of both families.

This business had been kept very secret, and the King had known nothing of it, if it had not been for the preparations that were made for its execution. He foresaw the consequences of it; and upon the first advice he had of it, he dispatched *Godfroy* of *la Chappelle* grand Pantler of *France* to *Thibaud*. This Lord executed his commission with so much success, that he made him alter his resolution; and notwithstanding the business was so far advanced, he engaged him to withdraw his promise which he had given the Count of *Britanny*.

This change put that Count and his partizans into a fury against the Count of *Champaign*. They renewed their resolution of making war against him with the utmost vigor: but to give it some colour of justice, they agreed to declare themselves supporters of the pretensions of *Alice* Queen of *Cyprus* to the county of *Champaign*, the possession of which that Princess disputed with *Thibaud*.

The Count of *Boulogne* entered *Champaign* at the head of an army, and put all to fire and sword. Count *Thibaud* had recourse to the King as his sovereign. This Prince sent orders immediately to the confederate Lords to depart forthwith out of *Champaign*; and upon their refusal to do it, he march'd against them with the

troops he had raised as soon as he saw this war coming on. The presence of this Prince which they began to dread, notwithstanding his youth, as yet, disconcerted them. They gave him to understand that they did not pretend to draw their sword against their sovereign, and proposed that the difference between the Queen of *Cyprus*, and the Count of *Champaign* should be adjusted by a treaty. He answered that before every thing else they must depart out of the territories of the Count of *Champaign*. As he march'd along with his troops, they retired, and he followed them as far as *Langres* which belonged to the Count of *Nevers*.

An. 1228.

Joinville l. 2.

What probably contributed a great deal to this fore'd respect, which they pretended to shew their sovereign, was the diversion which the Count of *Flanders* at the solicitation of the Queen regent made in the county of *Boulogne*, the Count of which was forced to quit the camp of the confederates to go and defend his territories. He was exhorted at the same time to return to his duty. He wrote to the King with abundance of submission, and upon receiving assurances of pardon he came to court.

Chr. And.

As to the difference between the Queen of *Cyprus* and the Count of *Champaign*, the King decided it afterwards, to the Count's advantage. He continued in possession of his dominions, upon condition of paying a sum of money to the Queen of *Cyprus*. As he had not cash by him to pay off this sum, he got it of the King *, yielding to him the counties of *Blais*, *Chartres*, *Sancerre*, and the Viscounty of *Chateau-Dun*. Thus the King by this treaty made a great advantage of a war, which he had all the reason in the world to dread. But it did not end here.

Invent. des
Chart. t. 1.

The Count of *Britanny*, the author of the rebellion, and the most intriguing of any who were concern'd in it, omitted nothing to bring *Henry* King of *England* to second his ill designs. The irresolution of this Prince was the preservation of *France* at the time of the last conspiracy. It was attributed to *Robert* of *Bourg* his favourite, whom some suspected of being bought with the Queen regent's money. He could not how-

* The act of this sale is given us by *Du Cange* in his observations upon the history of *St. Lewis* by *Joinville*.

An. 1228. ever prevent the King of *England* from sending some
 ~~~~~ Troops into *Britanny*: but they did not come thither  
 till after the league was broke, and the Count of *Brit-*  
*tanny* only made a few incursions during the winter.

Letters of the  
 Count of Bri-  
 tanny. See  
 Du Cange's  
 notes upon  
 Joinville p.  
 44.

He was cited to appear at *Melun* before the court  
 of Peers; and upon his refusing to come, he was de-  
 clared deprived of the advantages which the King had  
 allowed him by the treaty of *Vendome* after his first  
 rebellion, and in particular of what he had granted him  
 in *Anjou*.

An. 1229. After this citation the King left *Paris* with the Queen  
 regent, and besieged the castle of *Belesme*, a very strong  
 place, which was put into the Count's hands by the  
 treaty of *Vendome*. They took it and that of *Haye-*  
*Pesnel*, notwithstanding the rigour of the winter. But  
 Matth. Paris. the Count of *Britanny* was not disheartened. He went  
 over into *England*, and engaged *Henry* at last to de-  
 clare openly for him. As soon as he returned over  
 sea, he published a manifesto †, in which he declared that  
 he no longer acknowledged the King for his Lord.

Treasure of  
 royal Char-  
 tres. 7.  
 Ibid. 26.

His rashness did not continue unpunished. The King  
 attack'd *Angers*, and took it after a siege of forty days.  
 He might have pushed his conquests farther; but the  
 private wars, which his vassals made upon one another,  
 obliged him to disband his army which was made up  
 of troops belonging to these Lords. During this time  
 the Queen regent had a negotiation with the Count of  
*la Marche*, one of the most powerful of the rebels,  
 and concluded a treaty with him at *Cliffon*; and a little  
 after brought over to the King's side *Raymond* the  
 new Viscount of *Tours* in an interview which she had  
 with him at the bridge of *Cé*.

An. 1230. In the mean time *Henry* King of *England* landed at  
 Matth. Paris. *St. Malo* with his army; and the Count of *Britanny*  
 having given him entrance into all his towns, he en-  
 camp'd under *Nantes*. The King advanced as far as  
*Angers*, and went from thence to besiege *Ancenis*. Se-  
 veral Breton Lords, who did not like to see the *English*  
 in *Britanny*, came and did him \*homage.

† This act is given us by *Du Cange* in his observations upon *Joinvil-*  
*le's* history.

\* The acts of these homages are given us by *Vignier* in his treatise of  
 little *Britain*, and in the treasure of royal *Chartres*. *Layet*, *Britanny*.

The King, as we see by the acts of these homages, An. 1230  
 had held an assembly of Lords and *French* prelates, in which the Count of *Britanny* had been by way of punishment for his rebellion declared deprived of the county of *Britanny*, which he possessed only as guardian to his son *John* and his daughter *Yolande*, to whom this county belonged by right of their mother.

The siege of *Ancenis* was still carried on, and the place was taken. *Oudon* and *Chantoceaux* were likewise stormed without any opposition from the *English*. It was said that the King of *England* came into *Britanny* only to divert himself. There were every day rejoicings and feasts at *Nantes*, whilst the *French* were at the gates and ravaged the country. This inactivity was likewise attributed to *Robert* of *Bourg*, who was still said to be the Queen regent's pensionary, and they pretended they had a new proof of it, in the manner of his receiving the offer which some Lords of *Normandy* made him of raising a revolt in that province. He spoke of this project to the King of *England* as a chimæra, and it cost these Lords the confiscation of their estates, as soon as the King was advised of their plot. Matth. Paris

The season being already advanc'd, and distempers being got into the *English* army, *Henry* carried it into *Gascogne* to receive homage from his subjects there. He brought it back to *Nantes* thro' *Poitou*, where he took the little town of *Mirebeau* by assault. He gave some troops to the Count of *Britanny*, who during the winter took *Chateau Gontier*, and burnt *Pontorson* in *Normandy*; and being reembark'd he landed at *Portsmouth* in *October*, having been at a large expence in vain, and lost a great many soldiers and noblemen by sickness.

Whilst the King of *England* was in *Gascogne*, the Queen regent made herself arbiter between the Lords, who were at war with one another. She reconciled them, and they all promised her to be faithful to the King.

The next year the King of *England* seemed to have a mind to make a new attempt upon *France*, but he could not cross the sea for want of money; and An. 1231  
 Pope *Gregory IX.* who preach'd a crusade, got a

An. 1231. \* truce concluded in July for three years between the two crowns, at St. Aubin a castle in the diocese of Rheims.

And now *France* began to breathe a little after so much confusion caused by the civil wars, and the Queen regent omitted nothing to settle the kingdom in peace and tranquillity. Before the end of the truce, the King being nineteen years of age, she thought of marrying him. She made the proposal to *Raymond Berenger* Count of *Provence* for *Margaret* his eldest daughter. The Count accepted this honour with joy.

An. 1234. The King married the Princess at *Sens*, and had her crown'd there by the Archbishop.

In the mean while the Count of *Britanny* was extremely uneasy. The truce was going to expire; and the King of *England* had so much business on his hands occasioned by the disturbances caused by the great men of his kingdom, that he could not support him in his rebellions. He had no other remedy left but the King's mercy. He begg'd he would be so good as to receive some proposals which he hop'd he would approve of. They consisted in giving him *Carte Blanche*, provided he would let him have time to get off with honour from the engagements he had made with the King of *England*. After having obtained his consent, he cross'd the sea, and made application to *Henry* for an army able to oppose the King of *France*. He foresaw very well that he should be refused, knowing that this Prince was in no condition of equipping a fleet.

He declared then, that since he was abandoned, he would go and take some measures to prevent his utter ruin, and departed from *England* leaving *Henry* very angry with him. As soon as he was return'd into *Britanny*, he came and threw himself at the King's feet with a rope about his neck, desiring mercy, confessing that he was a traitor, and declaring that he gave up to him all his dominions and his own person to be punished as he should think fit.

Math. Paris.  
Invent des  
Chart. t. 2.  
*Britanny*.

The King, being touched with the posture of humiliation he saw him in, made his just resentment yield

\* The act of the conventions for this truce is given us by *Vignier* in his treatise of little *Britain*.



to compassion, and contented himself with obliging him to deliver up some fortresses for a time, with depriving him of the advantages which he allow'd him in the treaty of *Vendome*, and with making him engage to serve five years in *Palestine* at his own expence.

An. 1234.

This reducing of the Count of *Britanny* to his obedience was a step of the last consequence towards establishing the authority of the young King; the vigour with which he had acted against him kept the other great vassals of the crown in awe; but he was no less careful to prevent the occasions of these kinds of revolts, than he was diligent in suppressing them.

The alliances which the vassals made by marriages with the enemies of the kingdom, and especially with the *English*, gave ground to them. Our Kings in the treaties which they made with these Lords generally put in this clause, that neither the vassal nor any of his family should contract marriage with foreigners without their (the King's) consent. And it was by virtue of such a clause, that the King hindered *Simon* Count of *Ponthieu* from marrying *Jane* the King of *England*'s eldest daughter, and *Simon Montfort* Earl of *Leicester*, who was settled in *England*, from marrying *Jane* Countess of *Flanders*, and afterwards *Maud* the Count of *Boulogne*'s widow. His threatening the Count of *Ponthieu*, and the Countesses of *Flanders* and *Boulogne* with confiscating their fiefs, if they did not desist from such negotiations, hindered them from proceeding any further.

Invent. des  
Chart. t. 5.  
Flandre.

We see by this management that the young Prince had made a proficiency in the art of governing, by the good instructions which the Queen his mother had given him. This Princess gave up the title of regent of the kingdom as soon as the King was one and twenty years old compleat, which was upon the twenty fifth of *April* in the year 1236. The government was not altered upon this account in any respect, and the Queen-mother had no less a share in it than before. The good nature and gratitude of her son preserved he in as much esteem, as her title of regent had given her authority. He departed in no particular from her views and the maxims she had followed; and as long as she lived, the trust he had reposed in her never diminished.

An. 123

An. 1236.

The first important affair that he had upon his hands, after having entered upon the government of the kingdom, was occasioned by *Thibaud* Count of *Champaign*, whose natural inconstancy would not suffer him to be long at rest. He was come to the throne of *Navarre* by the death of *Sancho* King of *Navarre*, whose nephew he was by his mother's side. He found great sums of money in this Prince's exchequer, and being proud of his riches and the increase of his power, he thought himself less obliged than ever to pay any regard to the King.

Albert. Chr.

He resolved not to stand to the cession he had made of the counties of *Chartres* and *Blois*, and the other fiefs about which he had treated with the King to come to an accommodation with the Queen of *Cyprus*; and in order to carry on the war which he saw was breaking out he married his daughter *Blanche* to *John* son and heir to the Count of *Britanny*, and treated with the Count and Countess of *la Marche*. The King was advised of this, before the Count was in a condition to defend himself in *Brie* and *Champaign*, and got an army together at the wood of *Vincennes* in order to march into those Provinces. The Count had recourse to Pope *Gregory IX.* and represented to him that according to the privilege that belonged to those who had taken the cross, he could not be attack'd. Upon which the Pope wrote immediately to the King, to put him in mind of the censures pronounced against those, who should make war upon the crusading Princes. The King, who knew what he could do in conscience upon this occasion, had no regard to the Pope's letters, who was wrong informed of the King of *Navarre's* ill designs; and he was just ready to take the field, when the King of *Navarre* resolved at last upon submission.

Epist. Greg.  
157, 159.

The King, who was always inclined to clemency, provided his authority did not suffer, answered that he was ready to receive the King of *Navarre's* submission upon these conditions. First, that he should renounce his unjust pretensions to the counties of *Chartres* and *Blois*, and to the other demesnes he had yielded to him by a solemn treaty. Secondly, that to give security for his loyalty he should immediately put some of his towns into his hands. Thirdly,

that he should perform his vow of going to the holy Land as soon as might be: and fourthly, that he should not set foot in *France* for seven years. An. 1236

The King of *Navarre*'s envoy consented to all, and this Prince came a few days after to wait upon the King, to whom he delivered up *Bray* upon the *Seine* and *Montereau Faut Yonne*. This was the effect of his disloyalty and imprudence; and he had orders soon after to leave the court. However important this affair might be, the King of *Navarre* made a song upon it; for he had a great talent that way, and nothing was more common then than the King of *Navarre*'s ballads.

It was about this time that the King run a great risk of his life from *Vieux of la Montagne*, who, to prevent the crusade with which the *Mabometans* of *Asia* were threatned, sent some assassins to kill this Prince. The providence of God preserved him from it, and this visible protection of heaven was a new motive to make him redouble his piety and fervor. He gave a proof of them sometime after by redeeming at his own expence our Lord's crown of thorns and some other relicks, which were carried in procession from *Vincennes* to *Paris*. The King followed them upon his bare feet, as well as the Princes his brothers. All these holy relicks were afterwards placed in the holy chapel, where they are kept at this day as one of the richest treasures in the world.

Nangius.

Nangius in  
Hist. Lud.

The King, having settled his realm in tranquillity by his resolution and prudence, would have been very glad to have seen it likewise restored to the church, which was very much disturbed by the differences between *Frederick* the second and the Popes. The animosity was then higher than ever between the two parties, each of which desired to have the King on his side.

The King renewed the ancient treaties with him, which had been made between the empire and *France*: but Pope *Gregory IX.* thought he had found out an infallible way of bringing the King into his interest. He wrote a letter to him from *Anagnia* dated upon the 20<sup>th</sup> of *October*, and in the third year of his pontificate, and sent it to him by *James* Cardinal of *Palestine*. In it he desired his assistance and protection against the persecutors of the church. But the Cardinal brought another letter which was to be read in

Treasure of  
Chartres cited  
by Mr. de  
Sponde under  
the year.

1239.  
An. 1239.

An. 1239. the assembly of the Lords of *France*. In this letter he said he had deprived *Frederick* of the empire, that he had chosen *Robert* the King's brother in his place to put the *Imperial* crown upon his head, and conjured him to accept of so noble a present that he might put himself into a condition of punishing afterwards the innumerable crimes which *Frederick* had committed.

These letters had not the effect which the Pope desired. The *French* Lords answered him in a very disagreeable manner, and called his attempt to depose an Emperor a rash and mad action. The King however, that he might not vex the Pope too much, allowed his censures against *Frederick* to be published in his kingdom, and so did the King of *England* in his. Some letters from the Emperor to the two Kings shew that they interested themselves in procuring his reconciliation to the holy See; and it is very probable that they were the persons, who proposed the expedient of a general council, to which the two parties should refer themselves. The Emperor consented to it at first, and the Pope called it.

Ep. 16. 34.  
 &c. ap. Petr.  
 ce Vincis.

Ibid. ep. 34.  
 Nangius in  
 gestis Lud.

*Frederick* changed his resolution afterwards, and desired the King to forbid the *French* Bishops going to *Rome*. The Cardinal of *Palestine* prayed the King from the Pope to do the contrary. The resolution which he took was to leave the Bishops at their liberty to do what they should judge proper. Some set out upon their journey, but it was to their disadvantage; for *Henry* the Emperor's natural son meeting them upon the sea of *Pisa*, took them and sent them prisoners into several fortresses of *Apulia*. There were some *Italian* and *English* prelates in the ships, who were treated in the same manner.

An. 1241.

This happened almost at the same time that the King and *Frederick* had like to have come to a rupture, upon the accounts of the war which the Counts of *Provence* and *Toulouse* carried on against each other, the Emperor declaring for the Count of *Toulouse*, and the King for the Count of *Provence* his father-in-law. The affair was accommodated, for the Emperor's business was not to quarrel with the King at this time. But the imprisonment of the *French* prelates, who were taken upon the sea, was a new subject of discontent between the two Princes. Some smart letters were written on both



both sides: but at last the Emperor being afraid lest the King should declare for the Pope against him, the Bishops were released.

This was the state of affairs when *Gregory IX.* died. *Celestin* the fourth succeeded him, and lived but eighteen days after his being raised to the pontifical throne, which was vacant twenty months till *Innocent* the fourth was elected. It was under this Pope's pontificate that the greatest struggles happened between the Emperor and the holy See. I shall touch upon them at the time when they happened, and mention those circumstances in which *France* was concerned.

The King being six and twenty years of age had raised the royal authority pretty near as high as his father and grandfather had carried it; but it was impossible for *Henry* King of *England* to behold the prosperity of this Prince and be easy. The Count of *Toulouse* and the Count of *la Marche*, and the Countess of *la Marche* his mother, more than either of them, were all disposed to back his jealousy. He made a new alliance with them. He hop'd to engage in the design *James* King of *Aragon*, who possessed *Montpellier* and some other demesnes in those parts, and compassed his end in bringing into the league the Count of *Provence* himself, for all he was the King's father-in-law, and notwithstanding the late obligation he had to him for his assistance against the Count of *Toulouse* and the Emperor.

The better to cement this league, they projected to marry into one another's families; but their projects did not succeed upon the account of some cross accidents, and in particular the death of Pope *Gregory IX.* whom they were soliciting for the dispensations necessary for these marriages.

The Count of *la Marche* was the first who pulled off the mask upon the following occasion. The King, according to the will of the King his father, gave his brothers the estates which were left them, as soon as the age of one and twenty qualified them for possession. In the year 1238. he invested *Robert* with the county of *Artois*, and in the year 1241. he put his other brother *Alphonso* into possession of the counties of *Poitou* and *Auvergne*, and of all the countries which the Count of *Toulouse* had yielded to him by the

An. 1241.

Apud Petr.  
de Vineis  
c. 12.  
Nangius in  
Chron.

Nangius in  
gestis Lud.  
Joinville.

An. 1241. treaty of *Paris*. All this was transacted at *Saumur*, where the King kept his court for this ceremony. *Invent des Chart. t. 1. Poitou. Diverses lettres.* Afterwards he carried the new Count of *Poitou* to *Poitiers*, where the Count of *la Marche* was obliged, with the other vassals, to do him homage.

The Countess his wife being acquainted with it reproached him with baseness and cowardice, and persuaded him to shew some dissatisfaction at least, in order to retrieve the false step he had taken, contrary to the engagements he had entered into with the King of *England*.

He did so; and putting himself at the head of some troops, he march'd as far as the gates of *Poitiers*. So that the King himself, who had but very few people with him, was obliged to shut himself up in the town four days without daring to stir out.

March. Paris.

He was no sooner returned to *Paris*, but the Count of *la Marche* came to *Poitiers* well attended, and carried his insolence so high as to reproach and threaten the Count of *Poitou*; and having declared to him that he would never do him homage, he mounted a horse which was there ready for him, and went out of the town.

He sent immediately into *England* to claim *Henry's* promise, which he had given him of coming into *France* as soon as possible. He sent him word that he need not trouble himself so much about bringing troops as a great deal of money with him; that at his arrival he should find an army ready for him, and willing to obey his orders, being secure of the Count of *Toulouse*, the King of *Aragon*, the King of *Navarre*, and all the Nobility of *Poitou* and *Gascogne*, who only waited for his arrival to declare against the King of *France*.

The King of *England*, who waited with impatience for the Count to do something to begin the war, received this news with joy. He granted the envoy all that his master desired, and promised him to be ready to cross the sea at the feast of *Easter*. He called his parliament for this purpose, laid before them the advantages the nation would gain by the war with *France*, and demanded money for the preparations which were to be made. He met with a great deal of opposition to his design in most of the members of parliament, and

and money was refused him. He was extremely angry at it, but did not alter his resolution. He had fill'd his exchequer by other means with a view to this war, and had raised money other ways. An. 1241.

In the mean while the King, after the insult made upon his brother the Count of *Poitiers* by the Count of *la Marche*, foresaw very well that it must come to a war, and the difficulties which *Henry's* parliament put him to having given him time to prepare himself, he came into *Poitou* with a fine army in *April*, and review'd it near *Chinon*. An. 1242.

He afterwards laid waste part of the territories of the Count of *la Marche*, and took a great many places from him. The Count, to hinder the *French* from penetrating any further, ravaged his own lands himself, burnt the forage and provisions, pluck'd up the vines, stop'd the wells, and poisoned those which he left open. Nangius in  
gestis Lud.

This way of defending himself, by ruining his own country, was part of the punishment beforehand which the Count of *la Marche* deserved for his rebellion; but the Queen his wife did not stop here. She carried her fury so far as to attempt the poisoning of the King. They who were charged with the execution of so horrid an enterprize were taken, and all that he gained was the infamy of having designed it.

During these transactions, the King of *England* arrived with his fleet in the port of *Royan*; and after some negotiations, which were only to amuse the King, he declared war against him. The King was then besieging *Fontenai*. He went on with it; and notwithstanding the strength of the place, he obliged the governor to surrender at discretion. This governor was one of the sons of the Count of *la Marche*. The King was advised to hang him and some of the officers in order to strike terror into the rebels: but he would not consent to it, saying, that the Count of *la Marche's* son was excusable, as he acted only by his father's order. And therefore he only sent them all into the prisons of *Paris*.

The King's goodness, join'd to the vigour with which he carried on his enterprize, made several fortresses submit to him without staying to be attack'd. He kept the best of them and raz'd the rest: he opened a way as far as to the *Charente*, and advanced Nangius in  
gestis Lud.  
to Guyart. &c.

An. 1242. to *Taillebourg*, a place situated on this side of that river.

The King of *England* had posted himself over against that town on the other side of the river, which in this place is not broad but very deep. He was master of the bridge and of the fort at the end of the bridge on his side. The King had a design to pass the river and storm the bridge, and was actually disposing things for this purpose; but he was prevented by the ardour of his troops.

The King of *England* having made a motion with his army, to remove it only two bow shots from the bank of the river, they thought he was making a retreat. Being thus persuaded some *French* officers at the head of five hundred men attack'd the bridge. Others passed the river in boats to get behind the enemy. The *English* sustained the attack of the bridge with resolution. The King came up; and finding their business begun he pushed it on; his presence and example revived the ardour of his people which began to cool. He advanced himself sword in hand; and throwing himself into the heat of the battle followed by several Lords, he drove the *English* from the bridge, and made himself master of it.

Danger did but increase by this advantage, for the King being master of but very little ground, and his soldiers coming up but in a row, he found himself exposed to the whole army of the enemy with a very small troop of his own behind him; but the same courage, which gained the first success, supplied the place of numbers. They made the *English* fall back: most of the troops passed the river either over the bridge or in boats, and ranged themselves in order as they came over. In short the *English*, who had no time given them to recover their first fright, took to their heels. They pursued them closely as far as *Zaintes*, and several *French* being mixed among them entered the place with them, and were made prisoners. This courageous action happened upon the vigil of *St. Magdalen*.

The King of *England* had taken another rout; and having but very few people with him, could not probably have escaped being hemmed in. Count *Richard* his brother saved him, by resolving immediately to come

Joinville.

Narg. loco  
cit.



come to the King. He knew he was loved and esteemed by this Prince, on the account of the good offices he had done several *French* Lords in the expedition to *Palestine*. He threw off his helmet and cuirass, and advanced towards the *French* army with nothing but a cane in his hand, and desired to speak with the Count of *Artois*. An. 1242.

The Count being come, and having received him with a great deal of civility, he desired him to carry him to the King, who treated him with abundance of affection. He begged him to grant a cessation of arms for the rest of that day and till the day following. The King being always inclined to peace granted it him, and when he took his leave of him said thus: *My Lord, night brings counsel, pray give the King of England a good piece of advice, and see that he follows it.* Math. Paris. The King meant that he should advise *Henry* to desist from protecting the factions; but *Richard* applied it to the present urgency, and resolved immediately to secure the King his brother's person. He rode toward the place where he was, and having acquainted him with the cessation of arms, which he had obtain'd for the rest of that day and all the night, he brought him to *Zaintes*.

He found there the Count of *la Marche*, whom he bitterly reproach'd, and ask'd him in a rage where were the Count of *Toulouse*, the King of *Arragon*, the King of *Navarre*, the King of *Castile*, and all those numerous troops who were to crush the King of *France*? And this conversation only served to set them at greater variance. Ibid.

The next morning there was a battle more bloody than the former. The Count of *la Marche*, without consulting the King of *England*, went out with a party of his troops, and fell upon the King's foragers. The officer who commanded the forage immediately gave advice of it to the camp. They sent assistance to him: the King of *England*, wisely dissembling his resentment, sent likewise succours to the Count of *la Marche*, and went out himself to support him. The King on his side march'd too, and by insensible degrees the action became general. Guill. Guy. Nangis in gesta Lud.

They fought upon a piece of ground very improper for a battle, surrounded with vineyards and full of narrow

An. 1242. narrow lanes, in which it was impossible for them to spread themselves. So that it was rather a great number of little combats, which were fought separately than one battle. The victory was doubtful for a long time; but the King, who was present every where, gave orders with so much prudence, that the enemy fell back on all sides, and were driven as far as the walls of *Xaintes*, where the King of *England* saved himself.

This second victory of the King's reduced the enemy to the last extremity. The Count of *la Marche* thought of nothing now but making his peace, and obtained it by the mediation of the Count of *Britanny*, upon the conditions which the King was pleased to prescribe him\*; one of which was, that the King should keep all the places he had taken from him.

Matth. Paris.

This treaty was made without the knowledge of the King of *England*, who was informed of it by Count *Richard* his brother, and knew at the same time that *Xaintes* was to be invested the night following by the *French* army in concert with the inhabitants themselves. He was just sitting down to table, but this affair was so pressing, that he mounted his horse immediately. He was followed by those who were the most ready to go, and ordered the rest to follow him to *Blaye*, whither he was going. He rode this journey which was twenty leagues almost without halting. The army followed straggling without provisions and victuals. The baggage was left behind, and the King of *England* lost his chapel which was very rich, and several other costly moveables.

After the flight of the King of *England*, *Xaintes* open'd its gates to the *French*. They pursued the *English*, many of whom were taken; but the King finding himself ill after he had rode some leagues, they proceeded no further. *Henry*, not thinking himself safe at *Blaye*, went to *Bordeaux*, and so got the *Garonne* between the *French* and him. The other places which belonged to the King of *England* in those Parts surrendered without resistance, except *Montauban* and some castles in the neighbouring country.

\* *Du Cange* gives us the act of this treaty in his observations upon *Joinville's* history, p. 42.

The year was no farther advanced than the month of *August*, and the consternation was so great among the *English*, that the King of *England* was afraid for *Gascogne*. There came advice to him from all parts that the King was just upon marching to that side. And it is true, he did consider whether he should or no, but the excessive heats had caused so much sickness and mortality in the army, that it was very much weakened. Near fourscore Lords carrying banners had died, and above twenty thousand soldiers. The King himself was not very well; and it was chiefly this last reason that made his council receive the proposals of the King of *England*, with whom they made not a peace but only a truce for five years.

*Henry* continued sometime in *Gascogne*, and made the people there recognize his son Prince *Edward* for their Lord, tho' he was then but three years old. Thus ended this year 1242. so glorious and fortunate for *France*, which shews that a holy King may be not only valiant, but likewise a conqueror, provided that the injustice of his enemies furnishes him with opportunities of gaining conquests, which in all other cases are forbidden by virtue and justice.

After having subdued the *English* and the Count of *la Marche*, there remained yet for the King to bring the Count of *Toulouse* to reason, which was no difficult matter; for while he was betraying the King, and busy about the league I have mentioned, he was himself betrayed by his own vassals, who, after having engaged him in this troublesome affair, forsook him. This hindered him from joyning the Count of *la Marche*, and broke the measures of the King of *Arragon*.

A detachment which the King sent out against the Count of *Toulouse* made him hasten to desire his pardon. He obtained it; and was obliged to confirm the treaty of *Paris* again, and to deliver up to the King as he had before some fortresses for the security of his word. This Count, to shew the King his sincerity in returning to the obedience he owed him, put the Emperor *Frederick's* letters into his hands, in which that Prince exhorted him to continue in his rebellion. It is difficult to discover the motives which prevailed upon *Frederick* to act in this manner, since the King had always refused to draw his sword against him, not-

An. 1242.

An. 1243.  
Guil. de P.  
dio Laur.

**An. 1243.** withstanding the great advantages which were offered him to engage him to do it. But the point was, there was always as much difference between *Frederick's* politicks and those of *St. Lewis*, as there was between the characters of the two persons. Both were great Princes, but according to very different ideas of greatness.

Notwithstanding the truce agreed on between *France* and *England*, hostilities were still committed. *Henry*, when the King was gone, retook some castles, and on the other hand the Count of *Britanny* and the privateers of *Calais* chased the *English* ships. But at last new conferences were held at *Bordeaux*, in which the truce was confirmed: the King continued in possession of all his conquests; *Henry* restored to him the castles he had taken since the end of the last campaign, and obliged himself to pay him five thousand pounds sterling in five years. He returned afterwards into *England* very much chagrined at his ill fortune in an enterprize which had cost him a great deal of money, and which could not have been attended with worse success.

The King after having dispatched the conspiracy of so many dangerous enemies, and settled peace in his kingdom, laboured with application to restore it to the church. He had a great hand in hastening the election of a Pope, which the Cardinals had been eighteen months about; but at last they chose Cardinal *Sinibald* of the house of *Fiesco*, who took the name of *Innocent* the fourth.

This Pope and the Emperor *Frederick*, after some reciprocal civilities, were not long without falling out; so opposite were the interests and pretensions of the Popes and the Emperors at that time. The King us'd his utmost endeavours, but in vain, to bring them to a reconciliation. The Pope was forced to go out of *Italy*, and he design'd to take refuge in *France*; but the King, after having advised with his council, refused to receive him there. The Kings of *England* and *Aragon* acted in the same manner, and the Pope was obliged to stay at *Lyons*, which was not then united to the crown of *France*. It was held of the empire, as I have already observed in another place; but in such a manner notwithstanding, that the Archbishop was the



Lord of it, and the Emperors for a long time had no authority over it. An. 1243.

This year the King had a young Prince born, who was named *Lewis*; this was his first son. The joy of the whole kingdom at this birth was sometime after turned into sorrow by the King's being seized with a dangerous fit of sickness which brought him to the brink of the grave. It was even doubted for some moments whether he was not expired. They put upon his bed the peice of the true cross, and the other relicks which they had had of the Emperor *Baldwin*. He recovered immediately from his insensibility; and the thing was look'd upon by all those that were present as a miraculous effect of those sacred monuments of our Saviour's passion. Nangius.  
Matth. Paris

The first words which the King uttered at that time were to desire *William* Bishop of *Paris*, who was present, that he might take the cross upon him, and make a vow to travel beyond sea. He recovered, and some time after upon the occasion of the Queen-mother, and the Bishop's opposing his going upon the crusade, he renewed his vow. They saw very well by this, that he was unshaken in his resolution; but he did not execute his design so soon, the preparations for an expedition of this importance, and other affairs making him defer his departure for two years and a half. He desired the Pope to send missionaries to preach the crusade in his kingdom, and applyed himself during that interval to put *France* in a condition of being able to bear his absence. An. 1245.

In the mean while the Pope called a general council at *Lyons*. He proposed two things by this council. The first was to unite the christian Princes against the Infidels; and the second to get the Emperor *Frederick* deposed, if he did not submit to the holy See.

They began with this last point. The Emperor's ambassador was admitted into the council to maintain his master's cause. He spoke at several times; but the Pope himself undertook to refute him, calling all that he advanced falsity, and all that he offered from the Emperor artifice.

As the ambassador easily perceived the ill disposition of the council with regard to *Frederick*, he desired time to advise him of the state of things, promising that  
this

An. 1245. this Prince would come to the council himself and give an account of his behaviour.

The Pope would hearken to nothing; and the council was ready to proceed to the condemnation and deposition of *Frederick*, when the *French* and *English* ambassadors opposed it, saying, that they could not reasonably refuse some delay, in order to give this Prince time to come and defend himself before the council.

The Pope had too much interest in not displeasing the two crowns to reject this demand; for which reason, upon the pressing instances of the ambassadors, a suspension was granted for two weeks. One of the Emperor's agents went to him. *Frederick* sent him back with this answer; that it was a dishonour to the *Imperial* majesty to oblige an Emperor to appear before a council, and that he would not come.

The Pope knew perfectly well how to take advantage of this behaviour of the Emperor. It drew a great many people from him, who before were favourable to him. The *English* above all were offended at it. He was called refractory and a rebel to the church, and a man, who would submit to no other law but his own will and passion.

The Pope seeing their minds in the disposition he wished for, held a new session, and having again set forth all his grievances and *Frederick's* contumacy, he concluded that it was necessary to proceed to judgment immediately.

The Emperor's ambassador, to ward off this blow, protested against all their proceedings; and in the name of his master appealed to a more solemn and a more general council than this, in which were wanting a great many Bishops of Christendom, who were neither there in person nor by proxy, any more than the envoys of several Princes.

Ex Regesto  
Vatican. In-  
noc. IV.

The Pope replied; and after having spoken a great deal upon the nullity of this appeal, he pronounced sentence, by which he declared *Frederick* deprived of the empire and all his dominions, forbidding all the faithful to acknowledge him for the future as Emperor or King, and absolving all the subjects of the empire, and his other dominions from the oath of allegiance which they had taken to him, &c.

The

The ambassador being quite confounded, and seeing the Cardinals ready to put out their wax candles, which they held lighted according to the custom used in the pronouncing of excommunications, cried out in these words of a prayer of the church: *O day, a day of wrath, a day of calamity and misery*, and withdrew.

*Frederick* was at *Turin* when he heard this news. We may easily imagine the inward struggles it produced in the mind of so proud a Prince as this. Being a little calmed, he ordered the *Imperial* crown to be brought him; and putting it upon his head he said partly in anger and partly in jest: *Here is this crown which they would take from me. I have it as yet, and there shall be a good deal of blood spilt before I part with it.* An. 1245.  
Match. Paris.

This menace had but too much effect; but *Frederick*, to prevent the impression which the publication of the sentence against him might make upon the courts of *Europe*, wrote a circular letter to all the Princes, laying before them the consequences of this action. Ep. 2. apud  
Pet. de Vineis.

Besides this circular letter, he wrote a particular one to the King of *France*, in which besides repeating the principal things that related to the common interest of all sovereigns, not to suffer Popes to dare thus to attack crown'd heads, he represented to him the nullity of the proceedings against him, and desired him to remember the strict alliance there had been so long between the Emperors of his house and the Kings of *France*, conjuring him not to support the Pope or his legates, nor to allow any of the prelates or ecclesiastics of his kingdom, who might have this title of legate, to do any thing in prejudice to his interest. Ibid. ep. 3.

We see another letter of *Frederick's* to *St. Lewis* upon the same subject, which was brought by *Peter de Vineis* his chancellor, in which he made the King judge, with the lay Peers and Nobility of *France*, of the justice of his cause, and desired him not to let the Pope have any assistance out of his kingdom, and offered to enter upon the war in the holy Land, either in person or by his son *Conrad*, whether the King went thither himself, or whether he only sent succours. Invent. des  
Chart. t. 3.  
Golden Bull.

An. 1245.

Chr. Abb.  
Senonens. in  
Vosago l. 4.

We do not know the particulars of the King's answers to these letters: we can only tell by the testimony of a contemporary author, that he did not at all approve of the Pope's conduct upon this occasion: and as he likewise very much disapproved of *Frederick's* passionate behaviour, he did not concern himself then in this affair. The respect which he had for the Pope, and on the other hand the interest he had in refusing to justify these depositions of sovereigns, made him continue neuter.

Ep. 16. apud  
Petr. de  
Vinea.

Math. Paris.

He entered much more willingly into the designs and regulations of the council relating to the holy war, and at his return from *Cluni*, where he endeavoured again in vain to bring the Pope to a better temper with *Frederick*, he engaged several *French* Lords to take the cross. But besides the crusade which was at that time the chief thing he had in view, he had another affair to manage of great importance to the kingdom and the royal family.

The Count of *Provence* had assisted at the council of *Lyons*, and died after his return to his dominions. When the King heard the news of his death, he ordered some troops to march towards *Provence* to seize upon it as belonging to the Queen his wife, the Count's eldest daughter, and by consequence his heiress: but it was found that the Count had made a will, in which he declared *Beatrice* his youngest daughter heiress to his dominions.

The Count of *Toulouse* was to marry *Beatrice*, as had been agreed with the Count of *Provence*, but a dispensation for affinity was wanting, which the Pope had given them hopes of, tho' it was not come. There were two administrators of the county of *Provence*, one named *Albere* and the other *Ronde*, a famous man in the history of that province for his wisdom and impartiality in the management of his master's affairs. They had no mind to have the Count of *Toulouse* for their master, and made a secret proposal to marry *Beatrice* to *Charles* the King's youngest brother. This was readily received by the court of *France*, and the affair was concluded, while the administrators amused the Count of *Toulouse* with the hopes of this marriage; and the Queen of *France*, the Queen of *England*, and their sister *Sancia*, wife to *Richard* of *England*, made interest



interest secretly with the Pope to hinder him from granting the dispensation. An. 1245.

The Count of *Toulouse* was so persuaded that the thing would be concluded as soon as he had got the dispensation, that he sent a Gentleman from his court to the Queen of *France* to ask her consent, and desire she would be so good as to allow him the honour of being her brother-in-law; but the envoy met *Charles* upon the road going to marry *Beatrice*. He returned back and carried this news to his master, who finding himself cheated in this manner, had like to have died with vexation. *Charles* married *Beatrice* in the beginning of the year 1246. He was recognized Count of *Provence*, and put in possession of all the towns. An. 1246;

By this marriage *Provence*, which had been usurped from the crown after the death of *Lewis* the *Stammerer*, and had been separated from it ever since, returned to the royal family of *France* about three hundred years after that separation. The same year the King made the new Count of *Provence* a Knight at *Melun*, invested him with the counties of *Anjou* and *Maine*, assigned him a considerable pension out of his exchequer, and by this means made him a powerful Prince. Guyart p. 139.

It was not so much to increase his dominions, as to secure them that *Lewis* thus practised sometimes the art of politicks, tho' always without going beyond the bounds of equity. But nothing made him forget his design of the holy war, to which he had so solemnly engaged himself before God.

In the year before this in *August* the Pope at his desire sent Cardinal *Eudes* of *Chateauxreux* Bishop of *Tusculum* into *France* with the title of legate to preach the crusade. Soon after his arrival in the beginning of *October* the King held a parliament at *Paris*, that is a great assembly of Bishops, Abbats, Lords, and the principal Nobility of *France*, in which the legate began to execute his mission. Nangius in Gestis Lud.

He discharged it with success. Most of the Princes took the cross, and this example could not but be followed by the Nobility and people. The King's three brothers, *Alphonso* Count of *Poitiers*, *Robert* Count of *Artois*, and *Charles* whom I shall call for the future Nangius. Joinville.

An. 1246. Count of *Anjou*, were the first who signalized their zeal upon this occasion. *Peter* Count of *Britanny* and *John* his son, *Hugh* Duke of *Burgundy*, *William* of *Dampierre* Count of *Flanders* and *Guy* his brother, *Hugh* of *Lusignan* Count of *la Marche* and *Hugh* the Brown his son, the Counts of *Dreux*, *Bar*, *Soissons*, *Retel*, *Vendome*, *Montfort*, and a great number of other Lords of the kingdom listd themselves. Several prelates likewise joined in this expedition, namely, the Archbishops of *Rheims* and *Bourges*, the Bishops of *Beauvais*, *Laon*, and *Orleans*; and the multitude of people, that presented themselves for the crusade, was so great, that they had nothing to do but to pick out the ablest of them.

The King by carrying with him *Peter* Count of *Britanny*, and *Hugh* Count of *la Marche*, took from the kingdom the two men who were the most capable of disturbing it during his absence. There were no others of that character but the Count of *Toulouse*, who had not as yet resolved which way he would act. He determined at last to go, and the King lent him money to make his preparations; but not being able to finish them, by the time the King was ready, he got him to consent that he should defer his departure till the year following.

An. 1248. After three years spent in preparations, in the year 1248. the King was ready to set out. He went to *St. Denis* to take the *Oriflamb*. He declared Queen *Blanche* his mother regent, giving her full power to act as she pleased, but desired the Count of *Poitiers* would stay with her a year to assist her with his advice and authority in the beginning of her regency.

The Queen was absolutely resolved to follow the King her husband. The Countesses of *Anjou* and *Artois* were of the same mind; but the Countess of *Artois* being big with child, and too near her lying in at the time of the embarkation, they would not let her go upon the sea in that condition. She returned to *Paris*, and took the journey the year after with the Count of *Poitiers*.

Nangius in  
Hist. Lud.  
IX.

They set sail on the twenty seventh of *August* towards the isle of *Cyprus*, where the King had laid up large magazines; and they arrived in three weeks at the port of *Limeffon* which lies on the *Eastern* part of the island.

At

At the time that the King entered upon the design of the crusade, the affairs of the Christians in *Palestine* were in a very bad condition; and the christian states which still subsisted, owed their preservation to nothing but the civil wars among the *Mahometans*. There were still in *Palestine* and *Syria* four principalities possessed by the Christians, who came originally from *Europe*; namely, that of *Acre* or *Ptolemais* in which the *Venetians*, *Genoese*, *Pisans*, and some others had each their quarters which belonged to them, that of *Tripoli*, that of *Tyre*, and that of *Antioch*, without mentioning some other Lordships, depending for the most part upon these four principalities. But all this was invested and surrounded on all sides by the *Mahometans*, the most powerful of whom was *Meleck Sala Sultan* of *Egypt*: this was the state of the Christians, when the King *St. Lewis* arrived in *Cyprus*. An. 1248

Being in this island, it was in his choice to attack the *Mahometans* either in *Palestine* or *Egypt*. This Prince after having accommodated several differences between the christian Lords during his stay in *Cyprus*, determined to carry the war into *Egypt*, and sent to declare against the *Sultan*.

The loss which he had had of a great many Nobility and soldiers by the disease which had infected his troops, was partly repaired by the arrival of a considerable number of crusaders, who could not come from *France* with the great fleet. The most considerable reinforcement was brought by *William* of *Salisbury*, surnamed the *Long-Sword*, who landed in *Cyprus* with two hundred *English* Knights. Matth. Paris.

The King's fleet consisted of eighteen hundred sail as well large as small; and there were in the army twelve thousand eight hundred *French*, *English*, and *Cypriot* Knights. The fleet set out from the port of *Limeston* upon the *Wednesday* after the feast of *Ascension*; but a violent storm obliged the King to stand in for the same port, with part of the ships. The rest were dispersed; so that the King found himself with only seven hundred Knights about him, not knowing what was become of the remainder. An. 1249

He put to sea again upon *Trinity Sunday*, and met *William* of *Ville-Hardouin* Prince of the *Morcia* and Duke of *Burgundy*, who having wintered in the *Morcia* joyned his

Ap. 1249. Squadron to this Prince's. This comforted the King a little, but did not remove his uneasiness for the rest of his fleet. He arrived in four days within sight of *Damiete* and cast anchor pretty near the shoar, where the *Mabometans* waited for him well prepared.

Besides a numerous fleet which rode in the mouth of the arm of the *Nile*, which went up to *Damiete*, an innumerable army of horse and foot was rang'd in order of battle upon the sea shoar. The Sultan of *Egypt*, tho' he was sick, was at the head of them. This was the sight that first presented itself to the eyes of the crusaders; and they were obliged to encounter this army if they would run the risk of a descent. That they were resolved to do; so that there was nothing to consider upon, but whether they should attempt it before the arrival of the rest of the fleet.

The fear of a storm rising in a place where they had no port to shelter them, and some other reasons, determined the King not to put off the descent.

Nangius.  
Joinville.

At break of day the troops were ordered into the flat ships and shallops, *John* of *Yblin* Count of *Jasse* had his post to the left. The King went to the right accompanied with the Princes his brothers and the Cardinal Legate, who carried a very high cross himself to animate the soldiers by that sight. Count *Erard* of *Brienne*, the Lord of *Joinville*, and *Baldwin* of *Rheims* were placed in the center.

The enemy appeared upon the sea shore pretty near in the same order as the day before; but the Sultan was not there, because his sickness being much increased, he had order'd himself to be carried to a house of pleasure a league above *Damiete*.

The boats of the center where the Lord of *Joinville* was went faster than the rest. He landed with his people over against a body of six thousand *Mabometan* horse, towards whom they marched. The horse came upon the gallop, as if they would ride over them; but they without any surprize cover'd themselves with their bucklers, and halted; and presenting the point of their lances, which were much longer then than they were afterwards, they made as it were a kind of rampart, behind which the battalions formed themselves as the soldiers came up. The *Saracens* wondered to see them so well disposed, and durst not undertake to break them, but



but wheeled about without coming to an engagement. An. 1249. But they were much more astonished, when after most of the troops of this body were landed, they saw all this infantry march strait towards them to fall upon them. Then they turned their horses, and fled without striking a stroke.

Things were pretty much in the same condition in the left where the Count of *Jaffe* landed. The boats to the right, where the King was, landed the last about a cross-bow shot off of *Jainville's* body. The soldiers in the ship, where the *Oriflamb* was, leapt out upon the ground. The King seeing that banner upon the bank could not contain himself, but threw himself into the sea sword in hand, notwithstanding the endeavours which the legate used to stop him, and the Knights of his Troop did the same. As soon as they were come to land, he formed his battalion. He advanced towards the enemy who were before him, but hardly stood at all. All the enemy's army dispersed, leaving some slain upon the place, of the number of whom were the Governor of *Damiete* and two other Emirs.

The enemy's fleet performed no better than their army. It failed up the *Nile* again with precipitation, and they could not overtake it. The King fix'd his camp upon the sea shore. Next day he landed all the horses and machines, and the *Mahometans* did not make the least motion to oppose them.

The report which was spread of the Sultan's death, tho' it was false, threw them into such a terror, that the inhabitants and garrison of *Damiet* abandoned the place after having set fire to it. The King being informed of this, march'd thither immediately. He entered without resistance, and extinguished the fire; and contrary to all hopes and expectations, he found himself master of one of the strongest cities in the *East* upon the first *Sunday* after Trinity.

The King full of pious and religious sentiments, made his entry not with the pomp and ostentation of a conqueror, but with the humility of a truly christian Prince, returning humble and sincere thanks to God for his victory. He made his entry in the way of a procession upon his bare feet with the Queen, the Princes his brothers, the King of Cyprus, and all the

Addit. ad  
Matth. Paris.

F. 4. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 8

#### Fig 4. Solist 5th Blow Lords

An. 1249. Lords of the army, preceded by the legate, the patriarch of *Jerusalem*, the Bishops and all the clergy of the camp. They went in this manner to the principal mosk, which the legate purified and consecrated with the usual ceremonies of the church, and which he dedicated under the name of the mother of God.

Nangius.

It had been to be wished that these sentiments of piety which appeared in all the crusaders, had been as constant in them as they always were in the King himself. But whilst they stayed at *Damiete*, for the falling of the *Nile* which was then overflowed, and for the ships which had been dispersed by the storm, most of which arrived safely one after another, the troops gave themselves up to the most excessive debauches, and most outrageous violences, notwithstanding the orders of the King, who was not always so exactly obeyed as he wish'd and deserved.

Joinville.

The King continued in the camp of *Damiete* till the month of *October*, waiting for the arrival of *Alphonso of Poitiers*, of whose departure from *France* he had been inform'd. This Prince arrived at the end of *October* with the Countess his wife, the Countess of *Artois*, and the Arrier-ban of *France*. Then they consulted which way they should march, and determined to besiege *Grand Cairo* the capital of *Egypt*, being persuaded that the loss of that place would bring on the surrender of all the rest. The King's army consisted now of sixty thousand men, of which twenty thousand were horse.

They took the field upon the twentieth of *November*, and left the Queen and the other Princesses at *Damiete* with a strong garrison. The King being come to the place that separates the two arms of the *Nile*, he stop'd there, as well to give rest to his army, as to consider in what manner they should pass the *Eastern* arm of the river, because the Sultan was encamp'd very close to the other side near a town called *Massoure*.

Sanudo l. 2.  
part. 2. cap. 9.

The Sultan sent from thence proposals of peace to the King. They were so advantageous, that they would have accepted them immediately, if they could have been sure of their execution: but the difficulties which they foresaw in that, made them reject them, and if they had agreed to them, the death of the Sultan, which happened at this time, would have raised new obstacles. His

His death was kept very secret, as he very much desired it should before he expired, to give his son *Almoadan*, who was in *Mesopotamia*, time to come and take possession of his dominions. He left the care of the government to *Scecedun Facardin* General of his army. This man pass'd for the wisest and most valiant in *Egypt*; and by his conduct he justified the choice his master had made of him at so dangerous a juncture. An. 1249.

He constantly kept the Christians at a bay: and whilst with the gross of his troops he was always ready to oppose their passage, he continually sent out detachments to attack the hinder part of their camp, and seize upon the convoys which came to them from *Damiete*. These frequent attacks obliged the King to bring his quarters nearer one another, and to draw lines on the side of *Damiete* from one arm of the *Nile* to the other. Several combats happened in which the *Mahometans* were always repulsed: the Counts of *Anjou* and *Poitiers* signalized themselves, and gained a great deal of reputation among the troops. Joinville.

The activity and opposition of *Facardin* made the King more and more sensible of the difficulty of the passage, and as they could not bring boats from *Damiete* to make a bridge, because the enemy would have broken them in pieces with the great number of patereroes with which they had lined the shoar, they resolved to make a bank in the *Nile*, and carry it the nearest way they could to the other shoar.

As soon as *Facardin* saw them beginning this work, he sent over to that side sixteen large machines which continually threw great stones upon the labourers. He made use of wildfire, and several times overthrew or burnt the bellfries or wooden towers, which they had raised upon the bank of the river to defend the pioneers, and destroyed in one night the work of many days. Ibid.

Things stood thus for near three months, and the works were not much more advanced than at first. The King being disconcerted, knew not what to do, when a *Bedwin* or *Arabian* came to the constable *Imbert* of *Beaujeu*, and offered for five hundred besants of gold to shew him a ford in the river which they might pass on horseback. They accepted the offer, found out the ford, and tho' it was not very easy, they resolved to attempt the passage. The

An. 1249. The Count of *Artois* by his repeated instances obtain'd leave of the King to pass at the head of the troops, promising upon oath to moderate his impetuosity, and not advance too far into the country without his orders.

Ibid.

An. 1250.

As soon as they were engaged in the river, an advanced guard of three hundred of the enemy came up to dispute the passage: but when the foremost troopers of the christian army got to shoar, this guard run away as hard as they could drive, and the army continued to pass without any obstacle. It cost them some men who were drowned, the ford failing in some places, and the horses being obliged to swim. This happened upon *Shrove Tuesday* in the year 1250.

This was the most fortunate accident that could happen to the army in the perplexing circumstances they were in; and considering the disorder and consternation which their passing the river had caused in the enemy, they had ground to hope for the greatest success, if it had not been for the rashness of the Count of *Artois*.

Epist. S.  
Ludovici de  
captione &  
liberatione.

As soon as the army was passed and formed, the King marched towards the enemy's camp, and forced it; several Emirs fell upon the spot; *Facardin* himself fighting like a desperado was run thro' the body with a lance and killed, and the King made himself master of the machines.

And here it was that the *French* began to be unfortunate. The Count of *Artois* seeing the enemy flying on all sides, forgot the oath which he had made to the King. He quitted his post, and going a by-way to avoid the vanguard, he pursued the enemy with his troop as far as he could.

The Knights Templars, who were in the van, looking upon it as an affront to be thus deprived of marching at the head of the troops, went off and run full speed after the enemy, endeavouring to get before the Count of *Artois*. They made, as well as he, great havock among the Infidels, some of whom fled towards *Grand Cairo*, and others got into the town of *Massoure*. But the Christians followed them so close, that they had not time to shut the gates, and they entered with them pell-mell together.



If the Count of *Artois* had stop'd here, his disobedience to the King's orders would have been in some degree repaired by so happy a piece of success, which put the christian army into a condition of undertaking any thing. *William of Sounac*, grand master of the temple, and the Earl of *Salisbury* did all they could to persuade him to go no further, but wait for new orders: but, he laughed at their mighty prudence, and went out of the town to continue his pursuit, tho' he had fewer people with him than before, because several of the soldiers stayed in *Massoure* for the sake of plunder.

In the mean while the *Mahometans* had rallied in several places, and came pouring upon him, commanded by *Bondocdar* one of the heads of the *Mammelus* (thus they called one of the most considerable bodies of the *Mahometan* soldiery.) This General, having charged the Count of *Artois* with a great deal of vigour, obliged him to return to *Massoure*, and brought up a large body of troops to the other side of the city, which cut off his communication with the King's army. He entered with the rest in the pursuit of the Count of *Artois*, who threw himself into a house where he was besieged.

He defended himself there several hours: but at last born down with numbers, his strength quite spent, and his body all over wounds, he expired upon an heap of Infidels, whom he had killed with his own hand: a death perfectly glorious, if it had not been the effect of a rashness which occasioned so many other misfortunes.

Thus fell this valiant Prince, upon whom history with the encomium of courage, bestows likewise that of inviolable chastity. The Earl of *Salisbury* and *Raoul* of *Conci* had the same fate, as well as *Robert* of *Vert* who carried the banner of *England*, and who being run thro' in several places wrapt himself up in his colours and died. Three hundred *French* Knights, and according to the histories of that country fourteen hundred were killed.

The grand master of the temple, after having lost an eye in this fight, made his way thro' the enemy, having left two hundred and forty of his Knights dead in *Massoure*. Count *Peter* of *Britanny* escap'd also very much

An. 1250.

w

Guyart.

Matth. Paris.

Joinville.  
Chronicon.  
Orientale.

An. 1250. much wounded, and got again to the army. While all this happened, the King being advised of the Count of *Artois's* danger, advanced with the army. But the very numerous troops of the *Mahometans* were upon the road in good order, and made a handsome appearance. The defeat of the Count of *Artois* had reanimated them; and *Bondocdar*, having ordered this Prince's coat of arms, the Flower-de-luce, to be carried thro' all the ranks, had made them believe it was the King himself who was killed.

Joinville.

The two sides joyned battle, and never did the *Mahometans* fight better than upon this occasion. Most noble exploits were performed by the christian Lords. The King, who was in the heat of the battle, was surrounded by six *Turks*, one of whom laid hold of his horse's bridle to carry him away prisoner: but he laid about him so with his sword that he got clear, killing some and driving away others, and he was succoured just in time by a small detachment sent by the Constable. The valour and conduct of the Generals maintained the battle till night against the innumerable multitude of the enemy. The Infidels began to make a running fight of it, but the *French* had no thoughts of pursuing them. Their glory upon this occasion was, not in having, but in not being conquered. The loss of men was very great in both armies; but that of the horses, of which the Christians lost a very great number, was the more inconvenient to them, because it was irreparable.

Joinville.

As the King was returning into his camp he met *Henry of Ronnay*, Prior of the Knights of the hospital, who asked him whether he had heard any news of the Count of *Artois*. All that I know of him, answered the King, is that he is in paradise, and when the Prior to comfort him, was making some compliments upon the noble deeds of arms performed that day, the tears began to run from his eyes; and he said nothing else, but that we ought to praise God for every thing, and adore his profound judgments.

Whatever need of rest the christian army had after such a day, they were obliged to put themselves in a condition of not being surprized by an enemy, to whom the glory of not being beaten by people who had hitherto seemed invincible was the same as a great victory.

tery. They work'd all night upon a bridge of communication with the Duke of *Burgundy's* camp, which they had left with a body of troops on the other side of the river, part of whom came over the next day to the King's camp.

An. 1250.

*Bondocdar*, whose brave actions in the fight had gained him the command of the whole army, came at the end of the night to attack the camp. He was repulsed by *Joinville* and *Gaucher* of *Chatillon*. The *Friday* following he came towards the camp with his whole army, being resolved to attack it, and ordered a detachment to pass the *Nile* to molest the Duke of *Burgundy's* camp, and hinder him from sending any assistance to the King during the fight. He was in hopes of surprizing the camp; but before he came up, the King having been informed of it by his scouts, had ranged his army in order of battle before the barriers of the camp.

Ibid.

At noon *Bondocdar* founded the charge with drums, trumpets, and kettledrums, and his army moved all together. The right wing of the Christians, where the Count of *Anjou* commanded, was charged the first, because it was the farthest advanced: the discharge of a prodigious number of arrows and darts was sustained with a great deal of resolution by the christian soldiers: but the wildfire which they had not yet seen used in battles, disconcerted them. It took hold of the men's cloths and the caparisons of the horses, of which the troopers were no longer masters. The terrible cries of those who were burning, were to be heard every where, and the *Mahometans* took their advantage of this confusion. Almost all was put to the rout, and the Count of *Anjou*, who had had his horse killed under him, fought on foot with the Knights, surrounded on all sides by the enemy.

The King being advised of the danger his brother was in, march'd to him in all haste with a large Squadron of the most valiant men of the army; and throwing himself sword in hand into the midst of the *Mahometans* and the wildfire, which took hold of him, perform'd, as usual, prodigies of valour, killing and knocking down all that came in his way. He penetrated as far as the place where the Count of *Anjou* was, fighting with equal courage, but ready to sink under the multitude.

*Ann. 1250.* *side.* He rescued him, after having received several blows upon his armour. He did not stop here; but having rallied the troops, whom his presence inspired with fresh courage, repulsed the *Mahometans*, beat them back a great way, regained the ground which had been lost, and restored things to a good condition on that side.

What facilitated this success, was that *Gaucher* of *Chatillon*, who commanded the center of the army, received the first onset of the *Mahometans* without any disorder, and beat them off on every attack; for if the troops had given way on this side, the Count of *Anjou* would have been flank'd and hemm'd in.

The templars, who were upon the left of *Chatillon*, were very ill commanded, and *William* of *Sonmas* their grand master was killed. But *Guy* of *Manvoisin* Lord of *Rosni*, and the Count of *Flanders*, who were placed on the sides of the templars, beat the Infidels back with great vigour, and routed them; *Mauvoisin* was grievously wounded in this attack.

The left wing, where the Count of *Poitiers* and the Lord of *Brancion* commanded, had no better fate at first than the Count of *Anjou's* right wing. There was none but infantry there, which was broke thro' by the *Mahometan* cavalry, and the Count of *Poitiers* was taken prisoner. They were already carrying him away, when the news of his being taken having reached the camp, inspired the very boys, the sutlers, and even the women themselves, not with fear but with a kind of fury. They armed themselves with any thing that was next their hand, running about without order to fall upon the *Mahometans*, who were themselves in confusion; and these troops collected together made such brisk efforts that they took the Count out of the hands of the *Mahometans* and obliged them to fly.

The Lord of *Brancion* was several times broke thro': but he always rallied his people, and by his resistance obliged the enemy to retire. He lost most of his Knights in these frequent attacks, and received several wounds himself, of which he died the same day. He was one of the most valiant men of his time, and had been in six and thirty battles and skirmishes, in which he had always distinguished himself.



*Bondocdar* seeing his troops disheartned by the great An. 1250. opposition they met with, founded a retreat after having lost many more men than the Christians: but how great soever his loss was, he could repair it, and for this reason boast of having done more mischief to the enemy than he received.

In these perplexing circumstances, the best way the Christians had to take, seem'd to be to retire to *Damietre*, the more because they were no longer able to attack the enemy. They considered what to do, and resolved to stay where they were, to give rest to the army, and time to the sick and wounded to be cured.

During this, the news came of the arrival of *Almoadan* son and successor to the last Sultan. His presence, the good qualities which appeared in his person, and the troops he brought with him, made all *Egypt* take heart again. Notwithstanding the ardour which appeared in the *Mussulmen* soldiers, *Almoadan* by the advice of his council made a proposal to the King to treat with him.

This Prince, seeing the sad condition his army was reduced to by sickness, consented to it: they treated, and concluded, that the King should restore *Damietre* to the Sultan, and the Sultan put him in possession of all the kingdom of *Jerusalem*. In the treaty they provided for the safety of the sick and wounded, and agreed upon provisions and victuals not only for the return of the army to *Damietre*, but likewise for their transportation into *Palestine*.

When the articles were concluded on, the Sultan demanded hostages for the execution of them, and was obstinately resolved that the King should be one of the number. Lord *Geoffroy* of *Sargines*, who negotiated for the King, rejected this proposal with disdain, and offered one of the King's two brothers. The holy Prince desired, that they would accept the Sultan's proposal, and permit him to sacrifice himself to save the army, but he was not obeyed.

Whether the *Mahometans* began to treat with the Christians only to amuse them; or whether the sad condition to which they saw them reduced, made them hope to bring them to harder terms, they broke off the negotiation upon this refusal, tho' the second reason seems to be the most probable, because such terrible

AN. 1250. ble havock was made in the army by the scurvy, malignant fevers and other distempers, so that all the camp seem'd almost nothing but an hospital. To these diseases famine was joyned by the seizing of their convoys. for the enemy seeing the people they had to do with were half dead, made themselves masters of the country, without opposition.

In this extremity they resolved to retreat towards *Damiete*. The thing was difficult, not to say impossible. The Infidels had a numerous army ready to charge their rear as soon as they march'd, and they were to go twenty leagues from the camp to *Damiete*; thro' an innumerable number of enemies who guarded the passes and defiles: but it was a case of necessity, and all must be hazarded.

The army pass'd the *Nile* pretty easily, and the *Mahometans* having charged them in the rear, were repulsed by *Gaucher of Chatillon*, who commanded it: but afterwards they had almost as many fights to maintain as they had steps to take.

The King after having sustained a thousand assaults, in which tho' he repulsed the enemy, he always lost a great many men, came at last to a little town called *Casel* in *Joinville's* history, and by others *Sarmosac* or *Charmasach*. He fell there into so great a swoon thro' his fatigue, that they thought he was going to expire. *Gaucher*, of *Chatillon* defended a long time by himself the entrance of a street which led to the house where the King was: we should not have known of this extraordinary action, if it had not been for a *Mahometan*, who having the boldness to joyn him, after he saw his strength was quite spent, killed him and brought off his horse all covered with the blood of this valiant man, and of that of the Infidels whom he had slain.

In the mean while the King being recovered from his fainting fit, sent *Philip* of *Montfort* to get the Emir with whom they had treated some days before to receive new proposals. The Emir, who knew the Sultan's intention, used him civilly, and consented to treat again: but a moment after one of the King's heralds called *Marcellus*, whether it was that the fear of danger had disturbed his mind, or thro' an unseasonable piece of zeal to save the King his master's life, came without orders and cryed on all sides, *Lords and Knights,*

*Knights, all of you surrender; the King commands you to do so by me, and do not let him be killed.* Upon this they all obeyed the pretended command of the King, and surrendered themselves prisoners to the *Mahometans*. This news being brought to the Emir, he told *Montfort* that there was no more occasion for treating, since they had surrendered and laid down their arms.

At the same time the Emir *Gémalédin* having enter'd *Casel* without resistance, took the King prisoner. This Prince to comfort himself desired his chaplains to give him his breviary, and repeated it with as much sedateness as if he had been in perfect health in his palace at *Paris*. The Counts of *Poitiers* and *Anjou*, with all those in general who went by land to *Damiette*, were surrounded by the enemy and obliged to surrender: not one escaped, for all were either killed or taken.

The fate of those who went down the river to *Damiette* was not more happy; and except the legate's ship, and a few others, all fell into the hands of the Infidels, who kill'd all the soldiers and common people, and saved none but persons of distinction. *Joinville* was one of this number, and owed his life to a sailor, who seeing him going to be murder'd cried out that he was the King's cousin.

The Lords and Gentlemen who had been taken prisoners, were often alarmed before they could join the King again, partly thro' the brutality of the *Mahometans*, partly thro' their inconstancy: for sometimes they would kill them, and sometimes they were for saving them that they might not lose their ransom. At last one of the Sultan's officers came and told them, that the King had treated for himself and them, and that they must depute four persons of their troop to go to that Prince, in order to agree upon what was not yet regulated, and bring the treaty to a conclusion. They chose *John* of *Valeri*, *Philip* of *Montfort*, *Baldwin* *Tbelin* Seneschal of *Cyprus*, and *Guy* his brother the Constable of that island.

They were carried to the place where the King was, whose conduct, resolution, and behaviour, equally royal and christian, had filled the *Mahometans* with admiration and astonishment! as feeble and sick as he was, they never found one impatient or angry word come from him. He recited every day the office of

An. 1250.

Epist. S. Lud.  
de captione  
sua.

Joinville.

Guillelmus  
Carnotensis  
de vita &  
miraculis  
S. Ludovici.

An. 1250. the breviary with his chaplain, and had all the prayers of the mass contained in the missal read except the words of consecration. In the midst of the insults which were sometimes offered him by those who guarded him, he preserved a certain air of empire and authority, which kept them in awe: so that they said sometimes, that tho' he was their prisoner, he treated them as if they themselves had been his slaves.

The Sultan sent a proposal to him, by which he demanded a million of besants of gold and the city of *Damiette* for his ransom and that of the other prisoners. He answered, that he would not redeem himself with money; that he wou'd give the city of *Damiette* for the release of his own person, and the million of besants for that of all the prisoners. The Sultan charmed with his generosity and sincerity, sent to him and made him a compliment of his liberty, adding that out of the esteem he had for him, he would remit the fifth part of the sum.

Epist. S. Lud.  
de captione  
suis.

This article being settled, they agreed upon the rest, which were a truce of ten years between the King and the Sultan, in which the Christians of *Palestine* and *Syria* should be comprehended; that the King should engage to deliver all the *Mahometans* out of captivity, who had been taken prisoners during the war, and since the treaty of the Emperor *Frederick* with *Meledin*, and that in like manner all the Christians who were in captivity since the same treaty, should be set at liberty. The other articles related to the sick and the wounded, those who were settled at *Damiette*, their equipages, their effects, and other such like matters.

Joinville.

Things being thus regulated, there was nothing to do but to prepare for the evacuation of *Damiette*. They put the King and the principal Lords of his army on board four vessels to go down the river towards that city, and to have an interview with the Sultan in the way: but the most unforeseen accident in the world threw the King into more troublesome perplexities and greater dangers than ever. It was the death of the new Sultan, who was murdered during these transactions by the *Mammelus*, whose hatred he had drawn upon himself by the severity with which he had used some of their commanders soon after his ascending the throne.

It was necessary to treat again with the Emirs; and the former treaty was confirmed with some few alterations:



terations: but in a revolution, like this, occasioned by the Sultan's death, nothing could be depended upon for certain. The Emirs after the treaty was signed, considered among themselves, whether they should not behead the King and all the Christians they had in their power. Many were of this opinion, but a spark of honour animated one of the Emirs, and he spoke so handsomely upon this subject, that he prevented the barbarous execution.

At last the King, after having been perplexed with many cavils, treacheries, and alarms from the Emirs, after having paid them a quarter of the ransom, and surrendered *Damiette*, embark'd with the two Princes, his brothers and several Lords, and arrived in the port of *Acre* upon the eighth of *May* 1250, being resolved to settle the affairs of the Christians before he returned into *France*.

In the mean time the news of the happy descent of the King upon *Egypt*, and the taking of *Damiette*, had been followed in *France* by accounts of other greater imaginary advantages founded upon this first success. The conquest of *Grand Cairo* and *Alexandria*, and the intire defeat of the Sultan were published in the kingdom as certain facts, and rejoycings were made every where for them: but the greater their joy had been, the greater was their consternation when they received certain advice some time after of the King's captivity, of that of all the Princes and Lords, of the contagious diseases which had preceded it, and had destroyed the greatest part of the army.

All the christian Princes testified their grief at so fatal a disaster, and *Frederick* himself pretended to be more concerned at the King's misfortune than any other of the sovereign Princes. Queen *Blanche* the King's mother, who was more afflicted than any one else, gave orders for raising money to pay off the King's ransom; and Pope *Innocent*, who in this had the same views with her, omitted nothing to back her designs. He wrote to several of the *European* Princes to engage them to take the cross. Some did so: but after all, the several motions which the King's imprisonment caused in *Europe*, had but little effect; and produced in *France* a very troublesome accident, and which was not the first of this nature that had been seen there.

An. 1250.



Matth. Paris.

At the time of these crusades, more than at any other, the people easily gave into sentiments of piety and zeal, even to the greatest excesses of fanaticism. An apostate Monk of the Cistercian order, named *Jacob*, pretending to be a prophet and inspired, persuaded a vast number of the country people, that they were the persons whom heaven would make use of to deliver the holy Land from the yoke of the Infidels; that God had confounded the designs of the great ones of the earth who trusted in their own strength, to make his glory appear in the prodigies he would work by the hands of the weak; that it was by the hands of swains and shepherds, a name which the Son of God had taken to himself when upon earth, that *Mahometism* must be exterminated.

He knew so well how to improve this extravagance by the help of some mountebank tricks, which passed for miracles among these ignorant people, that he got a great number of them together, and engaged them to follow him. Out of these people he formed a militia, to whom he gave the name of pastorals; and it was soon increased by a prodigious number of the scum of the people, and all the vagabonds and robbers in the kingdom.

Nangius in  
Gellis Lud.

The Queen Regent, who had occasion for soldiers to send into *Palestine* to the King's assistance, did not at first oppose this madness, from which she hoped to draw advantage. But these pastorals committed so many disorders, so many ravages and impieties, that she began to be apprehensive of terrible consequences. The people took up arms against them, and *Jacob* their chief being knocked on the head in a tumult with the blow of a hatchet near *Bourges*, there wanted nothing more to confound all this rabble, and in a very short time it was dispersed.

Notwithstanding the Queen Regent's application to put herself in a condition of sending the King succours of men and money, her chief design was to engage him to return as soon as possible: and when she knew he was in *Palestine*, she wrote to him urging him very strongly to hasten his return. This was likewise the King's resolution, who had already prepared every thing for his departure. But he began to consider of it after he came into *Palestine*, and especially when he found  
how

how the *Mahometans* behaved in the execution of the treaty. An. 1250

They hardly observed any thing they had promised, either with regard to the transporting of the magazines, or to the deliverance of the Christians. On the contrary they murdered several of them, and forced a great number of them to renounce their religion and embrace the *Mahometan*: on the other side the Princes and Lords of *Palestine* were continually representing to him, that if he left them they should lie at the mercy of the *Mahometans*, who to revenge the ravages that had been committed in *Egypt*, would exterminate all the remains of the Christians in *Palestine* and *Syria*. Lastly, the divisions which he saw were kindling among the *Mahometan* Princes, made him hope for some favourable opportunity of putting the affairs of the Christians in *Palestine* into a better condition. All these reasons determined him not to be in haste to leave the country.

He called the Lords together who were with him, and desired them to give him their thoughts upon this head. Most of them were for his returning to *France*; some for his staying in *Palestine*. He heard them, and without declaring his mind as yet, told them that he would call them again together very soon. He did so, and without consulting any more he declared to them, that his resolution was to continue some time longer in *Palestine*; that he would oblige no body to stay with him; but that those who had a mind to keep him company, should want for nothing, and that his finances Joinville. should maintain them all in common.

This declaration thunder-struck most of the assembly. The principles of honour and generosity prevailed over the minds of some; the rest embark'd about midsummer with the Counts of *Anjou* and *Poitiers*, whom the King thought proper to send back into *France*, to comfort the Queen-mother, and assist her in case of any war.

Immediately after the departure of the two Princes, the King raised new levies of soldiers, and was not long before he had a body of troops considerable enough to make himself be fear'd by the different parties that were formed among the Infidels, upon the occasion of the death of *Almoadan* the last Sultan of *Egypt*, who was assassinated upon the road to *Damiette*. The

An. 1250. The truth is, both of them were desirous of bringing him into their interests. The Sultan of *Damas*, cousin to the late *Almoadan*, sent an embassy to him, offering to let him be master of all the kingdom of *Jerusalem*, if he would joyn with him against the *Mamelus*. The King gave the ambassadors good hopes; and told them, that if the Emirs of *Egypt* continued to break the treaty which he had made with them, he would willingly treat with their master.

An. 1251. He sent *John* of *Valencia* into *Egypt*, who spoke with a great deal of boldness to the Emirs of the *Mamelus*, and gave them to understand, that if they did not satisfy the King, he would soon be able to do himself justice. The Emirs understood his meaning. They answered, that they were resolved to content the King in every thing, and conjured him to dissuade him from the league with the Sultan of *Damas*; adding, that if he would on the other hand take their side, and make a diversion in the territories of that Sultan, they would offer him conditions as advantagious as he could desire; and to shew him the resolution they were in to give him satisfaction, they released out of prison upon the spot two hundred Knights, and a great number of other prisoners, whom *John* of *Valencia* brought to the King. They likewise sent ambassadors with him to negotiate the league against the Sultan of *Damas*.

Ibid.

The King well satisfied at seeing already such happy effects of his staying in *Palestine*, kept the two parties in suspense, and sent back *John* of *Valencia* into *Egypt* to treat with the Emirs, whilst he still gave the Sultan hopes of concluding likewise a treaty with him.

In the mean while he took the opportunity of the uncertainty in which he kept the two parties, to rebuild the walls of *Cesarea*, twelve leagues from *Acre* upon the high road to *Jerusalem*, without meeting with any opposition from the Sultan; he added new fortifications to *Acre*, and built some fortresses in the neighbouring country.

*John* of *Valencia* being arrived in *Egypt*, obtain'd almost every thing that he desired of the Emirs, who executed several articles of the treaty which was made for the King's deliverance, and they made him amends for the several infractions they had committed. The league was concluded; and they agreed upon a day when

Ibid.



when they would come and joyn the King near *Joppa*. An. 1252.

The Sultan of *Damas* being informed of the conclusion of this treaty, took his measures to prevent the consequences of it. He posted twenty thousand men upon the passes in the road from *Egypt* to *Joppa*. The Emirs durst not undertake to force them; they sent to make their excuses to the King, and desired him not to be impatient: but the Sultan of *Damas* having entered *Egypt* at the head of an army, and having gain'd a victory over them, he obliged them to desire peace, and joyn with him against the King.

Hostilities were already begun by the Sultan of *Damas*; and the Emirs of *Egypt* soon acted in the same manner. Several little skirmishes happened, in which the *Mahometans* were generally beat, and the King who was not in a condition to keep the field, took care to fortify *Sidon*, otherwise called *Sajetta*.

During four years that this holy King stayed in *Palestine*, employed in repairing the towns of the Christians, and putting them in a state of defence against the *Mahometans*, the latter entered upon no considerable undertaking; and as he himself had not a sufficient number of troops, he did not engage in any great expedition. He often exercised his devotion in visiting the holy places, where he could go without exposing himself to any evident danger. He went sometimes to *Cana* in *Galilee*, sometimes to mount *Tabor*, and sometimes to *Nazareth*.

The Sultan of *Damas*, notwithstanding the war, offer'd to allow him to go to *Jerusalem*. He wished for nothing more; but the Lords of the country represented to him the consequences of this step, telling him that if he entered *Jerusalem* without having conquered it, the other Princes, who should come after him to the assistance of *Palestine*, would think they had accomplished their vow, if after his example they should only visit the holy places; and that this proceeding would be enough to determine them to confine their devotion to that, without troubling themselves about reconquering that capital. He yielded to their remonstrances, and sent his thanks to the Sultan.

Joinville.

An. 1252.

Whether it was that in *France* they had a mind to oblige the King to return whether he would or no, or whether the ill success of his expedition into *Egypt* had cooled the ardour of the *French* towards the voyages beyond sea, or whether the suspicions they had of the King of *England* would not let them leave the kingdom unguarded, there came but very few *French* troops into *Palestine*; and in the space of near four years there were hardly any Lords, who came to joyn the King, but the young Count of *Eu*, *Arnulph* of *Guifnes*, and *Raymond* Viscount of *Turenne*: but as they constantly furnished him with money in abundance, he persisted in his design of not leaving *Palestine* as yet, when a piece of news which he received, and which was the most afflicting that he could receive, obliged him to think of returning.

Gaufridus de  
Bello loco.

It was that of the death of the Queen Regent his mother. This Princess died upon the first day of *December* in the year 1252. History furnishes us with but few persons of her sex, who have equalled her in the art of government. A mind upright, sound, constant, and unshaken, and a manly courage, proof against the most unfortunate and most sudden accidents, make the principal part of her character. These qualities joyned to a great deal of art, an insinuating air, and the charms and graces with which nature had abundantly adorn'd her, gave her that great authority, which she always made a good use of to the advantage of the state. She was full of piety and virtue; but imperious to such a degree, that she would possibly have made herself more to have been feared than loved by a son of any other temper than *St. Lewis's* \*.

Nangius.

He learn'd this news at *Sajetta*, and according to others at *Joppa*, from the legate, to whom the letters which gave an account of it were directed. He received it with the greatest grief imaginable. At first he burst into floods of tears; but his resignation appeared so much the more heroical: for throwing himself at the foot of the altar in his chapel, he addressed himself to God in these noble words. "Lord, I am already too much obliged to thee for having preserved to me so long so dear a mother; thou takest her

\* See *Du Cange's* notes upon *Joinville's* history, p. 98.

"from me, and it is thy absolute will. It is true, An. 1252.  
 "there was no one in the world for whom I had more  
 "affection and tenderness; but since thou hast thus or- *Gaufridus de*  
 "dered it, may thy holy name for ever be blessed for it." *Bello loco.*

He shew'd his regard for her by having the sacrifice of the mass offered for her in his presence every day of his life.

Queen *Margaret* his spouse, who stayed with him An. 1253.  
 in *Palestine*, was more easily comforted. She did not love the Queen-mother, because she was a great constraint upon her; that Princess kept her very much under, and always hindred the King from letting her have any concern in business. However she also shed abundance of tears: and one day when *Joinville* found her weeping, he said to her with his usual freedom, "Madam, it is true, one should never believe a woman's tears; for your mourning is for the woman whom you hated the worst in the world." The Queen reply'd with the same sincerity, "My Lord of *Joinville*, neither is it for her that I weep; but it is for the great trouble the King is in; and likewise for my daughter *Isabella*, who is under the care and custody of men.

*Joinville*  
 edition of  
*Poitiers.*

From that time the King prepared for his departure, but without precipitation. He stayed a year after in *Palestine*, that he might not leave that country incapable of opposing the *Mahometans*, and that he might finish the fortifications of the places which he had repaired. After which he recommended to the legate, who had orders from the Pope to stay in *Palestine*, to take care of this part of Christendom, which was so much exposed to the cruelty of the Infidels. He left him a good deal of money with a reasonable number of troops. He gave the command of *Acre*, which was the most important fortress in the country, to *Geoffroy* of *Sergines* with an hundred Knights to guard it; and having received a thousand testimonies of gratitude and respect from the Lords and people, who called him the Father of the Christians, and whom he promised he would never forsake, he embarked at the port of *Acre*, upon the twenty fourth of *April* in the year 1254. with An. 1254.  
 a fleet of fourteen sail.

*Lewis*, maintaining in all respects, and in all places, his character of a perfectly Christian Prince, made his fleet,

AN. 1254. fleet, and especially his own ship, a kind of church. They preached in it, catechised, frequently confess'd, celebrated the divine offices, and he exercised his zeal and charity all manner of ways, and with such success as gave him a great deal of comfort. He run a great risque of his life, his ship having struck, and with so much force, that eighteen foot of the keel stuck fast in the sand. It was look'd upon as a miracle that it was not lost. The King, to shew his trust in God, would not change his ship, notwithstanding the requests which were made him. He met with another violent storm before he arrived in *Cyprus*. They did not land there, but only took in fresh water and some provisions. At last, after a voyage of ten weeks, the fleet arrived upon the eighteenth of *July* at the island of *Hieres*, before a castle which belonged to the Duke of *Anjou*.

Nangius.

After having rested there for some days, he left *Hieres*, made a visit to *St. Baume* in his journey, and came to *Vincennes* upon the fifth of *September*. He went from thence to return thanks to God at the abbey of *St. Denis*, where he made most noble presents.

The universal joy which the people expressed upon his arrival and entry into *Paris*, made but little impression upon his mind. He had always before his eyes the dangerous condition of Christendom in the East. He attributed the ill success of his expedition to his sins. Sadness was painted upon his face; and the extraordinary modesty which he affected from this time in his dress, was a kind of continual mourning, which he always wore for so many brave Lords who were lost in the enterprize. His greatest comfort was having brought several *Mahometans* with him, some of whom had already receiv'd baptism in *Palestine*, and others were christen'd in *France*. He wore the cross upon his cloaths when he came to *Paris*, to shew that he had not quitted his design of returning to the assistance of the Christians in the East; which much abated the joy expressed at his return. But his affliction, and the care which he took more than ever to sanctify himself by austerities and other good works, did not at all take off the application he owed to the good of his realm. He had an account given him of all that had happened during his absence. I will here  
set



set down the most important of those matters, the relation of which I deferred, that I might not interrupt that of the affairs of *Egypt* and *Palestine*. An. 1254.

The Queen Regent was particularly obliged to watch over the proceedings of the King of *England*, who did not long hide his design of making use of the opportunity of the King's absence to retake what he had lost in the last war. She engaged the Pope to use his strongest endeavours with that Prince. He did so, inasmuch that he threatened to lay all his dominions under an interdict, if he committed the least hostility upon the territories of *France*. This menace had its effect. The Queen Regent did not shew any uneasiness upon the account of the King of *England*'s projects, and some time after she even refused him leave to pass thro' the kingdom, tho' he desired it, that he might go and quell a rebellion which was risen in *Gascoigne*. Marth. Paris.

The death of *Raymond*, the seventh of that name and the last Count of *Toulouse*, which happened at the time that he was pretending at least to embark, in order to join the King, made new business for this Princess. By the treaty of peace in the year 1229. all the dominions of the Count of *Toulouse* were after his death to come to *Alphonso*, Count of *Poitiers*, who had married *Jane* his daughter. The Queen immediately sent *Guy* and *Henry* of *Chevreuse* to take possession of them. She named an administrator to this succession; every thing went on with tranquillity, and the Count of *Poitiers* at his return from *Egypt* went himself to receive homage and oaths of allegiance from his new subjects. This succession might have raised differences between the Count of *Poitiers* and the Count of *Anjou*, because there were some estates and fortified towns in *Provence*, which belonged to the Count of *Toulouse*: but by the care of the Queen Regent these two Princes acted always in concert, and brought *Avignon*, *Arles*, and *Marseille* to obedience, who made a scruple of acknowledging them for their Lords. De Caprasia.  
Epist. Blance  
in Catel's hi-  
story of the  
Counts of  
*Toulouse*.

After the death of the Queen Regent the government fell into the hands of the Counts of *Anjou* and *Poitiers*; and before the King's return a terrible war broke out in the *Netherlands* between the Lords of the house of *Avesnes* and the Lords of the house of *Dampierre*, on account of the succession of *Margaret*, Countess

AN. 1254. Countess of *Flanders* and *Haynault*. There was a bloody battle fought in the island of *Valcheren* in *Zeland*. The Count of *Anjou* entered into this war, because of the donation which *Margaret* had made him of the county of *Haynault*. He took *Rupelmonde*, *Valenciennes*, and *Mons*, but the war was suspended by a truce, and the difference ended two years after by the authority of the King, who engaged the Count of *Anjou* to renounce the donation which had been made him of the county of *Haynault*.

Nangius.  
Ouderghceft  
Annals of  
*Flanders* fol.  
190.

When the King arrived soon after the truce I just now mentioned, he found *Europe* in as much confusion as when he left it. The Emperor *Frederick* died in the year 1250. and *Conrad* his son, who had continued the war against the Pope, was just dead, being poisoned by *Mainfroy* Prince of *Tarentum* his brother, natural son to *Frederick*; notwithstanding which, this wicked wretch, who was even accused of having shortened his own father's days, was afterwards guardian to *Conradin* the son of *Conrad*.

Pope *Innocent* the fourth after *Frederick's* death was recalled into *Italy* by the most considerable cities beyond the *Alps*. He was resolved to make his advantage of *Conrad's* sudden death, and advanc'd towards *Naples*, where he was received with joy. *Mainfroy* made as tho' he would have submitted; but at the end of some weeks they took up arms on both sides; and the Pope dying the same year, *Alexander* the fourth his successor found himself engaged to maintain the war.

Upon the prospect of all these tumults, the holy King thought of nothing but how to secure the tranquillity of his realm, and to procure peace and quiet, if he could, not only to the church, but likewise to all his neighbours. From this time to the end of his life we shall find him employed in almost nothing but this care, and that of sanctifying himself more and more.

Scarce had he taken some rest at *Paris*, but he went to visit the frontiers of the *Netherlands*; and he did the same several times afterwards. Upon his return, when he was at *Swissens*, the Lord of *Joinville* came to wait upon him about an important affair which he had in commission: namely, to desire of the King his daughter *Isabella* in marriage for *Thibaud* the second, King of *Navarre*.

This

This Prince was son of *Thibaud* Count of *Champagne* and King of *Navarre*, who has been so often mentioned in this history, and who died the foregoing year. *Thibaud* the second was but fifteen years old when his father died; and till he came to age, *Margaret* of *Bourbon* his mother had the regency of the kingdom. The King consented to the proposal about his daughter's marriage: but before that was performed, he would have some differences adjusted which had risen between the Count of *Britanny* and *Thibaud*, upon part of the succession of the late King of *Navarre*. The business was decided by the court of Peers; and afterwards the young couple were married at *Melun* with a great deal of magnificence.

An. 1254.

Invent. des  
Chart. t. 2.  
Champagne  
p. 6. n. 100.

Ibid. n. 97.

Before the celebration of this marriage, there was another much more magnificent feast in *France* upon the occasion I am going to relate. *Henry* the third, King of *England*, had been obliged to come over into *Gascoigne* to suppress some seditions there, and he had stayed there ever since that time. He desired the King to give him leave to return thro' *France* into *England*. The King willingly granted it. He went to meet him as far as *Chartre*. He paid him the greatest honours at *Paris*; and at an entertainment which this Prince gave him at the temple where he had chosen his lodgings, he would even have given him the first place; but the King of *England* refused it: You are my Lord, said he to him, and you shall be so always, take the place which belongs to you.

The King of *England* stayed eight days at *Paris*; where great care was taken not to give him any room for displeasure. The two Kings during this time had some private conferences; and upon more than one occasion, if we may believe the *English* historian, the King expressed to *Henry* the desire he had of restoring *Normandy* to him; but, added he, *my twelve Peers and my Barons will never consent to it*. The excessive tenderness of the King's conscience, and his behaviour afterwards in some treaties with the King of *England*, render this fact pretty credible: but the testimony of this contemporary author acquaints us with two important things at least. The first, that from that time the Peers of *France* were fixed to the number of twelve; and in the second place, that the King did not dispose of any considerable

Matth. Paris.

An. 1254.

Nangius in  
Gestis Lud.

considerable part of his dominions without the consent not only of the Peers of the kingdom, but likewise of his Barons, who were the greatest Lords of the realm, tho' of an inferior rank to that of the Peers.

The King of *England* left *Paris* loaded with honours. He gained there the character of being very liberal; and some time after the truce between the two crowns was prolonged\*.

According to the resolution which the King had taken of giving himself up for the future intirely to the good of his people and the service of God, he made several ordinances, as well to have exact justice done to every body, as to prevent certain scandalous crimes, and particularly blasphemy. He took care to have them executed; and a citizen of *Paris* having been convicted of blasphemy, he stood firm against all sollicitations, and had a red hot iron applied to his mouth, which was the punishment mentioned in the ordinance: and when some of the most considerable persons at court murmured at this severity, he said that he would rather choose to suffer this punishment himself, than omit any thing to stop so great a scandal.

He made another ordinance upon a point of infinite importance to the tranquillity of the kingdom, by which he forbid the private wars between the infeoffed Gentlemen and Lords, a thing which the Nobility look'd upon as a prerogative belonging to their qualities and the Lordships of the lands they possessed. It was an abuse which had been established in *France* when the authority of the Kings of the second race began to dwindle. No King before him had dared to undertake to abolish this disorder. The ordinances by which he forbid these was made at *St. Germain en Laye* and is dated in *January 1257*. It is probable that he was obeyed by most of the Nobility, at least if we judge of it by what one of his historians says in general, that after he was returned from the holy Land, his subjects had so much veneration for him, that there were few who durst disobey his orders, and that some who did so, were severely punished for it. But after his death these disorders began again, as we may see by several ordinances of his successors. It was but by little and

An. 1257.

Nangius in  
Gestis Lud.

\* *De Tillet's collection of treaties between France and England.*



little that this custom ceased; and we see some remains of it even in the time of *Lewis* the eleventh. An. 1257.

Saint *Lewis* sometime after endeavoured likewise to abolish the proof of innocence by duel which was in use in the courts. It was no longer practised in the lands that depended immediately upon royal justice: but few of the Lords, who had high jurisdiction, imitated his example, and he did not undertake to force them to it. As he always pursued his design of establishing a solid peace in his kingdom, he concluded the year following two important treaties with two of his neighbours, *James* the first King of *Arragon* and *Henry* the third King of *England*.

The Kings of *France* had at all times some pretensions to the counties or lordships of *Barcelona*, *Urgel*, *Bésalú*, *Roussillon*, *Lampourdan*, *Cerdagne*, *Conflans*, *Girone*, and *Ausone*, called at present *Vic*: and I have observed in the history of *Philip Augustus*, that till the council of *Tarragona*, which was held in his time, they dated the publick instruments in those countries from the years of the reign of the Kings of *France*. *Philip Augustus* had then other affairs upon his hands which hindered him from demanding satisfaction for the abolition of this usage, in which we see an evident mark of the sovereignty of the Kings of *France* over those dominions.

On the other hand the Kings of *Arragon* had likewise their pretensions to *Carcassone*, *Rasez*, *Lauraguet*, *Termes*, *Besiers*, *Agde*, *Albi*, *Rodez*, *Foix*, *Cabors*, *Narbonne*, *Minerbe*, *Frenolhedes*, the country of *Sault*, the *Gevaudan*, *Nismes*, *Toulouse*, *St. Giles*, &c. And we find accordingly in the history of the wars of the *Albigenses*, that most of these dominions were look'd upon only as mesne fiefs of the Crown of *France*, and that *Peter* of *Arragon* *James's* father had received homage for them as fiefs immediately depending upon his own. All this was founded upon possession and alliances by marriages.

These matters were settled in the year 1258. at *Corbeil*, where according to the history of *Spain* both the Kings met. It was stipulated, that the King of *France* according to agreement made with the King of *Arragon* should renounce for himself and his successors all the rights which he might have or pretend to have An. 1258.  
Mariana  
l. 13. cap. 11.

Acta Concordiæ inter  
Reges Ludovic.  
vic. IX. &  
Jacobum.

An. 1258. have to all the countries named in the first enumeration, and that also the King of *Arragon* should renounce likewise in the same manner all the rights which he might have to the countries mentioned in the second, and in general all that had been possessed either in demesne or lordship, by *Raymond* the last Count of *Toulouse*.

Invent. des  
Chart. t. 5.  
p. 143. t. 2.  
Provence  
551. Me-  
moirs of  
Dupuy. t. 1.  
p. 151. Spi-  
cileg. t. 2.

This treaty having been ratified at *Barcelona*, the King of *Arragon* renounced likewise in favour of Queen *Margaret*, all the rights which he might have to the countries of *Provence* and *Forcalquier*, as well as to the cities of *Arles*, *Avignon*, and *Marseille*. It was in this same year and at the same place that the marriage of *Philip* the second son of *France* with *Isabella* the King of *Arragon*'s daughter was concluded on; but it was not consummated till some years after upon the account of the age of the Prince and Princess.

These treaties were advantageous to *France*, which yielded up nothing by them, but rights which it was impossible to maintain in countries situated on the other side of the *Pyrenées*, to continue in incontestable possession of a great number of cities, and very considerable demesnes on this side the same mountains. The Kings of *Arragon* a very long time after made some attempts to get free from this treaty; but it was always in vain.

The other treaty, which began this same year with *England*, but was not concluded till the year following, was not so agreeable to the *French*; at least it was against the advice of the council that the King did it.

The King of *England* depending mightily upon the tendernefs of *St. Lewis*'s conscience, demanded of him the restitution of all the provinces and demesnes which *Philip Augustus* had taken from *England*; that is, he claimed the surrender of *Normandy*, *Maine*, *Anjou*, *Poitou*, *Perigord*, and *Limousin*. The King was far from consenting to this: but his design was to make peace with him by returning him some part of what he demanded, upon condition that he would make an absolute cession of all the rest to the crown of *France*. The King's council was of opinion that he should give up nothing; and as the ministers thought that it was a principle of conscience which made him think of this restitution, they proved to him that he might be safe  
in

Matth. Paris.

in that respect, by shewing him the justice of the confiscation which *Philip Augustus* his grandfather had made of all the demesnes of the late King *John* of *England* for the crime of rebellion, and for having refused to appear at the court of Peers, after he had killed or caused to be killed *Arthur* Count of *Britanny*. An. 1258<sup>a</sup>

The King answered them that it was not out of Joinville scruple that he acted thus; that he was persuaded his possession was lawful; but that he was resolved to settle a lasting peace between the two nations, and that if he yielded up any thing, it should not be without an honourable compensation to the crown.

His resolution being taken upon this head, the plenipotentiaries of the two Kings after some conferences agreed in *June* \*, First, that the King should yield to *England*, *Limousin*, *Querci*, and *Perigord*: Secondly, *Agen* and *Aginois* after the death of the Count and Countess of *Poitiers*, in case that country should for want of heirs revert to the crown of *France*. The same thing was stipulated with regard to *Xaintonge* beyond the *Charente*: Thirdly, that in consideration of these cessions, the King of *England* and *Edward* his eldest son should renounce all their rights, which they pretended to have to the duchy of *Normandy*, the counties of *Anjou*, *Maine*, *Touraine*, *Poitou*, and all that the *English* might have possessed on this side the sea, except the places specified in the other articles. These were the principal heads of this † treaty, which was ratified by *Henry* King of *England*, by *Richard* his brother King of the *Romans*, by *Henry's* two sons *Edward* and *Edmund*, and by the Prelates and Barons of *England*. An. 1259.

This treaty was disapproved in *France* by a great many people, who were of opinion that instead of making peace, it would have been better after the end of the truce to have made war with the King of *England*, who had a great deal of business upon his hands at home, and who having nothing in *France* but *Bordeaux*, *Bayonne*, and some other places in *Gascoigne*, Nangius in Gest. Lud.

\* *De Tiller's* collection of treaties, &c.

† This treaty in the *Gascon* language is in the MSS. of *Brienne* vol. the second in the King's library.

An. 1259. could not have defended them long against all the forces of the kingdom, where there were now no factions remaining.

To judge of it by the fatal consequences of the wars, which these *English* Jemesnes occasioned in *France*, in the reigns of the King's successors, this advice was the best, according to the rules of good politicks: but this Prince thought that peace joined to the authentick renunciation, which the *English* made of the duchy of *Normandy*, *Poitou*, *Maine*, *Anjou*, *Touraine*, ought to be put in balance with the advantages which could be hoped for from a war, the events of which after all are always uncertain.

Some time after the ratification of the treaty, the King of *England* came to *Paris*, did homage to the King for all that he possessed in *France*, and was restored to his Peerage as Duke of *Guyenne*. During his stay at *Paris* he married *Beatrix* his daughter to *John* of *Britanny*, son of *John* the first Count of *Britanny*; but the joy of this marriage was succeeded by sorrow caused by the death of *Lewis* the eldest son of *St. Lewis*, who died at sixteen years of age upon one of the last days of this year. He was a young Prince well made and of great hopes. His death made *Philip* the King's second son presumptive heir to the crown. The marriage of this young Prince with *Isabella Infanta* of *Arragon*, which had been agreed on at the treaty of *Corbeil*, which I mentioned before, was celebrated two years after.

The peace which the King had concluded with *England*, did but encrease the broils between *Henry* and the *English* Lords. Things went so far, that this Prince was upon the point of being dethroned. The King who was never tempted to make an advantage of the confusions which arose in the dominions of his neighbouring Princes, being touched with *Henry's* misfortune, and solicited by Pope *Urban*, declared that he was ready to do any thing towards the pacification of these troubles, if they would desire him to take the mediation upon him: The two parties consented to it, and signed a compromise; and we may see at this day in the King's library the King of *England's* letters and those of the *English* Barons to the King, in which they engaged themselves to submit to his judgment.

MSS. of  
Brienne Vol.  
27.  
Compromis-  
sum Regis &  
Baronum  
Anglie t. 2.  
Spicileg.

The



The compromise having been put into the King of *An.1262.*  
*France's* hands, the King and Queen of *England*, Prince  
*Edmund*, most of the Bishops and Lords of their party,  
 as well as most of the confederate Barons, except the  
 Earl of *Leicester*, came to *Amiens* about the feast of  
 Epiphany. The King was there soon after; and here *An.1264.*  
 it was that one of the most singular causes that had  
 been seen for the quality of the parties was pleaded;  
 on one side the sovereign, on the other the subjects,  
 who by agreeing to submit to *Lewis's* judgment, pro-  
 claimed in a very glorious manner the wisdom, upright-  
 ness and equity of this Prince. *Matth. Paris.*

After some days, which were spent in hearing the  
 reasons of the two parties, they ratified the compro-  
 mise again; and the King in the language of a sovereign  
 judge, and in terms of absolute command, pronounced  
 the sentence which kept *England, France*, and almost all  
*Europe* in suspense. By this sentence he annulled all  
 the articles concluded on in the parliament at *Oxford*,  
 as innovations which were prejudicial and injurious to  
 the royal majesty; declared the oaths void which the  
 King of *England* had taken by force for the observati-  
 on of those articles; ordered that the fortresses which  
 had been put into the hands of twenty four members  
 of parliament, should be returned to the power and  
 disposal of the sovereign; that he might, as he had hi-  
 therto done, dispose of the great offices in the state,  
 admit all into his council whom he should think pro-  
 per, and be restored to all the power and rights which  
 were legally possessed by his predecessors: but as to the  
 charters, which contain'd the liberties and privileges  
 of the nation, they should not be abrogated in any  
 particular. *Cassamus irritamus, discernimus.*

The contents of this decree, which maintained every  
 one in his ancient rights, shewed the justice of it. Ac-  
 cordingly several Lords renounced the league, and  
 joined with the King of *England*, but in the business  
 of faction, the heads generally speaking are not well  
 pleased with what puts an end to their differences.

The Earl of *Leicester* drew the rebels together again;  
 they returned to their arms, and the King of *England*  
 being defeated at the battle of *Leuues*, was taken prisoner *Matth. Paris.*  
 with Prince *Edward* his eldest son, and his brother  
*Richard* King of the *Romans*: but young Prince *Ed-*

An. 1264. *ward* having made his escape out of prison, got a great number of Lords together again, raised a new army, and attack'd the Earl of *Leicester* near *Evesham*. The battle was fought in the beginning of *August*; the Earl lost it and was killed; which put an end to this rebellion. The King was delivered, restored to his throne, and the confederates repented too late that they had not stood to the judgment of the King of *France*.

There was at that time in *France* a business of no less importance in hand, which was the investiture of the kingdom of *Sicily* for the Count of *Anjou* the King's brother. This kingdom had a master already, namely, *Mainfroy* the Emperor *Frederick's* natural son, who had no more regard than his father for the holy See; of which *Sicily* was a fief. The Popes had hitherto in vain look'd out for a rival to oppose to *Mainfroy*. But when *Urban* the fourth was raised to the Pontificate, he was not discouraged; and thinking he had found in *Charles* Count of *Anjou*, a Prince who had courage, ambition, activity, prudence, and the other necessary qualities to carry on a great undertaking, he made his application to him.

*Charles* accepted the offer very willingly: but there was a great distance between this and the execution. It was necessary to begin with settling the conditions upon which the investiture should be granted. *Simon* Cardinal of *St. Cecilia* was sent by the Pope for this purpose. They negotiated a long time, the Cardinal's instructions chiefly turned upon the security and intire liberty of the ecclesiastical state against the enterprises which might be made by the future King of *Sicily* or his descendants, upon the dependance which he and they should have upon the holy See, upon the assistance he should furnish the Popes with in time of need against their enemies, and upon the time that *Charles* of *Anjou* should begin to take the field.

Nangius in  
Gesh. Lud.

The Cardinal had orders not to shew too much eagerness, and to make use of that of the Count of *Anjou* to procure all possible advantages to the holy See by this treaty. It was at length concluded, and among a great number of articles to which it was reduced, these seem to be the most important. That the Count should renounce for him and his successors all pretensions to the city of *Bezevent*, to *Rome*, *Campa-*  
*nia*

nia in *Italy*, the duchy of *Spoletto*, *la Marche d'Ancona*, An. 1264. the patrimony of *St. Peter* in *Tuscany*, and to every other demesne or fief of the church, without ever being able to pretend to have or acquire any authority or dignity in them of what kind soever it might be, on the pain of excommunication.

That the Kings his successors should do the Pope homage and take an oath of allegiance to him; that both should be renewed every time there was a new King or a new Pope; that the homage and oaths should run in these terms. "I. N. doing full vassalage and allegiance to the church for the kingdom of *Sicily*, and all the land which is on this side the *Pharos*\*, as far as the frontiers of the territories of the church, except the city of *Benevent* with all its territory and dependences, from henceforth and forever, I will be faithful to *St. Peter*, and to the Pope my Lord, and to his successors canonically elected, &c.

That the empire should never be possessed with the kingdom of *Sicily*: that the Count and his successors should swear, that they would never use any endeavours to get themselves chosen Emperors or Kings of the *Romans*, or Kings of *Germany*, or Lords of *Lombardy* or *Tuscany*; and that if any of the presumptive heirs to the crown of *Sicily* should accept of any of these titles, he should from that time lose all right to this crown.

It is easy to guess at the reason which made the Pope insist so strongly upon the perpetual separation of the kingdom of *Sicily* from the empire and the dominions of *Italy* and *Germany*. It was that the union of these dominions would have made the King of *Sicily* too powerful, would have put him into a condition of oppressing the church, of reducing the Popes to a state of servitude, of depriving them of all authority, of disputing the possession of *Rome* and its dependences with them, and of giving them trouble upon every occasion, as the experience of the former reigns had but too well shewed: and that on the contrary the Pope being supported by the King of *Sicily* and *Naples*, who would have so much dependence upon him, would be able to oppose the Emperors and the other Princes of *Italy*.

\* That is for *Naples* and the other dominions depending upon the kingdom of *Sicily* in the continent of *Italy*.

An. 1264. By the last article it was agreed, that as soon as the treaty was concluded, the Pope should get an act drawn up of the donation of the kingdom of *Sicily* signed by himself and all the Cardinals; and that the Count of *Anjou* should on his side deliver an instrument sealed with his golden seal, in which he should acknowledge upon oath and in express terms, that he held the kingdom of *Sicily*, and all that depended upon it on this side the *Pharos*, for him and his successors, of the sole liberality and favour of the holy See, and that he received and possessed this kingdom from the *Roman* church upon the conditions expressed in the treaty.

Aurea Bulla  
Bullatum.

*Clement* the fourth, the successor of *Urban*, who died during these transactions, altered nothing of his predecessor's designs with regard to the Count of *Anjou*. But as easy as it was for the Pope to make a present of the crown of *Sicily*, and for the Count of *Anjou* to accept it, it was difficult to take it from him who was in possession of it; and who seeing for a long time that the party was leaguering against him in *France*, had had time enough to provide against it, and prevent the consequences of it.

If ever enterprise was hazardous, full of dangers and difficulties, and in which courage, prudence, and success ought to have been inseparable, it was this. The business was to go and dethrone a Prince, who had been settled for many years in a very distant realm, a Prince who had both conduct and courage, was cunning and deceitful, who had valued not the blackest crimes and treasons so he could but ascend the throne, and would value them yet less to maintain himself in it: a Prince powerful by sea and land, cover'd by the countries of his allies, which they must take before they could come at him, who was upon his guard, secure of the assistance of the *Saracens*, some remains of whom had continued for a long time canton'd in *Apulia*; of that of *Michael Paleologus* Emperor of *Constantinople*, and of several Lords in *Germany*, whom he had brought into his interest and from whom he had troops; without mentioning the faction of the *Gibelins*, who were declar'd enemies to the Popes, and were intirely at his devotion and spread through all *Italy*.

Charles



*Charles* was ignorant of none of these difficulties, and look'd upon the danger with that intrepidity, of which he had given so good proofs in the expedition to *Egypt* and upon other occasions: and when all these obstacles were represented to him, he answered, that a man wanted nothing but courage to deliver himself out of the greatest dangers. An. 1264.

He raised an army, which he did the more easily, because the Pope publish'd a crusade against *Mainfroy*, and dispensed with the vow of the crusaders into the holy Land upon condition that they would engage in the *Italian* war. Several *French* Lords willingly accepted of the dispensation and the condition: others out of the affection which they had for the Duke of *Anjou* joined them, and the army became pretty numerous: but they were to meet a much stronger in the *Bressan* commanded by *Hubert Palavicini* one of *Mainfroy's* Generals, who was prepared to dispute the passage with him. Descriptio  
victoriæ Car-  
oli ex veteri  
MS. Biblioth.  
Regiæ.

*Charles* of *Anjou* had a fleet of between five and twenty and thirty gallies equip'd at *Marseilles*: but *Mainfroy* had one of threescore, the Admiral of which had orders to fall upon the *French* as soon as they appeared. Besides this he had taken care to lodge in the mouth of the *Tyber* a quantity of great pieces of timber and large stones, to stop the passage, and make so many shelves, upon which the *French* gallies would strike, if the wind was the least violent, or if they entered the river without skilful pilots. Anonymus  
apud Ughel-  
lum. t. 9.

The Count of *Anjou*, who saw the difficulties of his undertaking encrease in proportion as he deferred his departure, and who likewise look'd upon it as a capital point to be at *Rome* at the time he had agreed on with the *Romans*, left *Marseille* upon the fifteenth of *May*, with a thousand chosen men of his cavalry disposed in his thirty gallies and some transport vessels. An. 1265.

The first danger which he had to go thro' was a violent storm, which made the boldest pilots lose their courage: but what seemed to make the loss of the fleet inevitable, was the cause of its preservation: for the Admiral of *Mainfroy's* fleet being apprehensive of running upon the coast, took the open sea whilst the Count of *Anjou* sailed all along close by the land in continual danger of seeing his ships strike against the rocks, Sallas Mallas-  
pina de rebus  
Siculis nuper  
editus à Balu-  
zio l. 6. m. f.  
cell.

An.1265. rocks, and got to the mouth of the *Tyber* without meeting with the enemy.

Anonymus  
loc. cit.

As soon as he came to this river, notwithstanding the bad weather which continued, he went on board a small light vessel which drew but little water, sail'd over *Mainfroy's* Peer, and arrived happily at *Rome* upon *Whitsun-Eve*. When the sea was calm, the fleet likewise made its way through, and came safely into the river.

The arrival of the Count of *Anjou* agreeably surprized the *Romans* who did not expect him, but thought he was either lost, or taken, or kept at *Marseille* by the fear of *Mainfroy's* fleet. So many dangers as he had encountered, rendered him still more dear to them, and very much encreased the opinion they had of his courage.

He immediately raised some soldiers to join the thousand horse which he had brought. He defended himself with these few troops against several efforts which *Mainfroy* made to surprize him; he even went out into the country upon some occasions against the *Gibelins*, and dispersed them. He was so fortunate as to escape the conspiracy of some villains, who were sent on purpose to *Rome* to poison him. In short, being more liberal of his person and prudence than his money, with which he was not overstock'd, he kept up his party till the month of *November*, when he heard that the *French* crusaders had passed the *Alps* to join him.

Descriptio  
victoriz Ca-  
poli.

This news very much rejoiced and encouraged the *Romans*. They learnt sometime after, that they had forced the passage of the river *Verceil*, which the people of the country had endeavoured to dispute with them, and that they had passed by *Bressan* in the fight of *Hubert Palavicini's* troops who durst not attack them. This army was joined in the way by several bodies of people from *Mantua*, *Ferrara*, the territory of *Bologna*, *la Marche Trevisane*, compos'd of Gentlemen and soldiers who had taken the cross; and came to *Rome* in

An.1266. the beginning of the following year.

The new King of *Sicily* would have been very well satisfied to see himself at the head of such a number of troops very well disposed for fighting, if he had had wherewith to have maintained them: but he always  
wanted

wanted money: the way he took was to carry them immediately into the enemy's country, to live there and refresh themselves after the fatigues of their long march: but his chief design was to extricate himself out of all difficulties by bringing *Mainfroy* as soon as possible to a decisive battle. And therefore fourteen days after his coronation he took the field with all his army.

And now *Mainfroy* seeing the danger near which threatned him, omitted nothing to remove it to a greater distance. He sent several bodies to take possession of the passes at the river between *Rome* and *Capua*. He sent to the Pope to propose a treaty of peace to him: but he was not regarded. He likewise made proposals to *Charles* of *Anjou*, who answered those whom he sent to him in these words: "Tell the Sultan of *Lucceria* (which was a town possessed by the *Saracens*, who were in *Mainfroy's* service) from me, that before many days are over he shall send me to paradise, or I will send him to hell!" so that without any more ado on either side, they prepared to carry on the war with vigour.

*Charles* of *Anjou* began it with all possible activity and success. He took the bridge of *Ceperano* upon the *Garillan*, and by that means made his way into a country, where his army met with provisions in abundance, and got a great deal of plunder. He made himself master of the fortrefs of *San-Germano*, of the monastery of mount *Cassini* which had been fortified, and afterwards of *Rocca*. These three places were taken in four days time, tho' *Mainfroy* reckoned that the siege of *Rocca* alone would employ his enemy for several weeks.

Anonymus  
Sallas Malaf-  
pina.

Descriptio  
victoriae Ca-  
roli.

These first strokes of vigour threw consternation into all the country about. Several Gentlemen quitted *Mainfroy's* party, and put their castles into *Charles's* hands. There were thirty two of them who submitted. He continued his march as far as *Telese* a town situate upon the confines of *Terra de Lavora*. While he was there, he was agreeably surprized with the arrival of the deputies of *Capua*, *Naples*, and several other cities, who presented to him the keys of all those places, and acknowledged him for their Prince. He march'd from thence strait to *Benevent* to attack *Mainfroy*.

He

An. 1266. He found him at the head of his army, which was ranged in order of battle: upon which he formed his. They engaged and the fight was obstinate: but victory declared for *Charles*: and *Mainfroy* seeing his left wing and his main body routed, and being resolved to die, went off from his right wing followed by *Thibaud Annibald*, and several Lords who would not forsake him, and threw himself into the middle of the *French* squadrons. He was surrounded, and over-powered by numbers, and died on the spot with all his retinue.

There was a great slaughter of the vanquished, both in the battle and in the flight. The victory cost the conqueror likewise a great many men: but we do not find that any person of distinction was killed. This action happened upon *Friday* the 26<sup>th</sup> of *February*.

So great a victory and the death of *Mainfroy* finished the work; *Mainfroy's* wife and children, his fleet and all his treasures came under the power of the new King. All the kingdom on this side the *Pharos* submitted. Almost all the towns and fortresses of the island of *Sicily* sent deputies to him immediately to recognize him; and less than three months after the arrival of his army at *Rome*, he found himself in possession of one of the finest kingdoms in *Europe*, by a conquest which nothing but his ambition could have represented to him as feasible, and which all *Europe* look'd upon as impossible.

He was not long quiet in his conquest. *Conradin* son of *Conrad*, and grandson to the Emperor *Frederick*, had fled into *Germany* and met with protectors there. He return'd into *Italy*, form'd a great party there, and brought *Charles* of *Anjou* to the very brink of ruin. But having lost a battle in which he was taken prisoner, *Charles*, to secure himself against so dangerous an enemy, cut off his head, and by this extinguished the male line of the Emperors of the house of *Snabia*. *Peter* King of *Arragon*, who had married *Constantia* *Mainfroy's* daughter, asserted also afterwards the right of his wife, and caused great revolutions in *Sicily*; but it was not till a long time after; and as I am not to concern myself with these events of foreign history, only when and so far as they relate to that which I have undertaken to write, I return to the affairs of *France*.

About



About this time the King married *John* his third son to *Tolande* daughter of the Duke of *Burgundy*, and put him in possession of the county of *Nevers* which his spouse brought him in marriage. He bought the castleward of *Perone* which he joined to his own lands. He concluded the marriage of *Blanche* his daughter with *Ferdinand* the eldest son of *Alphonso X.* King of *Castile*. He brought the King of *England* and *Navarre* to an accommodation upon some differences there were between them relating to the city of *Bayonne*, and made them conclude a truce for four years; for he always applied himself to do justice, to establish his family, to preserve peace in his own dominions, and prevent war among his neighbours.

He employed himself the more at this time in such affairs, because he had resolved to undertake a new expedition for the assistance of Christendom in the East, from whence he had received very dismal news.

*Bondocdar*, the same who had saved *Egypt* and destroyed the army of the last crusade, was become Sultan of that large dominion. He form'd a design to exterminate the Christians of *Palestine*, and make an intire conquest of it. He surprized *Casarea*, besieged and took *Saphet* one of the strongest places of the country, and made himself master of several other important fortresses.

All this news had roused the zeal of the christian Princes. The conquest of *Sicily* might be a great help in the expedition, and the new King, who was intirely devoted to the holy See, could not fail of contributing towards it with all his power. The Pope treated with the King about it, and the Cardinal of *St. Cecilia* returned into *France* with the title of legate to preach the crusade.

The King took the cross again from his hand, tho' he had worn it ever since his return from *Palestine*; his three eldest sons *Philip*, *John* Count of *Nevers*, and *Peter* Count of *Alençon* took it likewise: a short time after *Thibaud* King of *Navarre*, *Robert* Count of *Artois*, the King's nephew, and son of *Robert* Count of *Artois*, who was killed in *Egypt*, *Guy* Count of *Flanders*, and *John* son of the Count of *Britanny* went also upon the crusade; and their example was followed by a vast number of *French* Lords.

An. 1266.

An. 1267.

Gaufridus de  
bello loco,  
Guyart, &c.

From.

An. 1268. From that time the King began to make his preparations. Pope *Clement IV.* died in the mean while; but tho' his death was succeeded by a vacancy of the holy See for near three years, till the election of *Gregory* the tenth, there was nothing changed with regard to the design of the crusade.

As the King perceived the decay of his health, and the experience of his first crusade, joined to the resolution he was in not to spare himself upon any occasion, made him think of the uncertainty of his return. He was desirous of providing for the peace of his family and the establishment of all his children. He settled the appennages of his sons. He had his daughter *Blanche* carried into *Castile* to be married to *Ferdinand* son of *Alphonso* King of *Castile*, which marriage had been concluded three years before. *Margaret Blanche's* sister was married to *Henry* Duke of *Brabant*: and as *Agnes* the youngest of all was not yet marriageable, he specified in his will, which he made before his departure, the sum which he appointed her for her portion.

Nangius in  
Gestis Lud.  
Invent. des  
Chart. Me-  
langes t. 6.

Three years having been thus employed in settling and regulating all things, the King in the year 1270. took his last measures in order for his expedition. He nominated to the regency of the kingdom during his absence *Matthew* Abbot of *St. Denis*, a man of quality of the family of the Counts of *Vendome*, and *Simon* of *Clermont* Count of *Nesle*, both men of known probity and singular prudence. He substituted in their place in case of death *Philip* Bishop of *Evreux* and *John* Count of *Ponthieu*.

The rendezvous of the crusaders was appointed to be at *Aignes-Mortes* in *May*, and the King went from *Paris* to be at it. He supposed when he left *Paris*, that the ships promised by the *Genoese* which were to make part of the fleet, would be at *Aignes-Mortes* when he came thither; but he was forced to wait for them some weeks: while the King was staying for them, he received an embassy from *Michael Paleologus* Emperor of *Constantinople*. This Prince had nine or ten years before surprized that capital of the Eastern empire, which the *Latin* Emperors had possessed for near threescore years; and in consequence of this conquest, the empire which had been taken from the *Greeks*

by *Baldwin* the first, returned to its ancient masters in *An. 1269.*  
the time of *Baldwin* the second.

The pretence of the embassy was the extinction of the schism and the reunion of the *Greek* and *Latin* churches. *Michael* protested to the King by his ambassadors, that he was willing to make him arbiter of so important an affair; and that as he passionately wish'd to see the consummation of it, he would submit to every thing that he should determine: but the true reason was the uneasiness which the great armaments in *France* and *Sicily* gave him, being apprehensive that they were designed against him, for the re-establishing of *Baldwin*. He had indeed a great deal of reason to be afraid of the ambition and resentment of the King of *Sicily*, against whom he had joined with *Mainfroy*. Pachymer. l. 5. Hist.

The King treated the ambassadors with great civility; but he told them, that an affair of this nature did not belong to his sphere, and only promised them his interest with the college of Cardinals, who governed the church at that time during the vacancy of the holy See. He wrote accordingly to the Cardinals, who sent to Cardinal *d'Albe*, who was nominated legate for the crusade, a memorial drawn up by Pope *Clement* the fourth, containing the conditions of the reunion of the two churches. The manner of the ambassadors receiving the proposals contained in the memorial, gave great hopes; but they were vain. They returned however very well satisfied with knowing that there was no design against their master, but that the crusade was intended against the Infidels.

The *Genoese* ships being come up found those of *France* equip'd and ready; and the King embark'd with all his army upon the first of *July*. The weather which at first was very fine, soon changed and they met with violent storms, which however did not do any great damage, and in a few days all the fleet was over against *Cagliari* in *Sardinia*. There it was that the King was to hold a council, to consult upon the place whither they should carry the war, or rather to get the Princes and Lords of the army to agree to that design which he had already concerted with the King of *Sicily*. An. 1270.  
In Spicileg.  
t. 2. Epist.  
Ludovici ad  
Matthæum  
Abbat.  
Epist. Perri  
de Condato.

When

An. 1270.



When they went from *Aignes-Mortes* they did not doubt but they were to go to *Egypt* or *Palestine*: but the King did not intend to begin there; and they were very much surprized when he proposed in the council to go to *Tunis* upon the coast of *Africa*.

Gaufridus  
de bello loco.

Among other reasons which determined the King to this resolution, there was one which always very much touched him. The King of *Tunis*, whose name was *Muley Moztañça*, had often given him to understand by people whom he could trust, that he had a great inclination for the christian religion; and that if he could with honour and without exposing himself too much, have any pretence for quitting his religion, he would willingly make use of it. From that time the King had always kept correspondence with him. But as it was not prudent to trust intirely to this Prince's word, he had put himself in a condition of making his expedition serviceable to religion, in case that he should not stand to his promise.

The King therefore thought, that if he made a descent upon *Africa*, and came before *Tunis* with a numerous army, this would be a favourable opportunity for that Prince to declare himself, and to lay hold of the pretence which he wanted to make him turn Christian, and justify his conduct by the necessity he was in of saving his crown, and the lives of his subjects; that if he came over and was converted, they would have what they aimed at; but if he did not, and his proceedings did not answer the hopes he had given, they would carry on the war against him with all vigour, and drive him out of his dominions and settle the Christians there; that if they succeeded in this war, they would do a great piece of service to Christendom; because it was from this kingdom that the Sultan of *Egypt* was furnish'd with a great number of horses, arms, and soldiers, after which the expedition into *Palestine* or *Egypt* would be much more easy.

The King added several other Reasons in the council, and spoke so strenuously, that notwithstanding the opposition of several Lords, the thing was concluded agreeably to his intention. They left *Sardinia*, and in a few days the fleet came over against *Tunis* and *Carthage* upon the eighteenth of *July*.



The very day that they arrived, *Florent of Varennes* An. 1270. Admiral of *France* went with some gallies to take a view of the gulph, at the end of which towards the inland the city of *Tunis* is built. He entered without resistance, and landed some troops: but the King for fear of a surprize sent him orders to reembark his soldiers and return.

They resolved to make the general descent the next day. When the fleet entered the gulph, they saw the shore lined on all sides with a numerous army of *Saracens*. However they made preparations for the descent. The ships were ranged in order; and the King put his, and himself in it, at the head of all.

The cowardice of the *Saracens* was the sole cause of the good success of this action: for the author of the relation which I am now transcribing, who was an eye witness of the fact, says, that every thing was managed with so little order, that a hundred resolute men would have been sufficient to have prevented the descent: but as soon as the ships began to approach all this multitude of *Barbarians* took to their heels, without making the least resistance.

Petrus de  
Condeto.

The descent being made, they encamped upon the *Isthmus*, which separates the gulph of *Tunis* from another little gulph which is called at present *Porto Farina*: but they were put to great difficulties in this place, because all about the camp there appeared neither spring, river, nor well. The next day they found some cisterns near a tower at the extremity of the *Isthmus* on the side of *Carthage*: but they were soon dry. They abandoned the tower which was difficult to keep; and they made dispositions for the attack of the castle of *Carthage*, about which there were a great many wells of sweet water. They carried it sword in hand, and a few soldiers of the garrison escaped by subterraneous passages.

In the mean while two *Saracens* deserted, and undeceived the King as to the hopes he had conceived of the conversion of the King of *Tunis*: for they told him, that this Prince had seized all the Christians that were in the city, being resolved to cut off their heads as soon as the *French* army approach'd the place, but promising them their lives, if the *French* did not come to attack him.

An. 1270.

After the taking of *Carthage*, they had sweet water enough, but there were continual alarms, and innumerable troops of *Saracens* appeared every moment about the skirts of the camp. All this however ended in trifling skirmishes, because the enemy did nothing but wheel about, and after their volleys of arrows, they fled without any possibility of being overtaken.

At the end of some days the army of the *Saracens* appeared in order of battle, and it was said that the King of *Tunis* was there in person. To see their march, one would think that their design was to have surrounded the camp, and hem'd it in between them and the sea. The King immediately put his army into battle array, and it was not doubted but a fight would have ensued: but after a light skirmish, in which few of the *Saracens* were killed, and on the side of the Christians none but the Lord of *Beauclaire*, the enemy's army retired. The King did not pursue them because he expected his brother the King of *Sicily* every day to lay siege to *Tunis*.

This Prince's delay was the cause of all the misfortunes that followed, for the heats being excessive, the camp was filled with diseases. *John* Count of *Nevers* the King's son was one of the first among the Princes and persons of quality who was attack'd. He was born at *Damiette* during the first crusade, three or four days after the King his father was taken; and he died in this at a juncture which was beginning to be no less dreadful. The Cardinal legate soon followed him. Prince *Philip* was seiz'd with a quartan fever; and in a few days the camp was full of malignant fevers, dysenteries, and all sorts of distempers. The King himself fell ill of a dysentery, which for some days did not hinder him from acting and giving orders for the safety and comfort of his army with as much presence of mind as if he had been in perfect health: but at last he sunk; and the disease grew so violent, that he died upon the 25<sup>th</sup> day of *August*, aged fifty five years and four months, after having reigned forty three years, nine months, and eighteen days.

His death threw the whole army into a terrible consternation, and all had been lost if it had not been for the arrival of the King of *Sicily*, whose ships appeared immediately after the King was expired. Never

Never was Prince more worthy than this of the panegyrics with which the historians of all nations have in emulation of each other honoured his memory. The detail of his works of piety, and his christian virtues has furnished matter for whole volumes, and the reading of his history alone cannot fail of giving a great idea of this great Prince.

The respect, the veneration, and admiration which his subjects of all ranks had for him, were the effect of a virtue and sanctity which never put on a false appearance in him. They were always the director of his behaviour in all the several fortunes which he experienced, and they did not in any manner enervate the royal qualities of liveliness and courage, with which he was born. More humble and recollected at the foot of the altars than the most devout hermit, and yet we see him a moment after at the head of an army with the countenance of a hero fighting battles, enduring the greatest fatigues, and daring the greatest dangers. His prayers, to which he devoted several hours of the day, did not at all take off his care of the government. He held his councils exactly, and gave publick and private audiences, which he granted sometimes to the lowest people; and one day when he knew that some people said of him, that he spent too much time in his usual devotions, he only answered, that if he employed that time in hunting, tournaments, gaming, or plays, they would not take so exact an account of the time which he lost at them. Several ordinances of this Prince upon divers important matters, are so many monuments which shew us how much he applied himself to the regulation of his kingdom; and it is a great elogium to this monarch, that in the reigns of several of his successors, when the Nobility and people were sometimes dissatisfied with the government, they never demanded any thing else, but that abuses should be reformed according to the usages observed in the reign of *St. Lewis*.

*Treasure of  
Chartres  
Cotté 55*

How much soever christian severity he exercised upon himself, so far as not to allow himself hardly any diversion, his virtue never made him morose. He was extremely human, and very agreeable in conversation. His middle sized stature did not give him a very majestic air, but his carriage of itself made him be loved

An. 1270. by all who came near him. He was naturally bountiful; and his liberality shewed itself more especially in the wars beyond sea, towards several Lords and Gentlemen, who had lost all their equipages, to whom he gave wherewith to furnish themselves again.

Never had Prince a more sincere respect for Popes, Bishops, Monks, and in general all persons belonging to the church: but none of his predecessors undertook with so much resolution as he did to set bounds to the ecclesiastical power, which had for several ages been as it were in possession of encroachments upon the royal authority and upon the tribunals of lay justice: we have several ordinances of his upon this subject, and among others his pragmatick sanction, in which after beginning with saying that his kingdom was subject to none but God alone, he descends into a detail of most of the cases which concerned the liberty of the churches of his realm. He published this ordinance, which was dated in *March* in the year 1268, at the time that he was preparing for his second crusade.

His sweetness, his modesty in his dress and equipage, especially after he had taken the cross, the christian humility in which he exercised himself more than in any other virtue, and which he practised more particularly towards the poor, often serving them at table, washing their feet, visiting them in the hospitals, all these virtues, which when they are blended with certain faults, bring sometimes contempt upon the great people who practise them, were never attended with any disregard to his authority; and it is particularly taken notice of in his history, that after his return from the holy Land, there never was seen more submission paid to a sovereign, and that it continued all the rest of his reign.

Nangius in  
Gest. Lud.

Fig. 119.

According to the account of the Lord of Joinville, this Prince was the wisest and had the best head of any in his council. Upon all sudden occasions he resolved readily and prudently. He had gained so great a reputation for integrity, that other Princes often put their affairs into his hands. We have seen a notable instance of this in the compromise which *Henry III.* King of *England* signed on one side and his Barons on the other, to refer themselves to his arbitration of the differences between them. After that determination, the King of *England* used to call him his father.

There



There needs nothing but to recollect the course of An. 1270.  
 his history, to be persuaded that he was not only the most valiant Prince of his time, but likewise that he understood war the best: for tho' the two crusades were attended with ill success, yet it is certain that in all the battles which were fought, he always beat the enemy, tho' so much superior to him in number of troops: and he fought with the same success notwithstanding a like disadvantage in the famous action of *Taillebourg*.

But after all, among so many noble qualities which make this Prince so recommendable to posterity, piety was the reigning one. He was obliged for it next to God to the wise and christian education, which Queen *Blanche* his mother gave him; and he never forgot that handsome sentence which she one day said to him: Son, you are born a King, I love you with all the tenderness a mother is capable of; but I would much rather see you dead, than have you commit a mortal sin.

All the conduct of his life was directed by that spirit; the great number of hospitals, churches, monasteries, founded or repaired by his liberality, the account which *Geoffroy of Beaulieu*, a dominican his confessor, gives us of the penitences, meditations, and other good works of this holy Prince, his being look'd on as a Saint during his life, and his canonization founded upon the voice of the people, and upon many well attested miracles perform'd after his death, shew that he was yet more distinguished for his sanctity than for all the rest.

His death was as holy as his life had been. His fervor, his humility, his devotion, his zeal, encreased in these last moments; and he died in the exercise of all these virtues, after having received all the sacraments, and made himself be laid upon ashes, that he might expire with all the outward marks as well as inward thoughts of a true penitent.

He left a paper\* behind him written with his own hand, full of the choicest maxims, directed to Prince *Philip* his son and successor, which he drew up some time before the crusade. It contains nothing but what

\* This writing under the title of instructions of King *Lewis* the Saint to *Philip* his eldest son, is in the chamber of accounts at *Paris* in the register *Crois fol. 1.* and in the register *qui es in casis.*

An. 1270. he had practised himself; and is a sort of an abridgment of the rules which he followed in his conduct.

We see by this writing, that this holy Prince's thoughts were employed not only in sanctifying himself but likewise his family. His example and advice were not unserviceable even to his brothers. He had above all inspired them with a hatred of debauchery. *Alphonso* Count of *Poitiers* was a very regular and a very pious Prince: and tho' the Count of *Artois* and the King of *Sicily* were both naturally very fiery, proud and ambitious, which made them commit some considerable mistakes, yet history bears testimony to them both, that they were most nicely conscientious in the point of chastity.

In a word, it is not carrying the elogium of this great Prince too high, to say that he was as great a King as he was a Saint; and we cannot do him this justice without owning at the same time, that the union of those two titles, so difficult to reconcile together, made him one of the greatest and most extraordinary men that ever lived.

F I N I S.



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